

TA  
Comparative Grammar  
of the  
Gaudian Languages  
with special reference to  
Eastern Hindi  
accompanied by  
language-map and a table of Alphabets  
by  
A. F. Rudolf Hornle

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## ERRATA.

- p. II. l. 20. extends *for* extents.  
p. III. l. 22. Kachchh *for* Kachh.  
p. III. l. 23. Kachchhi *for* Kachhi.  
p. IV. l. 29. however *for* howerer.  
p. VI. l. 2. eighthly *for* eightly.  
p. VIII. l. 14. XXXVII *for* XXXV.  
p. IX. l. 29. and the short *for* and of the short.  
p. XVII. l. 32. válakko *for* valakko.  
p. XXIV. l. 17. what *for* wbat.  
p. XXV. l. 33. Práchyá *for* Práchá.  
p. XXV. l. 34. Práchyá *for* Gaudí.  
p. XXXVII. l. 11. comes *for* come.  
p. XXXVII. l. 20. Prakás *for* Prakas.  
p. 17. l. 28. difficulty *for* difficully.  
p. 56. l. 27. give thou *for* take thou.  
p. 57. l. 5. सगरू *for* सगल्.  
p. 61. l. 33. मोटल् *for* मोटल्.  
p. 64. l. 31. बर्हई or बर्हई *for* बर्हई or बर्हई.  
p. 65. l. 29. § 77 *for* § 74.  
p. 70. l. 7. add: E. H. बड़ल् or बैल्.  
p. 70. l. 10. दीन् *for* दीन्.  
p. 104. l. 34. वाडरू *for* वडरू.  
p. 107. l. 6. पाङ्गिल् *for* पङ्गिल्.  
p. 110. l. 24. चमोटो *for* चमोटो.  
p. 110. l. 26. हिरनोटो *for* हिरणोटो.  
p. 112. l. 23. गह्मार्ह *for* गह्मार्ह.  
p. 123. l. 34. चोलो *for* चोलो.  
p. 124. l. 10. बेटा *son for* बेटी *so*  
p. 141. l. 6. चलिय or चलिय *for*

## ADDENDA.

67. rule 119, 2. W. H. होटा *three and a half* for Pr. अहोदृ  
see § 416.
88. rule 160. न् becomes न्द् in S., P., Mw. अंदो for अंतो suff  
of pres. part., see § 301. Also P., S. पंत *five* for Pr. पं  
Skr. पञ्च, see p. 256.
90. rule 172. W. H. होटा for \*अहोटा *three and a half*, see  
§ 416.
90. add rule 172<sup>a</sup>. इ is elided; rarely; E. H. इहै or चाहै  
*desires*, Pr. इच्छाअइ, Skr. \*इच्छायति, see p. 389, footnote.
113. rule 227. The forms त्र and तन are preserved in the O. F  
of Chand; e. g. वृद्ध *old age* Pr. R. 28, 38; प्रीततन *friend  
ship* Pr. R. 28, 56; कुसलतन *prosperity* Pr. R. 28, 38; वृद्ध  
*old age* Pr. R. 28, 38.
117. rule 239. In O. H. the suff. is एत; e. g. रगत *blood*  
Chand Pr. R. 28, 39.

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*Map of the Languages of North India; opp. Title page.*

*Table of Alphabets; opp. page. 2.*

*Note:* See also „Affinities“ and „Derivation“ in the Index of Subjects, p. 407:

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

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*A. Gr.* = Translation of the Âdi  
Granth by Trumpp.

*A. Mg.* = Ardha Mâgadhi Prâkrit.  
*Ap.* or *Ap. Pr.* = Apabhram̃sa Prâ-  
krit.

*Ap. Mg.* = Apabhram̃sa Mâgadhi  
Prâkrit.

*Ap. Sr.* = Apabhram̃sa Sauraseni  
Prâkrit.

*B.* = Bengâlî.

*B. H. Dy.* = Bate's Hindî Dictio-  
nary.

*Bh.* = Bhojpuri.

*Bhag.* or *Bh.* = Bhagavatî.

*Br.* = Braj.

*Bs.* = Beames' Comparative Grammar  
of the Modern Aryan languages.

*Bs.* or *Bw.* = Baiswârî.

*Cw.* = Cowell's edition of Vararuchi's  
Prâkrîta Prakâsa.

*Dk.* = Dakshinâtya Prâkrit.

*Dl.* = Delius' Radices Pracriticae.

*E.*, in conjunction with other ini-  
tials, = Eastern; e. g. *E. H.* =  
Eastern Hindî, *E. Gd.* = E. Gau-  
dian, *E. Rj.* = Eastern Râjpûtânî.  
*Eth.* = Etherington's Hindî Grammar.

*G.* = Gujarâtî.

*Gd.* = Gaudian.

*Gh.* or *Gw.* = Garhwâlî.

*Gl.* = Sg. Goldschmidt.

*H.* = Hindî; or, in conjunction with  
other initials, = High; as *H. H.*  
= High Hindî, *H. B.* = High  
Bengâlî.

*H. C.* = Hema Chandra's Prâkrit  
Grammar (ed. Pischel).

*J. A. S. B.* = Journal of the Asiatic  
Society of Bengal.

*J. G. O. S.* = Journal of the Ger-  
man Oriental Society

*K. I.* = Kramadîṣvara's Prâkrit  
Grammar.

*Kf.* = Kafirî.

*Kl.* = Kellogg's Hindî Grammar

*Km.* = Kumaonî

*Kn.* = Kanaujî

*Ksh.* = Kashmirî.

*Kth.* = Karthî.

*Ld.* = Panjâbî Grammar printed in  
Loodiana.

*L. Dh.* = Lakshmî Dhara's Shaḍ-  
bhâshâ chandrikâ.

*Ls.* = Lassen's Institutiones Linguae  
Pracriticae.

*M.* = Marâthî; or, in conjunction

- with other initials, = Modern; as  
*M. Gd.* = Modern Gauḍian, *M.*  
*M.* = Modern Marāṭhī.  
*M. M.* = Max Müller's Sanskrit  
 Grammar.  
*M. W.* = Moniers William's Sans-  
 krit-English Dictionary.  
*Man.* = Student's Manual of Ma-  
 rāṭhī Grammar.  
*Mcch.* = *Mr̥chchhakatikā* (ed. Stenz-  
 ler).  
*Md.* = Mārkaṇḍeya's Prākṛit Gram-  
 mar.  
*Mg.* = Māgadhī Prākṛit.  
*Mh.* = Māhārāshṭrī Prākṛit.  
*Mh. Sr.* = Māhārāshṭrī-Sauraseni  
 Prākṛit.  
*Mr. or Mw.* = Mārwarī.  
*Ms.* = Mason's Pāli Grammar.  
*Mth.* = Maithilī.  
  
*N.* = Naipālī.  
*N. Gd.* = Northern Gauḍian.  
  
*O.* = Oṛiyā, or, in conjunction with  
 other initials, = Old; as *O. H.* =  
 Old Hindī, *O. W. H.* = Old We-  
 stern Hindī, *O. P.* = Old Panjābī,  
*O. S.* = Old Sindhī, *O. Gd.* =  
 Old Gauḍian.  
  
*P.* = Panjābī.  
*Pl.* = Pischel's *Dissertatio Inaugu-*  
*ralis*.  
*Pr.* = Prākṛit.  
*Pr. or Pers.* = Persian.  
*Pr. R.* = Prithirāj Rasau by Chand  
 Bardāi.  
*Ps.* = Paśāchī Prākṛit.  
*Psh.* = Pashtū.  
  
*Rj.* = Rājputānī.  
*R. T.* = Rāma Tarkavāṇīās Prākṛit  
 Grammar.  
  
*S.* = Sindhī.  
*S. C.* = Śubha Chandra's Prākṛit  
 Grammar.  
*S. Ch.* = Shama Charan's. Bangālī  
 Grammar.  
*S. D.* = Saṁtya Darpana.  
*S. Gd.* = Southern Gauḍian.  
*S. Gdt.* = Sg. Goldschmidt.  
*S. L.* = St. Luke translated into  
 Naipālī.  
*S. R.* = Simha Rājā's Prākṛit Gram-  
 mar.  
*Skr.* = Saṁskrit.  
*Sn.* = Sutton's Oṛiyā Grammar.  
*Spt.* = Sapta Sataka (ed. Weber).  
*Sr.* = Sauraseni Prākṛit.  
*St. G.* = Stanislas Guyard's Gram-  
 maire Palie.  
  
*T. D. or T. Das.* = Tulsī Dās' Ra-  
 māyan.  
*T. V.* = Trivikrama's Prākṛit Gramm.  
*Tr.* = Trumpp's Sindhī Grammar.  
  
*Ved.* = Vedic.  
*Vr.* = Vararuchi's Prākṛit Gram-  
 mar (ed. Cowell).  
  
*W.*, in conjunction with other ini-  
 tials, = Western; as *W. Gd.* =  
 Western Gauḍian, *W. H.* = We-  
 stern Hindī, *W. Rj.* = Western  
 Rājputānī.  
*Wb.* = Weber's edition of the Sapta  
 Sataka (*Spt.*) and of the Bhaga-  
 vatī (*Bh.*).

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

### GRAMMATICAL TERMS.

abl. = ablative.	gen. = genitive or general.
acc. = accusative.	imp. or imper. = imperative mood.
act. = active (case or voice or verb)	ind. or indic. = indicative mood.
adj. = adjective.	indef. = indefinite or indefinitive.
adv. = adverb or adverbial.	inf = infinitive.
aff. = affix.	instr. = instrumentalis.
auxil. = auxiliary.	inter. or interrog. = interrogative
	pronoun.
c. g. or com. gen. = common gender.	intr. = intransitive.
C. R. = Causal Roots.	intr. V. = intransitive Verb.
C. V. = Causal Verb.	
cl. = class.	lg. f. = long form.
comp. = compound.	loc. = locative.
Cp. R. = Compound Roots.	
cond. = conditional.	m. or masc. = masculine.
conj. = conjunct or conjunction or	N. = noun.
conjunctive mood.	n. or neut. = neuter.
conj. cons. = conjunct consonant.	nom. = nominative.
cons. = consonant.	num. = numeral.
constr. = construction.	
contr. = contracted or contraction.	obl. = oblique.
D. R. or Dm. R. = <sup>31</sup> minative Roots.	orig. = original.
dat. = dative.	
Db. C. V. = Double Causal Verb.	P. P. = past participle.
dem. = demonstrative pronoun.	P. R. = Primitive Roots.
der. or deriv. = derivative.	part. = participle.
dir. = direct.	pass. = passive.
Dr. R. = Derivative Roots.	pers. = person or personal.
du. = dual.	pl. or plur. = plural.
	pleon. = pleonastic.
emph. = emphatic.	postpos = postposition.
euph. = euphonic.	prec. = precative.
exc = except or exception.	pret. = preterite.
	pron. = pronoun or pronominal.
f. or fem. = feminine.	
fut. = future.	



kaṇḍeya. Śubhachandra, Kramadīśvara, Trivikrama, Siṃharāja etc.) are quoted from MSS. in my possession; but Vararuchi and Hemachandra are generally cited from the excellent editions of Cowell and Pischel respectively.

The publication of this volume, begun in Germany in 1878, has been so long delayed through my absence from Europe. which necessitated the sending out of the proofsheets to India. I fear this had the further evil consequence of many misprints remaining undetected, for which I hope the kind reader will make allowance. I do not think any serious misprint has escaped correction.

R. H.



qual. = quality.	sh. f. = short form.
qual. pron. = qualitative pronoun.	st. f. = strong form.
quant. = quantity.	subst. = Substantive.
quant. pron. = quantitative pronoun.	suff. = suffix.
R. = root.	tbbh. or tadbh. = tadbhava.
red. f. = redundant form.	term. or termin. = termination.
refl. = reflexive pronoun.	tr. = transitive.
rel. = relative pronoun.	Tr. V. = Transitive Verb.
resp. = respectively.	ts. = tats. or tatsama.
S. = suffix.	voc. = vocative.
S. R. = Simple Roots.	wk. f. = weak form.
S. V. = Simple Verb.	
sg. or sing. = singular.	

An asterisk (\*) prefixed to a word means a conjectural or theoretical form of a word.



## INTRODUCTION.

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### THE LOCAL DISTRIBUTION AND MUTUAL AFFINITIES OF THE GAUḌIAN<sup>1</sup>) LANGUAGES.

Seven languages of the Sanskrit stock are usually enumerated as spoken in North India, viz. Sindhī, Gujarātī, Panjābī, Hindī, Bangālī, Oṛiya, Marāṭhī. Of these H. is commonly said to be spoken over an area of more than 248000 square miles and to be the language of between 60 and 70 millions or fully  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the inhabitants of India. This statement is true only in a very limited and special sense. It is true if by H. we understand the literary or High-Hindī (including under this term Hindústānī or Urdū); but it is quite incorrect if it be understood to imply that only one language is spoken generally by the people inhabiting that area. It is, a priori, extremely improbable and contrary to general experience that one and the same language should be spoken by such large numbers of people over a tract of country so widely extended. As a matter of fact, two entirely different languages are spoken in the so-called Hindī area; one in the western, the other in the eastern half. For the sake of convenience, these two languages will be called in this treatise Western Hindī and Eastern Hindī; but the terms are not altogether good ones, as they give too much of an impression that Western and Eastern Hindī are merely two different dialects of

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1) I have adopted the term Gauḍian to designate collectively all North-Indian vernaculars of Sanskrit affinity, for want of a better word; not as being the least objectionable, but as being the most convenient one.

the same (Hindí) language. In reality, they are as distinct from one another, as B. in the east and P. in the west are supposed to be distinct from what is commonly called Hindí. Indeed the likeness between E. H. and B. is much closer than between E. H. and W. H.; and on the other hand, the affinity between W. H. and P. is much greater than between W. H. and E. H. In short W. H. and E. H. have as much right to be classed as distinct languages rather than different dialects, as P., H., and B.

It is impossible at present, accurately to define the limits of the various Gaudian languages and dialects. It is a subject to which little attention has been paid hitherto. Moreover, it seems probable, that in most cases adjoining languages and dialects pass into each other so imperceptibly, that the determination of the limits of each will always remain more or less a matter of doubt and dispute. At present, we can only fix with certainty the centres of their respective areas. The following remarks and the accompanying map which attempts to show their local distribution, must be understood with this proviso. The area in which H. (commonly so called, i. e. E. H. and W. H.) is spoken, occupies the central portion of North India. It extends in the north to the lower ranges of the Himálaya mountains; in the west to a line drawn from the head of the gulf of Kachchh in a north-easterly direction to the upper Satlaj near Simla; in the south to the Narmadá river or the Vindhya range of mountains; in the east to a line following the course of the Sankhassí river to its junction with the Ganges and thence in a south-westerly direction to the Narmadá. The H. area is bounded on the north by those of Gw., K., and N.; on the west by P., S., and G.; on the south by the M. area, and on the east by O. and B.

The Garhwálí, Kumaoní and Naipálí are apparently dialects of one great language, the area of which is bounded on the south by that of Hindí, on the east by the upper Satlaj, on the west by the upper Sankhassí, and on the north by the higher ranges of the Himálaya. The Garhwálí is spoken between the Satlaj and

Ganges, the Kumaoní between the Ganges and Gogarí, the Naipálí between the Gogarí and Sankhassí. In the following pages these three dialects will be designated by the collective name of *Northern Gandhian*.

The area of the Panjábí nearly covers the province from which it derives its name, extending from the Hindí area in the east to the Indus in the west, and from the lower ranges of the Himálaya in the north to the junction of the five rivers in the south. There are apparently two principal dialects of this language; viz. the Multání spoken in the Southern Panjáb about Multán, and the dialect of the Northern Panjáb. P. is spoken by about 12 millions of people distributed over 60000 square miles.

The Sindhí area lies on both sides of the lower Indus. It meets the Hindí area on the east, and that of the Panjábí on the north, and is bounded by the Kela mountains on the west. The language comprises three principal dialects; the Siráikí spoken in the upper Sindh, north of Haiderábád; the Lári or dialect of the lower Sindh spoken in the Indus delta and on the sea-coasts; and the Tharelí spoken in the Tharu or desert of Eastern Sindh (see Tr. II). It is spoken by about 2 millions of people and over 90000 square miles.

The Gujarátí area comprises the provinces of Kacch and Gujarát or the country around the gulf of Kambay. The Kacchí is a distinct dialect, and its true affiliation, whether to Sindhí or Gujarátí appears to be still doubtful. Gujarátí has seemingly no marked dialectic divisions. It is spoken over 50000 square miles by about 6 millions of people.

The Maráṭhí area is bounded by the Vindhya mountains on the north, where it joins that of Western Hindí. At their eastern extremity it meets the Eastern Hindí area, whence the line of demarcation runs in a south-westerly direction to the sea-coast near the city of Goa. There are two principal dialects: the Konkani and Dakhaní. The former is spoken in the west, in the Konkani or narrow strip of country between the mountains and the sea;

the latter in the north-east in the (so-called) Dakhan or Central India. In the south-east, about Satara and Kolhapur, there is apparently a third variety (Bs. I, 104). Maráthí is spoken by about 13 millions of people and over 113000 square miles. It should be observed, that in the neighbourhood of the upper Narmadá Maráthí is contiguous to Eastern Hindí. One gradually merges into the other, and it is impossible, at present, to say exactly where one begins and the other ends. It is certain, however, that E. H. is spoken about Jabalpur. On its south and south-east, respectively, Maráthí has the Drávidian languages, the Kanarese and Telugu.

The Oriya area is bounded on the north by the Subanarekhá river and in the west by a line drawn from the sources of that river in a southerly direction to about Ganjam on the east-coast of India. According to Beames (I, 118, 106) it is rapidly supplanting the old non-Aryan dialects, spoken in the vast tract of mountains, lying between its western boundary-line and the eastern limits of the Maráthí area. It is spoken by about 5 millions of people over 66000 square miles.

The Bangálí area is nearly coterminous with the province of Bangál, being bounded by the Eastern Hindí area on the West. Four principal varieties of the language are said to exist (Bs. I, 106); one in Eastern Bangál about Silhet and Tipara, another in Northern Bangál about Dinajpur; one in Southern Bangál about Midnapur and Calcutta, and the principal one in Central Bangál. It is spoken by about 36 millions of people over 90000 square miles.

Within the area of Hindí, as previously defined, many differing dialects are spoken. Their exact number is, at present, uncertain. Eight principal dialectic varieties, however, may be distinguished. Namely, beginning in the West; *first*, the dialects of Western Rájputáná as far as the Aravalli mountains. The principal one is the Márwáří or the dialect of the country of the Márs, a Rájput tribe, spoken about Jodhpur and Jaynagar. *Secondly*, the dialects of Eastern Rájputáná, spoken about Jaypúr and Kotah, on



the high lands between the Aravalli mountains and the river Betwá. *Thirdly*, the Braj Bháshá or the dialect of the upper Doáb, spoken on the plains of the Jamná and Ganges, about Agrá, Mathurá, Delhi, etc. It is so called from Vraj „cow-pen“, the name of the district round Brindában and Mathurá, the birth-place of Krishna. *Fourthly*, the Kanaují spoken in the lower Doáb and Rohilkhand. It takes its name from the old city of Kanauj on the Ganges. *Fifthly*, the Baiswárí or dialect of the country of the Bais, a Rájput tribe; spoken to the north of Allahábád. Its district is nearly coterminous with the province of Audh, whence it is also called Avadhí. In a slightly modified form it is also spoken to the south of Allahábád, in Baghelkhand, the country of the Baghels, an other Rájput tribe. *Sixthly*, the dialects of the country lying north and south of Banáras, and spoken to beyond Gorakhpúr and Bettiah in the North and to about Jabalpúr in the South, where their area is contiguous with that of the Maráthí. The principal one is the Bhojpúrí, which is current in the central portion of this tract on both sides of the Ganges between Banáras and Chaprá. It takes its name from the ancient town of Bhojpur, now a small village, near Buxar, and a few miles south of the Ganges<sup>1)</sup>. *Seventhly*, the Maithilí or the dialect of the district of Tírhút, spoken about Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. It is called

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1) „It was formerly a place of great importance, as the head-quarters of the large and powerful clan of Rajpoots whose head is the present Maharaja of Doomraon and who rallied round the standard of the grand old chief Kunwar Singh in the mutiny of 1857. Readers of the entertaining »Sair-ul Mutakherin« will remember how often the Mahomedan Soubas of Azimabad (Patna) found it necessary to chastise the turbulent Zemindars of Bhojpur, and how little the latter seemed to profit by the lesson. It is remarkable that throughout the area of the Bhojpuri language a spirit of bigoted devotion to the old Hindu faith still exists, and that the proportion of Mahomedans to Hindus is very small. Rajpoots everywhere predominate, together with a caste called Bábhans (ब्राम्हन) or Bhuinhárs (भुइन्हार = landleute) who appear to be a sort of bastard Brahmins, and concerning whose origin many curious legends are told.“ Beames J. R. A. S. vol. III, p. 484 (new series).

so after the ancient city of Mithilá, the capital of Videha or modern Tirhúf (Tirabhukti). *Eightly*, the Mágadh or the dialect spoken to the south of the Ganges between Gayá, Patná and Bhágalpúr. It has its name from the old district of Magadh, now better known as Bihár.

These dialects naturally divide themselves into two great groups, according to some very marked peculiarities of pronunciation and inflexion, etc., which will be noted presently. The first group comprises the western dialects; viz. those of W. and E. Rájpútáná, of the Braj and of Kanaúj. The second group includes the dialects of Banáras, Tirhút and Bihár. The central dialect of Audh and Baghelkhaṇḍ is of uncertain affiliation. In some points it agrees with the western group (e. g., in having the W. H. past part. in *á* or *ua*, see § 302); but as in most others (e. g., the E. H. future in *ab*) it exhibits the same peculiarities as the eastern dialects; it appears more appropriate to class it, for the present, with the latter. The eastern group of dialects constitutes, what I have called, the Eastern Hindí language; the western group the Western Hindí. The latter language is that which most nearly resembles what is commonly known as Hindí, namely the literary or High-Hindí. This latter is merely a modified form of the Braj dialect, which was first transmuted into the Urdú by curtailing the amplitude of its inflexional forms and substituting a few of those peculiar to Panjábí and Marwáří; afterwards Urdú was changed into High-Hindí. The H. H., as distinguished from the Urdú or Hindústání, is a very modern language; but Urdú itself is comparatively modern. It originated during the twelfth century<sup>1)</sup> in the country around Delhi, the centre of the Muhammedan power. In that spot the Braj dialect comes into contact with the Marwáří and Panjábí; and there among the great camps (*urdú*) of the Muhammedan soldiery in their

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1) The great battle of Pánípat near Delhi was fought A. D. 1192. It put an end to the Hindú and established the Muhammedan empire of Delhi. The last Hindú ruler (*Prithiráj*) fell in the battle.

intercourse with the surrounding populations a mixed language grew up, which, as regards grammar, is, in the main, Braj, though intermixed with Panjābī and Mārwarī forms, while as regards vocabulary, it is partly indigenous Hindī, partly foreign (Persian and Arabic). For example, the final long *ā* of strong masculine nouns, where the Braj has *au* and the Mārwarī *o*, is a bit of Panjābī, again the affix *ne* of the active case is a contribution from Mārwarī<sup>1</sup>). Where the Braj has alternative forms, one only was adopted by the Urdū. Thus Braj forms the future either in *ḥaum* or in *aumgau* (1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg.); Urdū has retained only the latter in the form *ūmgā*, on account (no doubt) of its similarity to the Panjābī *ūmgā*. It was only in the sixteenth century, chiefly in the reign of Akbar, that Urdū was reduced to a cultivated form. With the extension of the Muhammedan power, its use spread over the whole of the Hindī area; but it remained the language of those exclusively who were more immediately connected with that power, either in the army or court or the pursuit of learning; it never became the vernacular of the people. The High-Hindī dates only from the present century. It is an outcome of the Hindū revival under the influence of English Missions and Education. Naturally enough, Urdū, the dominant and official dialect, came to hand in this movement and was *Hinduised* or turned into High-Hindī by exchanging its Persian and Arabic elements for words of native origin (more or less purely Sanskrit). Hence Urdū and High-Hindī are really the same language; they have an identical grammar and differ merely in the vocabulary, the former using as many foreign words, the latter as few as possible.

It appears, then, that there are three different forms of speech current in the Hindī area; viz. the H. Hindī or Urdū, the W. Hindī, and the E. Hindī. The first of these is nowhere the vernacular of the people, but it is the language of literature, of

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1) The affix of the active case was originally a dative affix, which is in Mr. *ne*, in P. *nām*, in Br. *haum*, see § 371.

the towns, and of the higher classes of the population; and it takes the form of Urdú among Muhammedans and of Hindí among Hindús; though the difference between these two forms is less marked in the mouth of the people than in the books of the learned. On the other hand, both the W. H. and E. H. are vernaculars of the people generally. Their boundary line may be roughly set down at about the 80<sup>th</sup> degree of E. Longitude. In the area lying to the west of that line and containing about 150000 square miles W. H. is spoken by about 40 millions of people, in some one or other of its above mentioned dialectic forms. Among these the Braj Bháshá is the most important, as it is the best known variety. It is not only the source of the Urdú and, through it, of the modern literary Hindí, but it has itself received some measure of literary cultivation (see pg. XXXV). In this respect, indeed, the Braj occupies an unique position not only in the W. H., but amongst Hindí dialects generally. In the following pages, whenever W. H. simply is spoken of, the Braj, as being its typical form, is especially intended.

The E. H. area, lying to the east of the 80<sup>th</sup> degree, contains about 100000 square miles and a population of about 20 millions. Among the various E. H. dialects spoken by these people, that of the Banáras district or the Bhojpúrí is the most important. It is the one which is especially referred to in this work by the term Eastern Hindí, and the grammar of which forms more prominently my subject. It must be considered the typical dialect of the E. H.; for it exhibits all the peculiar features of that language in their fullest number and most marked form. This is much less the case with the other E. H. dialects. The more westerly, the Baiswárí, in some not unimportant points shows the distinctive marks of the W. H. (see pg. VI). On the other hand the easterly, the Maithilí especially, exhibit unmistakeable similarities to the neighbouring Bangálí and Naipálí. Indeed, I am doubtful, whether it is not more correct to class the Maithilí as a Bangálí dialect rather than as an E. H. one. Thus in the

formation of the past tense, Maithilī agrees very closely with Bangālī, while it differs widely from the E. H., see § 503.

Taking, then, the Braj and the Bhojpūrī as the two typical dialects of the two great W. H. and E. H. groups respectively, and comparing them with each other, without entirely excluding from consideration the others; a number of very marked peculiarities present themselves. These, it will be seen, are so important, especially when considered in their relation to the non-Hindī (i. e., other Gaudian) languages, that it appears perfectly justifiable to consider the W. H. and E. H. as being as completely distinct languages as the other North-Indian languages are universally allowed to be. The following enumeration of differences is not an exhaustive one. I shall only mention the most important. There are many others which the reader will not fail to note for himself, as he goes through the grammar. I shall arrange them under the following heads: 1) pronunciation, 2) derivation, 3) inflexion, 4) construction, 5) vocables.

*Firstly;* as to pronunciation: 1) E. H. has a tendency to dentalise cerebral semivowels; thus E. H. often has *r* and *rh* for W. H. *r* or *rh*; it has also *r* and sometimes *n* for W. H. *l* (see §§ 16. 29. 30. 31). 2) While sometimes W. H. omits medial *h*, E. H. inserts an euphonic *h*<sup>1)</sup>. 3) While E. H. never tolerates, W. H. sometimes adds euphonicallly an initial *y* or *v*<sup>2)</sup>. 4) E. H. has the short vowels *ē*, *āĩ*, *ō*, *auĩ* which are unknown to W. H. (see §§ 5. 6). 5) E. H. generally prefers to retain the hiatus *ai* and *au*, while W. H. always contracts them to *ai* and *au*<sup>3)</sup> (see § 68).

*Secondly;* as to derivation: 1) the strong form of masc. nouns of the *a*-base has in E. H. a final *á*, and of the short form of pronouns a final *e*, but in W. H. a final *au* or *o* (see §§ 47.

1) e. g., E. H., *dihál* he gave, but W. H. *diá* or *diyá*

2) e. g., E. H., *e me* in this, *o me* in that, but W. H. *yá mem*, *vá mem*.

3) e. g., E. H., *baiṭhai* he sits, W. H. *baiṭhe*; E. H. *aur* and, W. H. *aur*.

48. 433. 437, 4)<sup>1</sup>). 2) The singular possessive pronoun has in E. H. a medial *o*, but in W. H. *e* or *á* (see §§ 449. 450)<sup>2</sup>). 3) E. H. prefers the weak form in (quiescent) *u* of masculine nouns with an *a*-base, W. H. the strong form in *au* or *o*<sup>3</sup>) (see § 205). 4) E. H. prefers the long form (of subst.) in *avá* or *ai*, W. H. that in *ayá* or *ai* (see § 202)<sup>4</sup>). (5.) While W. H. uses, as a rule, only the short form of the pronouns, E. H. has generally also a long form in *na* (see §§ 436. 437, 3)<sup>5</sup>).

*Thirdly*; as to inflexion; and here both as regards declension and conjugation. *As to declension*: 1) E. H. does not possess the active case of the W. H. formed with the affix *ne* (see §§ 370. 371)<sup>6</sup>). 2) The oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns in *á* has in E. H. a final *á*, but in W. H. *e* (see §§ 363, 5. 365, 3. 6)<sup>7</sup>). *Next as to conjugation*: 1) the present tense is made in E. H. by adding the auxiliary participle *lú* to the ancient (Sanskrit) present: in W. H. by adding *gá* or *hai* or *chhai* (see §§ 500. 501)<sup>8</sup>). 2) The past tense is formed in E. H. by means of the suffix *al* or *il*, in W. H. by the suffix *yau* or *yo* (see §§ 502. 505)<sup>9</sup>). 3) The future tense is made in E. H. by means of the suffix *ab* or *ib*, in W. H. by the suffixes *ih* or *as* (or, what need not concern us here, by adding the auxiliary participles *gou* or *go* to the ancient present) (see §§ 508. 509)<sup>10</sup>). 4) While E. H.

1) E. H. *bhalá* good, W. H. *bhalau* or *bhale*; E. H. *je* which, W. H. *jau* or *ja*.

2) E. H. *morí* (fem.) mine, but W. H. *mcri* or *mári*.

3) e. g., E. H. *bar* great, W. H. *barau*, E. H. *mor* mine, W. H. *merau*; E. H. *det* giving, W. H. (Mw.) *deto*, E. H. *parhal* read, W. H. *parhyau*.

4) e. g., E. H. *ram'vá* or *ramau* Rám, W. H. *ramayá* or *ramai*

5) e. g., E. H. *se* or *tavan* he, W. H. only *so*.

6) e. g., E. H. *ú karú's* he did, W. H. *vá ne kvyau*.

7) e. g., E. H. *gen ghorá kai*, W. H. *gho'e kau* of nom *ghorá* horse.

8) e. g., E. H. *holá* he becomes, W. H. *haigá* or *hwaihai* or *hwaichhai*.

9) e. g., E. H. *rahal* he remained, W. H. *rahyau*.

10) e. g., E. H. *karabon* I shall do, W. H. *karikauw* or *karasun* (or *karauwau*).

possesses the infinitive in *ab* or *ib* in common with W. H., it does not share with it that in *an* (see § 261 <sup>1</sup>).

*Fourthly*; as regards construction, there is one great difference, that, in the case of the past tense of transitive verbs, E. H. possesses a regular active construction with a proper active past tense, whereas W. H. uses a passive construction with the help of the active case (in *ne*) of the subject; (see §§ 371. 487).

*Fifthly*; as regards the vocabulary, some of the commonest and most important vocables are altogether different. Thus the (so-called) substantive verb is in E. H. 3. sing. present *bātai* he is, past *rahal* he was, in W. H. pres. *hai* (or *chhai*), past *tho* (or *ho* or *chho*); again the prohibitive particle is in E. H. *jin*, in W. H. *mat*; again the causative post-position is in E. H. *bade* or *bare* for the sake of, in W. H. *lye*.

These differences are sufficiently radical in themselves, to establish the claim of the E. H. to be considered a distinct language from W. H. But their importance will be seen still more clearly, if we now examine them in their relation to the eastern and western Gaudian languages; setting aside, for the present those of the north (Naipālī) and south (Marāṭhī). To the east of the combined E. H. and W. H. area are Bangālī and Oriya; to the west Panjābī, Gujarātī and Sindhī. On comparing these languages with W. H. and E. H., it appears that B. and O. have in common with the latter all those peculiarities in which it differs from the former; and that P., G. and S. share with the former all (or nearly all) those peculiarities in which it differs from the latter. Thus all the languages of the former class (i. e. E. H., B., O.) show a preference for *n* over *l*; and of *ai* and *au* over *ai* and *au*; they do not tolerate an initial *y* or *v*; and possess the short *ē* and *ō*; their short pronouns have a final *e* and their possessive pronouns a medial *o*; most of their pronouns have an alternative long form in *na*, and their masculine nouns of the *a*-base, gene-

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1) e. g., E. H. *karab* doing, W. H. *karabaum* or *karanaum*.

rally, the weak form in *ũ*; they have no active case; their oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns in *á* ends in *á*; their past tense is made with *ɔ* and their future tense and infinitive with *ɔb*; and lastly they construct actively the past tense of transitive verbs. Only in the present tense do B. and O. differ from E. H. in that they form no compound tense like it, but only use the simple ancient present tense; a form which they have in common not only with E. H., but (as will be shown further on, pg. XXXII) with all Gḍ. languages.

The case of W. H. in respect to P., G. and S. is precisely similar. They all prefer *r*, *l*, to *r* and *n*; and *ai* and *au* to *ai* and *au*; in certain cases they make use of initial *y* and *v*, but have no short *ě* and *ǝ*; their strong masculine nouns and short pronouns end in *o*<sup>1)</sup>; their pronouns have no long form in *na*<sup>2)</sup>, and, as a rule, their masculine nouns have the strong form in *o* or *au*; they have an active case made with *ne*<sup>3)</sup>, and an oblique form singular in *e*<sup>4)</sup> of strong masculine nouns in *o* (or P. *á*); they make their past tense with the suffix *ya* or *ia*, and an infinitive with *an*; lastly they all construct passively the past tense of transitive verbs. Besides, G. and P., like W. H., form the present tense by adding the auxiliary verb *chhar* or *hai*, and the future by the suffixes *ih* or *as*; and their singular possessive pronouns have, as in W. H., a medial *e* or *á*. In these three points S. follows a way of its own, different, however, from both the others.

Although, therefore, the agreement is not quite perfect within each of the two groups<sup>5)</sup>, yet it is complete in the most

1) Exc., P. strong masc. nouns end in *á*; G. short pron. end in *e*, exc. *so* who.

2) Exc. relat. pron. *kon* in W. H., P., G., but not in S.

3) Exc., S. and Mw. use no affix with the active case.

4) Exc., G. and Mw. and partially Br. and Kn. in *á*.

5) The agreement is much more complete in the E. than in the W. group. This circumstance is significant, on account of its bearing on the probable history of their respective immigration into and occupation of North-India (see pg. XXXII).



important points. These are the six following, of which the five first are morphological and the sixth syntactical; viz. 1) the form of masculine nouns of an *a-base*, whether weak or strong; 2) the termination of such strong masculine nouns, whether in *á* or *o*; 3) their oblique form singular, whether ending in *á* or *e*; 4) the suffix of the past tense, whether *al* or *ya*; 5) the suffix of the future, whether *ab* or *ih* (or *as*); 6) the construction of the past tense, whether actively or passively. Even in regard to the minor points, the divergences are mostly confined to S., which is the most outlying of the Gaudian languages.

There are two conclusions which are obviously suggested by that agreement. In the first place; E. H. has evidently a much closer resemblance to B. and O., than to W. H.; and on the other hand, W. H. is much more nearly allied to P., G. and S., than to E. H. Whence it follows, that since B. and O. are accounted separate languages from E. H., and P., G. and S. from W. H., a fortiori E. H. and W. H. must be considered as distinct languages, and not merely as dialects of one and the same. Indeed, the only two points of any importance, in which E. H. agrees with W. H. rather than with B. and O. are; 1) the oblique form singular in *e* of strong masculine adjectives in *á* (see § 386), which adjectives the latter do not possess at all; and 2) the first preterite tense made with the past participle in *ya* or *ia* (see 502.503), which they form a little differently<sup>1)</sup>, but which, strictly, belongs not so much to E. H., as to the intermediate dialect, the Baiswári.

The second conclusion is, that the languages whose affinities have been hitherto discussed, divide themselves into two large groups or two great forms of speech; the one extending over the eastern half of North-India and comprising E. H., B. and O.; the other covering its western half and including W. H., P., G. and S.

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1) e. g., E. H. *parlyom* I read, B. *parhiyákhhi*, O. *parhiachhum*, but W. H. *parlyau*.

These two great forms of speech I designate in this treatise the *Eastern Gaudian* and the *Western Gaudian speeches* or groups of languages. The close resemblance of the various members of these two groups among themselves clearly points to a time, when those two forms of speech were nothing more than distinct languages, and what we now know as separate languages, were merely their different dialects.

We have now to consider, what relation the two remaining Gaudian languages, viz. Maráthi and Naipáli, bear to those two great forms of speech, the E. Gd. and the W. Gd. On examining their affinities with respect to the points discussed above, it will be found, that they each occupy a distinct position, yet so that Maráthi is rather more nearly allied to E. Gd.; and Naipáli to W. Gd. Their position as forms of speech distinct from both E. Gd. and W. Gd., is founded chiefly on these two facts: 1) that with respect to some of the points, in which E. and W. Gd. differ from one another, M. and N. sometimes agree with one, sometimes with the other; and 2) that in some other points they agree with neither, but follow a line of their own.

Thus as regards Maráthi, it agrees with E. Gd. in the following points: 1) the termination *á* of the strong masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 48); 2) the final *á* of their oblique form singular<sup>1</sup>); 3) the formation of the past tense by the suffix *al* (see § 505); and 4) the formation of the future by the addition of the auxiliary participle *la* to the ancient present (see § 509). This last point requires a word of explanation. It will be remembered (see pg. X and VII) that this compound form, which serves in M. as a future, is used in E. H. as a present, and that a similar compound form, made up of the auxiliary participle *ga* and the ancient present, is used in W. H. as a present tense, and in P. (and H. H.) as a future (see § 501). Now these circum-

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1) e. g., gen. *ghoḍyá chā* of *ghoḍá* horse; *vichvá chā* of *vichú* scorpion; *pányá chā* of *pányi* water.

stances show, that the compound form in *ga* is W. Gđ., and the other in *la* E. Gđ.

On the other hand, M. agrees with W. Gđ. in the following points: 1) the pronunciation generally (see §§ 11.16.18); 2) the *o* termination of the short pronouns (see § 437, 3.4); 3) the absence of the pronouns of a long form in *na*; exc. the interrog. pron. *kon* who; 4) the strong form, generally, of masculine nouns of the *a*-base (see § 205); 5) the long form in *ayá* of the same nouns (see § 202); 6) the active case formed with *ne* (see § 371); 7) an infinitive made with the suffix *an* (see § 320); and lastly 8) the passive construction of the past tense (see § 487). It will be observed that of those six characteristics which have been noted as being the most important points of difference between the E. Gđ. and W. Gđ., M. agrees with the former in *four*, and with the latter only in *two*. Having regard to this circumstance, M. must be considered to rank with the E. Gđ. rather than with the W. Gđ. group. Moreover, of the two points in which M. agrees with W. Gđ., one is syntactical, while all four points which it has in common with E. Gđ., are morphological. This shows still more clearly the E. Gđ. character of M.; for languages are classified according to their morphological characteristics<sup>1)</sup>.

Further, the points which are peculiar to M. are the following: 1) its pronunciation of the palatals, as *ts*, *dz*, etc. (see § 11), and its disaspiration of a medial aspirate (see § 145. exc. 2., e. g., *vichú* scorpion for *vichhú*); 2) its possession of a peculiar form of the singular possessive pronoun (see §§ 450. 430, 5)<sup>2)</sup>;

1) This is illustrated by an observation which Bs. I, 102 quotes from a native author (Shastri Vrajlal Kaldas in his History of the Gujarati Language pg. 50). „If a native from the North (speaking W. Hindí) comes into Gujarat, the Gujarati people find no difficulty in understanding his language; but when people from the South (speaking Maráthí) come to Gujarat, the Gujarati people do not in the least comprehend what they say.“ The reason simply is, that although syntactically G. does not differ either from M. or W. H., yet in its morphological characters it differs widely from M, while it agrees very closely with W. H.

2) e g., M. *májhá* mine, but E. Gđ. *mor*, W. Gđ. *merau* or *máro*.

3) of a distinct oblique form singular of all nouns (see § 363)<sup>1</sup>); 4) of a peculiar present resembling closely in form that tense which, in common with all other Gḍ. languages, it uses as a preterite subjunctive (see § 501); and 5) of a peculiar conjunctive participle in *in* (see § 491). For these reasons, as well as because, with respect to the points before referred to, M. is neither decidedly E. Gḍ. nor W. Gḍ., it must be considered to constitute a group by itself. This third group will be called, in this treatise, the *Southern Gaudian speech*.

The case of Naipálí (including Garhwálí and Kumáoní) very much resembles that of Maráṭhí. It agrees with W. Gḍ. in the following points: 1) the final *o* of the strong masculine nouns of the *a*-base (see § 48); 2) the final *o* of the short pronouns (see § 437, 3. 4); 3) the medial *e* of the singular possessive pronouns (see § 450); 4) the preference of the strong form in nouns of the *a*-base; 5) the possession of an active case made the affix *le* (= *ne* of the W. Gḍ., see § 371); 6) the formation of the present by adding the auxiliary verb *chha* to the ancient tense (see § 501); 7) of the past by the suffix *yo* or *yo* (see §§ 305. 503); and 8) of the infinitive by the suffix *an* (see § 320).<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, N. agrees with E. Gḍ. in the following points; 1) the pronunciation generally<sup>3</sup>); 2) the final *á* of the oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns of the *a*-base (see § 363)<sup>3</sup>); and 3) the formation of the future by adding the auxiliary participle *lá* to the ancient present tense (as in the M. future and the E. H. present, see pg. X, XIV and § 509); and 4) the active construction of the past tense of transitive verbs (see § 487). Here again it will be observed that of the six important points before mentioned, N. agrees with the W. Gḍ. in *three*, and with the E. Gḍ. in *three*; but while of the 'former all three, of the

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1) e. g., *ghará* of *ghar* house; *kaví* of *kaví* poet; *gurú* of *guru* teacher; *ghodýá* of *ghodá* horse; *vichvá* of *vichú* scorpion; *pányá* of *pání* water.

2) e. g., often *n* for *l*; short *ě* and *ŕ*

3) e. g., gen. sg. *kurá ko* of *kuro* word.

latter only two are morphological characters. It follows accordingly that N. is more closely allied to the W. Gd. than to the E. Gd. group of languages.

Further, N. stands by itself in the following points: 1) the aspiration, in certain cases, of a medial consonant<sup>1)</sup>; 2) the softening, occasionally, of an initial hard consonant<sup>2)</sup>; 3) the active affix *le*. These are not very important matters; but taken together with the other fact, that in the six main points N. is divided in its affinity between the W. and E. Gd., they show that it must be looked upon as constituting a separate group of its own, which I shall call in this treatise the *Northern Gaudian speech*. Perhaps the circumstance which brings out most clearly that both M. and N. are really separate forms of speech as well as the W. and E. Gd. is this: that, as regards the past tense of transitive verbs, M. agrees morphologically (suffix *al*) with E. Gd., but syntactically (passive constr.) with W. Gd. while on the other hand N. agrees morphologically (suff. *ya* or *ia*) with W. Gd., but syntactically (active constr.) with E. Gd.

The result, then, so far arrived at is, that there are *four* great forms of speech, occupying the whole of North-India (viz. N. Gd., W. Gd., S. Gd., and E. Gd.). At a former period each constituted a single language. They have gradually broken up into varieties which in the W. Gd. and E. Gd. have already become distinct languages, while in the N. Gd. and S. Gd. they are as yet no more than dialects. Further, it has appeared that these *four* great forms of speech naturally divide themselves into *two* greater groups; one comprising the N. Gd. and W. Gd., the other the S. Gd. and E. Gd. This circumstance, then, points to a still more remote period in the glottic history of India, when there

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1) Apparently only when there was originally a double consonant; e. g., N. *āphu* self, for H. *āp*, Pr. *appā*, N. *āghi* before, for H. *āge*, Pr. *agge*; N. *bālak* child, for H. *bālak*, Pr. *valakko*; N. *mājhad* for H. *mājat*, Pr. *mājanto*, etc.; see S. Luke 1, 17. 24 41. 11, 39.

2) e. g., root *gar* to do for *kar*.

were only two great varieties of speech current in North India, which divided that country diagonally between them, the one occupying the north-western, the other the south-eastern half. These two greater glottic divisions I shall designate, for reasons to be explained presently, the *Śaurasenī Prākṛit tongue* and the *Māgadhī Prākṛit tongue* respectively.

The oldest Prākṛit grammar, which we possess (that of Vararuchi, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. B. C.) enumerates four varieties of Prākṛit; viz. the Prākṛit proper, the Saurasenī, the Māgadhī and the Paisāchī. The first of these is commonly called the Mahārāshṭrī (now Marāṭhī); the Śaurasenī (now Braj) and Māgadhī (now Bihārī) take their names from the provinces which form the centres of the W. Gd. and E. Gd. areas respectively: the Paisāchī is ascribed by some later Pr. grammarians<sup>1</sup>) to Nepāl among other places. Hence it might be thought, that those four ancient Prākṛit varieties are coordinate forms of speech and correspond to the four Gaudian speeches. This view, however plausible at first sight, is certainly erroneous. The whole subject of the relation of the Prākṛits, as learned from the old native writers, to the Gaudians, as known to us by actual experience, is involved in much confusion and obscurity, partly because of the sometimes uncertain, sometimes (seemingly) contradictory statements of those authors, partly on account of the apparent discrepancy in phonological and morphological characters between the Prākṛits and the Gaudians. The most probable account of the matter seems to be the following.

There are in reality only two varieties of Prākṛit. One includes the Saurasenī and the (so-called) Mahārāshṭrī. These are said to be the prose and poetic phases of the same variety, and even this distinction is, probably, artificial. The other is the Māgadhī. The relation of Paisāchī to these two varieties may be roughly described as that of Low or Vulgar to High-Prākṛit. The latter

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1) e g., by Lakshmīdhara in his *Shāḍbhāshā Chandrikā*, see Ls. 13.

was used in literature, and never strictly a *spoken* language; it was more or less artificial from the very beginning, and became still more so in course of time. On the other hand, the Low-Prākṛit (or Paisācī) was the spoken language of the people; that is, probably in the beginning, of those aborigines, who fell under the domination and influence of the Aryan immigrants, and in whose mouth the Aryan vernacular was distorted into Paisācī. For that name is a term of contempt; the uncouth dialect of the *savages* or *cannibals*, as the Aryans called it. It is ascribed by the native grammarians to the tribes, bordering on the Aryan area in the north (Himālaya, Nepāl) and south (Pāṇḍya, Dakṣiṇ) <sup>1</sup>). Again the most striking feature of the Paisācī is its change of the Aryan *n*, *l* and the sonants into *ṇ*, *ḷ* and the surds respectively, which latter are peculiar to the Drāviḍian languages. According to Caldwell (Cp. Gr. p. 102—105) those languages had originally no sonant mutes. The Drāviḍians, therefore, when adopting Aryan speech, would naturally mispronounce its sonants as surds. All this time, of course, the Aryan immigrants had their own *vernacular*, understanding by that term the spoken language of the people as distinguished from its literary form. Gradually as the aboriginal population were amalgamated by the Aryan immigrants, the peculiarities of its Paisācī speech would naturally die out <sup>2</sup>); and the Aryan vernacular, incorporating whatever in the Drāviḍian speech was capable of assimilation, would remain the sole occupant of the field. This Aryan vernacular is called by the Pr. grammarians the *Apabhraṃsa* Prākṛit, as being in their opinion a corrupted language in comparison with what they considered the purer, the

1) e. g., Lakṣmīdhara in the *Shāḍbhāṣā Chandrikā* says: piśācha-deśās tu vṛddhair uktāḥ, pāṇḍya kekaya vāhlīka sahya nepāla kuntalāḥ, sudeśha bhota gāndhāra haiva kanojanās tathā. Ls. 13.

2) None of the Gauḍians show any trace of the Paisācī change of sonants into surds though some have the *n* and *l*; nor is any specimen of Paisācī found in the Pr. plays (Ls. 388), the ancient Brhatkathā of Guṇādhyā is supposed to have been written in a Paisācī dialect (see Pischel Diss. inaug. 32. 33). Pais. clearly died out at a very early period.

literary Prākṛit (i. e., the Mh.-Śr. and the Mg.). In reality it was merely the illiterate vernacular of the people spoken by the side of the literary Śaurasenī and Māgadī, and certainly more ancient than the literary Mahārāṣṭrī<sup>1</sup>). It follows, then, that the vernacular of the Aryans when spoken by themselves is the Apabhraṃṣa, and when spoken by the aborigines, the Paisācī. The Apabhraṃṣa, however, of the Pr. grammarians exhibits the Aryan vernacular, as it was at a rather later period than that in which it became Paisācī in the mouth of the aborigines<sup>2</sup>). Of the oldest Aryan vernacular (the *Ancient Apabhraṃṣa* as I may call it) which was the contemporary of Paisācī and probably not greatly different from it, we have no record; unless, indeed, it be the Pālī. In order of time, therefore, Pṣ. comes first, next the Ap. Pr., lastly Gḍ.; but in order of descent the series is: Anc. Ap. (or Pālī), Ap. Pr., Gḍ.<sup>3</sup>).

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1) Compare e g the past part. pass. Śr. and early Ap. *kadhido* or *kahido*, Mg. *kadhīde* or *kahīde*, Mh. *kaho*, later Ap. *kahū* „said“.

2) In the time of the later Pr. gramm., at all events, the knowledge of what Pṣ. really was, had become lost. Though, following old tradition, they all give the rules of Pṣ.; yet when they treat of its relation to the Ap., they are constantly confounding the two, and sometimes even invent an altogether new signification for Pṣ., making it equivalent to certain (more or less pure Skr.) styles of Ap. (e g., R T. in Ls. 23. & Exc. 6) — The chronological succession of the Pr. gramm. is still far from settled (see Pl Diss.), but Hemachandra in the 12<sup>th</sup> century A. D., is probably the earliest grammarian, who mentions the Ap., while the first who notices the Pṣ. is Vararuchi in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. B. C. (see Cw. VI), if not earlier. From this fact, however, it must not be concluded, that no Ap. existed in the time of Vararuchi. For the Ap. Pr. (even as known by H. C.) has some older forms than the Mh. Pr., and the latter is already treated of by Vararuchi. The reason of his omitting all mention of any Ap. was probably, that he intended to treat merely of the high or literary Pr. varieties; and, of course, there would be a literary Pṣ. Pr. variety, whenever the aborigines had to deal with High-Prākṛit.

3) Pais. or Pāl. or Anc. Ap. *kathito*, Ap. Pr. *kadhido* or *kahido*, W. Gḍ. *kahio* or *kahyo said*; Pṣ. *rutito*, Anc. Ap. *rudito*, Ap. *roido*, W. Gḍ. *royo* or *royo wept*; Pāl. *gamito*, Ap. Mg. *gamīde* or Ap. Śr. *gamido*, E. Gḍ. *ganī* or *geld* or W. Gḍ. *gao* or *gayo*.



I have spoken of the Apabhraṃṣa or Aryan vernacular. But it must not be supposed that it was everywhere identical. The Aryan immigration gradually extended over an area, too wide to remain the home of one single form of speech. Accordingly the term Apabhraṃṣa must be understood to be the collective name of several Aryan vernaculars, spoken in various parts of North India. It is invariably used in this sense by Pr. grammarians. They always define it to mean the language of „the *Abhīras and other similar people*“<sup>1)</sup>, i. e., briefly, of the lower orders, which constitute the mass of the population everywhere. In their enumeration of the various Ap., each of the provincial *languages* (as we now call them) occurs; e. g., Abhīrī (Sindhī, Marwārī), Āvanti (E. Rājputānī), Gaurjarī (Gujarātī), Bāhlīkā (Panjābī), Śaurasenī (W. Hindī), Māgadhī or Prāchyā (E. Hindī), Odri (Oṛiyā), Gauḍī (Bangālī), Dākṣhiṇātyā or Vaidarbhikā (Marāṭhī) and Śaippalī (Nāipālī?)<sup>2)</sup>.

It will be noticed that in the above list the same Śaurasenī and Māgadhī Prākṛits are enumerated by the Pr. grammarians as Apabhraṃṣas or vernaculars, which they elsewhere treat of as literary or High-Prākṛits. On the other hand, it will be noted that the (so-called) Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit does not occur in this list at all; nor, indeed, is it found in any list of Apabhraṃṣas or vernaculars. This shows plainly that the Mh. Pr. was not looked upon as the *vernacular* of any people, and that it did not take its name from the Mahārāshṭra (or Marāṭha) country. Indeed, it is doubtful, by what right that name is given to the particular form of Pr., which commonly bears it. In the oldest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi it is never so called, except once in-

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1) Thus L. Dh. in the Sh. Ch : *apabhraṃsas tu bhāṣā syād abhīrā-digṛām chayaḥ* (Ls 12). The Abhīras, or Ahīras as they are now called, are a tribe, members of which are found in every part of North-India. They are cowherds by profession, but are considered by the natives to be a „good“ (Aryan) caste, a sort of inferior Rājput.

2) See the lists of K I and R. T. in Ls. 18. & Exc. 5. 7.

identally at the end of the chapter on Śaurasenī<sup>1</sup>). Again it is to be remarked that the great grammarians of the West and South, Hemachandra, Trivikrama and Śubhachandra, who must have been familiar with the living Maráṭhī vernacular, avoid the name altogether. The dialect in question is called by them simply *the* Prākṛit. They, probably, felt that the name was misleading. It is only in the Pr. grammarians of the East, Kramadesvara, Márkaṇḍeya, Lakshmídhara, Rámataṛkāvágīsa, etc., that the name Mahārāshṭrī is distinctly given to the dialect and connected with the Mahārāshṭra country<sup>2</sup>). This goes far beyond what is justified by Vararuchi's incidental use of the term. The probability is that they misunderstood his meaning. For he seems to use the term not as a *proper name*, but as a laudatory or descriptive expression, meaning „the Prākṛit of the great kingdom“ (i. e., of the famed country of the Doáb and Rájpútáná, see note 1 on p. XXV) and therefore the *principal* Prākṛit. According to this view the term Mahārāshṭrī is not far from synonymous with what we now call Western Hindí. At all events, whatever interpretation may be given to the term, there can be no doubt that, as a matter of fact, the dialect so called is Western Hindí, and has no one point in common with Maráṭhī, in which the latter differs from Western Hindí (or W. Gaudian generally). Thus the Mh. Pr. past participle is made with *ia* (or *ya*) as in W. H., not with *al* as in M., the future is made with *iha* as in W. H., not with the auxiliary participle *lu* as in M.; and the same is true, as will be shown afterwards (p. XXVII), in regard to the termination of masculine nouns with an *a*-base and to the oblique form or genitive singular. Thus in

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1) After finishing his remarks on the Śr, he says: „the rest of that dialect is like the Māhārāshṭrī“ (*śesham māhārāshṭrīvat* Vr. 12, 20); whence it is rightly concluded that by the name Mh. he refers to that Pr. dialect, which he had before treated of simply as *the* Prākṛit.

2) Thus K. I. or rather his commentator. „the Prākṛit of the Mahārāshṭra country is the principal Prākṛit“ (*prākṛitam mahārāshṭradesīyam prakṛshṭabhāshānam*); in Ls 17.

four out of the five important morphological points Mh. Pr. agrees with W. H., and not with M.; the remaining point (the strong form of masculine nouns of an *a-base*), being common to both W. H. and M., is of no account in the question. It appears, then, that the Mh. Pr. is merely a particular form of ancient W. H., or rather since W. H. has become a distinct language in more recent times, of W. Gd. And Sr. Pr., as its name indicates (Śūrasena being nearly the same as Braj), is another form of the same. Together they represent the old W. Gd. speech. This fact is indicated by the peculiar manner of their use in the Pr. plays. For they are not employed as the languages of different peoples, but of different kinds of composition, Mh. for poetry, the Śr. for prose<sup>1</sup>).

It has been already remarked that Pr. grammarians enumerate among the Apabhraṃśas or vernaculars a Māgadhi and a Sauraseni Apabhraṃśa. The two great Pr. varieties, the Māgadhi and the Sauraseni-Māhārāṣṭrī, are simply the high or literary forms of these two low or Apabhraṃśa ones. They are, probably, to some extent artificial, yet there can hardly be a doubt — as the following comparison will show — that they have retained the leading peculiarities of the two vernaculars, of which they are the refinements.

The fact that these two vernaculars, the Mg. Ap. and the Sr. Ap., have furnished both the substratum and the name for the two great High-Pr. varieties, proves that they were the two leading vernaculars of North-India, typical of all the others. Accordingly we find that Pr. grammarians (as Mārkaṇḍeya, etc.) arrange the eastern dialects in a great group around the Mg. Pr. as their type. Among those which they name as its members, the following are the most important: the Māgadhi, Arddhamā-

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1) Thus Viṣṇanātha Kavirāja in the Sahityadarpana says. „noble and educated women, speaking in prose, are to use Śr., but Mh. in speaking in verse“ (see Ls. 35).

gadhí, Dákshinátyá, Utkalí, and Sábari<sup>1</sup>). Mágadhí is the speech of modern Bihár and (western) Bangál, and corresponds generally to the present Bangálí (incl. of the E. H. dialects, the Mágadh and Maithilí). Arddhamágadhí is described as a mixture of Mágadhí and Śaurasení (or Máháráshtrí<sup>2</sup>); it follows that it must have been spoken to the west of Mágadhí, that is. in the Banáras district; it corresponds, therefore, to the Bhojpúrí or the E. H. *proper*. Dákshinátyá is the speech of Vidarbha, the modern Berár<sup>3</sup>) and adjoining districts. It corresponds, therefore, to the Dakhaní, one of the principal dialects of the present Maráthí, and thus to this language generally<sup>4</sup>). Utkalí is the speech of what is now called Orissa, and corresponds to the modern Oríyá. Śábari is the name of the dialect spoken in the country lying between that occupied by Dákshinátya on the one side and Mágadhí and Utkalí on the other (about the town of Ratnapur and the Mohar mountains). It will be seen, then, that the Mg. group of the Pr. grammarians consists of what we call now the Bangálí, Eastern Hindí, Oríyá and Maráthí languages, at a time when, probably, they were still dialects only of one great speech. Or, in other words, the old Mg. group includes both (what I call) the eastern and southern Gaudian speeches. Accordingly I have given to the two combined the name of the *Mágadhí Prákrít tongue*.

In like manner, the same grammarians arrange the western dialects in a great group around the Sr.-Mh. Pr. as their type.

1) So R. T. in the Prákrít Kalpataru, see Ls. 21.

2) Mđ. quotes a saying of Bharata, that it is like Sr. (*saurasenýá adúratvād iyam eva arddhamágadhí iti bharata*; 12<sup>th</sup> pada, fol 49), and K. I. 12 (see Ls. 17. 393) connects it with the Mh (*máháráshtrímsrárdhamágadhí*). The description of E. H. as Arddhamágadhí, i. e. half mágadhí, is a very good one, for E. H. has affinities with both Bangálí (= Mágadhí) and Western Hindí (= Máháráshtrí-Saurasení).

3) So in the S. D. *dákshinátyá vardarbhi* (see L. 36. 20).

4) Dákshinátya is used to the present day in North India as a synonym for Maráthí; e. g., Maráthí Bráhmans are generally known only as Dákshinátya Bráhmans.

The most important members of this group are the Māhārāshṭrī, Saurasenī, Āvantī, Prāchyā, and Sakkī. The Māhārāshṭrī and Saurasenī together represent W. Hindī; but as the future in *ih* is peculiar to Mh., and the fut. in *is* to Sr. (see Ls. 353, 4.), and on the other hand the Br. and Kn. have the fut. in *ih*, but Mw. the fut. in *as* (or *is*), it appears that Mh. corresponds to Br. and Kn., to which may be added Eastern Panjābī, while Sr. corresponds to Mw., and also to G. as having the same future in *as* (or *is*)<sup>1</sup>). Āvantī is the speech of Ujjain and Eastern Rājputānā. Prāchyā, as its name indicates, is the most eastern member of the group and, probably, corresponds to Baiswārī<sup>2</sup>). Sakkī is, probably, the speech of Sindh and the Western Panjāb<sup>3</sup>). Thus it appears that the Mh.-Sr. group consists of what we now call Western Hindī, Gujarātī, Panjābī and Sindhī. To these, for reasons previously stated, Naipālī must be added. In other words, the Mh.-Sr. group represents the Western and Northern Gaudian speeches; and accordingly I have called the two combined the *Saurasenī Prākṛit tongue*.

1) Śurasena is the name of the country about Mathura or of the Vraj; but it must be remembered that Sr. and Mh. are with the Pr. grammarians not exactly the names of local, but of prose and poetic dialects Vararuchi (or Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārtikas on Pāṇini, see Pl 12), in whose Pr. grammar the term Mh. first occurs, lived according to Hindī tradition about 56 B. C. at the court of the „great king“ Vikramāditya (see Cw. VI), whose dominions included the whole of N. W. India. The principal „speech of that great country“ or Māhārāshṭrī, as Vr. calls it, was taken by him, and after him by all Pr. grammarians, as the standard Prākṛit.

2) Prāchyā is explained in the S. D. as being equivalent to Gaudī (*prāchyā gauḍīyā*, see Ls. 36) or, apparently, Bangālī. But, on the other hand, Mḍ. makes Prāchyā to be an offshoot of Saurasenī (*prāchyāsiddhik saurasenīyā* 10<sup>th</sup> pāda, fol. 47), while, according to Dandī (see Ls. 38), the Gaudī follows the Mg. type. Besides, in another place, in a list of Apabhraṃsas, both Mḍ. and R. T. (see Ls. Exc. 7) distinguish the Prāchā from the Gaudī. If, then, the Gaudī is of the Sr. type, it can hardly be anything else than the Baiswārī, the intermediate dialect between E. Gḍ. and W. Gḍ.

3) Sakkī is apparently the language of the Sakas (lat. sacae, Scythians) who overran W. India and were defeated in a great battle by Vikramāditya. In Sindh, many names of villages and towns contain the name Saka; e. g., the town Sakkar on the Indus.

Mg. Pr., then, coincides with S.-E. Gd. and Sr. Pr. with N.-W. Gd. in their geographical limits. It remains to be shown that they do so philologically also. It must be remarked *in limine*, 1) that the particulars noted by the Pr. grammarians with respect to the various Apabhramsas are extremely scanty and, for the most part, only phonological. From this it may be justly concluded — what, indeed, is probable a priori — that the Aps. did not materially differ from their respective High-Pr forms in their great morphological and phonological features, 2) that the silence of the Pr. grammarians as to any particular peculiarity, now found in modern vernaculars, does not necessarily prove its non-existence in their time; for they note only those peculiarities of Pr., which they could, satisfactorily to themselves, trace to a Skr. origin; all others they simply left unnoticed as being desya (see p. XXXVII); 3) that the dialect which is treated of by Pr. gramm., such as Hemachandra, simply as Apabhramṣa, probably occupied in the western division a position analogous to that of the other which is spoken of simply as Prākṛit; i. e., one is *the* Apabhramṣa as the other is *the* Prākṛit<sup>1)</sup>. But, as in the case of *the* Pr., so also in the case of *the* Ap. it must, no doubt, be understood, that its rules, unless where the contrary is expressly stated, extend to all other Aps. also.

We now proceed to the examination. Of the already mentioned six important characteristics, the syntactical one (regarding the construction of the past tense) must be at once set aside. The Pr. grammarians never refer to this point at all; and from Pr. writings very little evidence is to be obtained on the subject;

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1) With Mđ. this chief Ap. is called Nāgarāpabhramṣa; he expressly connects it with the Mh.-Sr., *the* Pr. of the western division (*nāguram tu mahārāshṭrisaurasenyoḥ pratishṭhitam*); e. g., respecting conjugation: *atra cha kareḥ dhareḥ ityadau tasya svaraseshatvaṁ mahārāshṭryāśrayeṇa karedi dharedi ity ādau datvaṁ saurasenyaśrayeṇa mantavyam* (17<sup>th</sup> pāda, fol. 53. 55); its identity with W Gd. is shown by the fact, that Mđ. gives the characteristic W. Gd. possess. pronouns *merā, terā*, to the Nāg. Ap. (*tvadīye teram, madiye meram* 17<sup>th</sup> pāda, fol. 56).

though what little there is makes in favour of my theory (see § 371). There remain, then, the five morphological points. In regard to these, there is a striking coincidence between the evidence of Pr. gramm. and plays on the one hand, and the result of our enquiry concerning the difference of Mg. and Śr. on the other. Thus, *firstly*: Pr. gramm. state that nouns with an *a-base* end in *o* in Sr. P., but in *e* in Mg.; our enquiry shows that in W. Gd. and N. Gd. they end in *o* (or *au*), but in S. Gd. and E. Gd. in *á*, which vowel appears to be a modification of the Mg. *e* (see §§ 47. 48). *Secondly*: according to the Pr. gramm., the Western (cf. note on pg. XXVI) Ap. Pr. has a genitive singular (= oblique form, § 366) in *ahc*, the Mg. Pr. in *áha*; according to our enquiry W. and N. Gd. have an oblique form in *e*, the S. and E. Gd. in *á*; here *e* is a modification of *ahc* and *á* of *áha* (see § 365, 1. 6). *Thirdly*; from our enquiry it appears that W. and N. Gd. use almost exclusively the strong form (in *o*) for *a-bases*, while as to S. and E. Gd., it is used almost exclusively in M., much less in E. H. and very little in B. and O. (see § 205). Now the existence of special rules in Pr. gramm. about the use of the strong form (in *ao* = Skr. *akāḥ*) in the Mh. and Ap. Pr., and its common occurrence in Pr. literature (see Ls. 288. 460. 475. Wb. 69) prove its extreme frequency in the great Mh.-Śr. vernacular. As to the other great vernacular, the Mg., there is only the scanty evidence of Pr. literature; and from this it would appear that the strong form was very frequent in the southern Mg. vernaculars, the Sakarí, Sabarí and, by analogy, Dākshinātyá (cf. Ls. 431), but rare in the northern, the Arddhamágadhí (cf. Ls. 413, 7). There is, then, a sufficiently close agreement in this case also. *Fourthly*; in Gd. the past participle passive is used to make the past tense active. According to our enquiry, the N. and W. Gd. use the past participle in *ia* or *ya*, and the E. and S. Gd. a past participle in *al*. Now Pr. gramm. state that the past participle in *ia* is peculiar to the Mh.-Pr. (Vr. 7, 32. Ls. 363). As to the Mg. Pr. they give no general rule; but in the few cases,

where the past participle is expressly noted, it ends in *da* (see Vr. 11, 15), and from another rule on the nominative it would appear incidentally, that generally the past participle ended in *ida* (Vr. 11, 11. cf. Ls. 396, 4. 6. 400, 3 and H. C. 4, 260. 302). From Pr. literature it appears further, that in the Low-Mágadhís *d* and *ḍ* were apt to be changed into *l* (see Ls. 412. 423). Here again, considering the scanty evidence, the agreement is sufficiently striking<sup>1</sup>). *Fifthly*, our enquiry shows that N. and W. Gd. use a future in *ih* or *as*, but E. Gd. in *ab* or *ib*. The latter is simply the future participle passive used in an active sense, precisely as E. Gd. employs the participle past passive to form an active past tense (see § 487). The W. Gd. future in *ih*, however, is also used in E. H. (see § 509); and it is to be noted that both future forms are promiscuously used in it in the sense of the imperative (or precative) and the future (§§ 498. 508, note). Now according to the Pr. gramm., the future in *ih* or *iss* is peculiar to the Mh.-Śr. Pr. (H. C. 3, 166—170. 4, 275), and from Pr. literature it appears that the Mh. form in *ih* was used in Mg. also (see Ls. 413. 434); while the future in *ab* was confined to the lowest kinds of Mg. (Ls. 422; देव you will give). The latter future form was evidently considered very low. I know, indeed, only of that *one* instance of its admission into Pr. literature; but under the circumstances, it is sufficient to establish the agreement in question<sup>2</sup>).

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1) It is quite possible that while the High-Mg had the termination *ida* (or *ida*) the Low-Mg vernaculars generally changed it into *ila* (or *ala*), but, that the latter was considered by the Pr. Pandits (supposing that the change of *d* or *ḍ* to *l* had already taken place in their time) altogether too vulgar to be frankly admitted into literature, excepting a few rare cases, such as *kale* for *kade* or *kaḍe* „done“. Though it is also possible that the universal change of the termination *ida* into *ila* may have taken place after their time.

2) The compound forms of tenses (e. g., the M. future) which constitute another morpholog. character, afford us no help here. These curious formations are neither found in the Pr. gramm. nor in Pr. liter. Either they were considered too vulgar to be noticed, or more probably



As regards the morphological characters, then, my contention that E. and S. Gd. together correspond to the old Mg. Pr., and W. and N. Gd. together to the old Sr. Pr. appears to be fully borne out, considering the kind and amount of evidence, that is available on the subject. It now remains to examine the phonological characters which, according to the Pr. grammarians, distinguish the Mg. Pr. from the Sr.-Mh. Of these the following four are the most important. Mg. changes 1) *s* into *ś* (Vr. 11, 3. H. C. 4, 288); 2) *r* into *ṛ* (H. C. 4, 288); 3) *j* into *y* (Vr. 11, 4. H. C. 4, 292), and 4) *ksh* into *śk* (Vr. 11, 8. H. C. 4, 296). As to the change of *s, r, j* into *ś, ṛ, y* respectively see §§ 16. 18. 20. As to the change of *ksh* into *śk*, according to the Pr. gramm., *ksh* changes in Mh.-Sr. Pr. into *kkh* (Vr. 3, 29. H. C. 2, 4), but exceptionally also into *chchh* (Vr. 3, 30. H. C. 2, 17). Now according to the analogy of all similar changes (e. g., of *st* into *tth* or *tth* Vr. 3, 11. 12), *kkh* presupposes a form *śk*, and *chchh* a form *sch*. It follows of necessity that at some period of the Indo-aryan vernacular *ksh* must have been pronounced sometimes as *śk*, sometimes as *sch*. But the link between these two forms *śk* and *sch* is *śk̥*; for the Mg. speaking people, according to their custom of turning *s* into *ś*, would pronounce *śk* as *śk̥*, and the palatal *s* of the latter would gradually palatalize the conjoint *k* into *ch*, making *sch*; finally *sch* would change into *chchh*. Now in the change of *ksh* into *kkh* there are *two* steps; viz. 1) *ksh* into *śk*, 2) *śk* into *kkh*; but in the change of *ksh* into *chchh* there are *four* steps, viz. 1) *ksh* into *śk*, 2) *śk* into *śk̥*, 3) *śk̥* into *sch*, 4) *sch* into *chchh*. It is plain that if these changes proceeded, on the whole, *pari passu*, the Mg. speaking people would have got only as far as *śk*, when the Mh.-Sr. speakers had already arrived at *kkh*. Now this is almost exactly what Vararuchi states

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they did not exist at all at that time, i. e. 6 or 7 centuries ago. It appears that the verb *as* „to be“ was the only verb used enclitically in Pr. times, and that the employment of the verb *achh* „to be“ and the participle *gā* „gone“ and *lā* „come“ in this manner is of later date.

to have been the case in his time; viz. Mh.-Sr. had *kḥh*, but Mg. had *śk*. Here *śk* must be, probably, interpreted as *sk* by the general rule regarding the change of sibilants in Mg.<sup>1)</sup> (cf. Ls. 398). But the form *sk* was only a passing step in the phonetic evolution, the end of which has been reached long since, and now for some centuries already *ksh* is pronounced *chchh* or *chh* (see § 36). As the change of *s* into *ś* is general in B., partial in M., and rare in E. H. (see § 20), it is, accordingly, found that in most old tadbhava words B. and M. have *chh* for *ksh*, but E. H. has *kh* or even *h*<sup>2)</sup>. The rule is not quite strict; nor, indeed, has it ever been so; for many instances exhibiting the Mg. change of *ksh* to *chchh* occur already in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (see Vr. 3, 30).

Thus it appears from philological considerations not less than geographical ones, that, at some former period of its history, North India was divided between two great forms of speech, which I call respectively the *Sauraseni tongue* and the *Māgadhi tongue*. Roughly speaking, their areas occupied, one the northwestern, the other the southeastern half of North-India. Their boundary line coincided with that which now divides the areas of the N. and W. Gd. from those of the S. and E. Gd. speeches. But there is reason to believe that at a still earlier period the limits of the Mg. area extended further towards the North West. For 1) the following morphological characters of the Mg. tongue are found in different parts of the Sr. area; a) the termination *á* of the strong masculine nouns with an *a*-base in P. and, to a certain extent, in Br. and Kn.; b) the termination *á* of the obli-

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1) Pr. literature, apparently, has no example of *sk* or *śk* (cf. Ls. 408-428); but it has numerous examples of *śt*, where H. C. gives *st* (see Cw. 181). H. C. and T. V. have the conjunct *ḥk* with the *jihvāmūliya visarga* for *s*, except in the case of *preksh* „to see“, where, curiously enough, all the steps are actually given: viz. *prekshate* and *peskadī* (or *peskadē*) in T. V. 3, 2 34 and *peschadē* or *pechchhar* in T. V. 3, 2 32 (cf. H. C. 4, 295. 297).

2) e. g., B. *kāchhe* „near“, „at“, E. H. *kāhī* (Skr. *kakṣhe*); or B. *māchhn*, M. *māṣi*, E. H. *mākhī* (or *māchhī*) „fly“ (Skr. *makṣhikā*); or B. *dachhin*, M. *daṣin*, E. H. *dakhin* (or *dachhin*) „south“ or *dāhn* „right“ (Skr. *dakṣhina*).

que form singular in G., M., E. R. and, again to some extent, in Br. and Kn; c) the genitive affix, which is not only in E. Gd. (*kai, kar, er, ar*), but also in Br. and Kn. (*kau*) and probably in M. (*chá* or old M. *chuyá*) a modification of the Pr. *kario* (Skr. *kṛtāh*), while G., P. S., and, probably, Mw. use one of a different origin (see § 377); d) the compound future in *lá* (or *lo*) which is possessed by N. and E. R. by the side of the Sr. future in *ih* (see § 509, 4); e) the past participle in *al* which is found in E. R., in as much as it is contained in the enclitic *lá* of the compound future, which is a curtailment of the past participle *alá* „come“ (see § 509, 4). Again 2) there occur in the Sr. area the following phonological characters of the Mg.: a) the change of *l* to *n* is found in N. (in the compound future see § 509, 4) and in G. and P. (in the active affix *nem, núm*, see § 375); b) the change of *l* to *r* is found also in S (see § 16, also § 14 on *ñ*). It is also worth noting that the Pr. writers themselves supply indications of the partially Mg. character of E. R. and G.; the latter (called Abhīrī), though generally classed with the Sr. group, is once included by R. T. in the Mg. (see Ls. Exc. 3); and as to E. R. or Âvantī see Ls. 417. 419 1).

Generally speaking, it will be observed, that the Mg. characteristics, beginning with a very few and isolated traces in the far West, increase in number, as we proceed towards the East, till at last at the present frontier of the E. and S. Gd. areas they predominate so as to constitute the Mg. tongue. These circumstances seem to disclose the fact that sometime in the remote past the Mg. must have reached up to the extreme western frontiers and been the only language of North India; but that in course of time it gradually receded more and more towards the South and East

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1) Still the general character of the Âvantī or E. R. is Saurasenī; thus Mā. calls it expressly „a mixture of Mh. and Sr“ (*âvantī syān mahārāshṭrīsaṭrasenīyoḥ tu samkarāt, anayoḥ saṅkarād âvantī bhāṣhā siddhā syāt* 11<sup>th</sup> pāda fol. 47<sup>b</sup>); and afterwards he says that Bāhlīkī is allied to it (*âvantīdām eva vāhlīkī* ibid. fol. 48<sup>a</sup>); see also Ls. 435. 436.

before the advancing tide of the Sr. tongue, leaving, however, here and there in the deserted territories traces of its former presence. What the eastern and southern frontiers of the Mg. may have been in those early times, when it reached to the far West of India, it is impossible to say. Very probably, as it receded before the Sr., it may have conquered fresh territories in the South and East which had not been before occupied by any Aryan tongue. The headquarters of the Sr. tongue, whence it gradually spread toward the North-East and East, appear to have been in western Rájpútáná. It is possible, in some measure, to trace the direction and extent of its advancing tide. Thus a) traces of its past participle in *va* are found as far east as in B. and O. (see §§ 305. 503), but not in M.; b) traces of its oblique form in *e* are found as far east as in the Bh. and M.; c) traces of its future in *ih* are found as far east as in Bh. It will be seen, that the tide is fullest in the West (especially in Sindh, the Panjáb and Western Rájpútáná), but gradually grows weaker and narrower as it advances eastward, mainly following the course of the broad valley of the Ganges, and working itself like a wedge into the Mg. area, which overlaps it on its southern and northern banks, in the E. R., G. and N., in which the Mg. relics are most noticeable.

From these indications it would appear that the Mg. tongue is the older of the two; that is, that its occupation of North India preceded the developement and extension of the Sr. Perhaps this may be taken to point to the fact that two great immigrations of people of the Aryan stock into India took place at different periods, both speaking essentially the same language, though in two different varieties. For there can be no doubt that the two varieties, the Mg. and the Sr., whatever their differences may be, are essentially the same language, of which the Sanskrit variety, being its literary or high form, preserves on the whole the oldest phase. Thus one of the most striking points of identity is the ancient Skr. present tense active, which is preserved to the present day

in all Gd. languages of North-India alike (see § 474)<sup>1)</sup>. Even in those cases where the outward shape or grammatical use of a particular form widely diverged, the original unity can be traced by easy and natural steps. Thus as to outward shape, the E. Gd. future in *ab* or *ib* can be traced back (see § 314) to the ancient participle future passive in *tavya* (or *itavya*), and the E. and S. Gd. past tense in *al* or *il* to the ancient past participle passive in *ta* (or *ita*), which, in an other direction, has given rise to the N. and W. Gd. participle in *ia*. These two instances are also examples of a change in grammatical use. For in E. Gd. the two participles, which had originally a passive sense and indeed have it still in S. and W. Gd., are used to form active tenses, viz. the participle future passive in *itavya* to form the future active in *ab* or *ib*, and the participle past passive in *ita* to make the past active in *al* or *il*. Here the intransitive verbs, the „passive“ of which naturally becomes a „middle voice“, afford the connecting link (see §§ 303, note. 309. 371. 487).

We have traced the Mg. tongue back to the extreme western frontiers of North India. Beyond that line lie the areas of the Pashtú and Káfírí languages. They immediately adjoin that of the present Panjábí. Trumpp in his essays on those two languages<sup>2)</sup> has called attention to their many affinities with the Gaudians. Among these there are some with both of the principal varieties of Gd., the N.-W. Gd. or Sr. and the S.-E. Gd. or Mg. But what is, perhaps, more remarkable than the mere fact of their affinity is that, in some of the oft-mentioned great test-points, they — and more especially the Pashtú — exhibit decided Mg. characteristics. Thus a) the masculine strong form of *a-bases* ends in Pashtú with *ai*, corresponding to E. and S. Gd. *á*, Mg. Pr. *aë*; b) the past participle ends with *alai* (strong form) or *al* (weak form)

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1) Modern M. is an exception in using this old pres tense as a habitual past; but old M. retains it as a present tense.

2) See J. G. O. S. vol. 20 pg. 377 and vol. 21 pp. 10 ff. 23.

corresponding to (strong form) *alá* in M. and (weak form) *al* in E. H.<sup>1)</sup>; c) the Káfiri has a compound future made with the enclitic participle *la*, just like the M. future and the E. H. present<sup>2)</sup>; d) the auxiliary verb has in Pashtú an initial *ś*, like the initial *s* of M., which is a modification of the E. Gd. *chh*<sup>3)</sup>; e) Pashtú like M. has a double set of palatals, viz. *ch* and *ts*, *j* and *dz*. Lastly f) Pashtú has the dative affix *lah*, like the M. *lá*, and the dative affix *vatah*, like the E. H. *bate* or *bare*.

It would appear from this, that the Mg. Pr. and the Pashtú and Káfiri were once in close connection, perhaps one language; and that, at some time in the remote past, they became separated by the Sr. Pr. tongue, like a wedge, cleaving them asunder and gradually pushing the Mg. farther and farther away towards the east.

Accordingly four periods may be distinguished in the linguistic history of India. First, when the Mg. tongue, in some form, was the only Aryan vernacular in North India. Secondly, when the Sr. tongue existed there beside the Mg. Thirdly, when these were broken up, each into two speeches, the W. and N. Gd. and the E. and S. Gd. Fourthly, when these four speeches were subdivided into the several Gd. languages. The last period is that now prevailing. As to the date of the first period we know nothing. The earliest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi (1<sup>st</sup> cent. B. C. or earlier) already discloses, in the second period, the two great

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1) e. g., weak form Psh. *kʀal* = E. H. *kayal*, B. *karil* = Ap. Mg. *karide*, Skr. *kṛtāḥ*; and strong form Psh. *kaṛalan* = M. *kelá* (for *kailá* = *karidá*) = Ap. Mg. *\*haridae*, Skr. *kṛtakāḥ*. — The other, i. e. the Śr., form of the past part. also occurs in Psh. It ends in a *quiescent* (weak form) or in *ai* (strong form), precisely as in W. and N. Gd.; e. g., weak form Psh. *kar* or *krah* „done“, O. H. *kar* or *kari* = Ap. Pr. *kariu*, Mh. Pr. *\*kario*, Skr. *kṛtāḥ*; strong form Psh. *karai* = Bs *kará* or Br. *karau* or *karyau* = Ap. Pr. *kariau*, Mh. Pr. *\*kariuo*, Skr. *kṛtakāḥ*. But it should be remembered that the E. Gd., too, has both part., to make the first and second preterites, see §§ 503. 505.

2) e. g., Kf. 3. sg. *baláde* „he will say“ = M. *bolel*, E. H. *boláid*.

3) e. g., Kf. *śi* „he is“ = M. *ase*, O. *chhe* or *achhe*, B. *chhe* or *áchhe*.

divisions of the Śr. and Mg. in occupation of North India. The earliest Gḍ. literature exhibits the third period already existing; for in the Western Gauḍian poet Chand (end of 12<sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.) W. H., P. and G. are indistinguishable; in the Southern Gauḍian poets Námdeva and Dnándeva (end of 13<sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.) M. is seemingly separate; in the Eastern Gauḍian poet Bidyápati (middle of 14<sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.<sup>1</sup>) B. and E. H. are as yet one language. The later Gḍ. writers of the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> cent. (as the W. Hindí Kabír, the E. Hindí Tulsí Dás, the Bangálí Kabi Kankan, the Oriya Upendro Bhāṇj, the Maráṭhí Tukarám, the Gujarátí Narsingh Mehta; see Bs. I, 82—96) show the modern division of the Gḍ. languages already existing.

*Note.* I believe, it will be found on closer examination of the W. H. that its two dialects, the Mw. and Br., must, in reality, be classed as two different languages of the W. Gḍ. group, in the same sense as P. and G. For Mw. and Br. differ from each other in the same degree, as either of those two from P. and G. Thus in declension: 1) the termin. of the obl. form sg. of strong masc. nouns of the *a-base* is *á* in Mw., but *e* in Br.; here Mw. agrees with G., but Br. with P.; e. g., Mw. *ghorá ro*, G. *ghodá no* „of a horse“; Br. *ghore kau*, P. *ghore dá*; 2) Mw., like S., uses no active case-affix; but Br. has *nem*, corresponding to P. *nai*; e. g., Mw. *ghorai*, G. *ghodáe*, „by a horse“; Br. *ghore nem*, P. *ghore nai*. In conjugation: 1) Mw., like G., forms the fut. ind. with the suff. *as*, but Br. with *ih*; e. g., Mw. *karasí*, G. *karase* but Br., *karihau* „he will do“; 2) the auxiliary verb has *chh* in Mw. and G., but *h* in Br. and P.; e. g., Mw. *chhai*, G. *chhe* „he is“; Br. and P. *hai*; etc.

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1) Or, according to Beames (Ind. Antiquary Febr. 1873), middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> cent.

Table of Affinities.

Literary.	High = Vernaculars = Low Ancient Sansk.				Semi- aryan
Class. Skr.	Páli	Anc Ap.			Pañ
	Mh.-Sr., Mg.	Ap. Mg.		Ap. Sr.	
		E Gd.	S Gd.	W Gd.	N. Gd
	H B., H. H., etc.	O, B., E. H.	M.	W. H., P., G., S.	N.
					Urdú.

## EASTERN HINDI LITERATURE.

As regards E. H. literature, there is 'very little to be said. In the E. H. proper or the Bhojpúrí there is, apparently, no literature whatever, either prose or poetry. All my inquiries on this subject have been alike fruitless. I have heard people say, that there are a few poems in the more easterly dialects of the E. H., as the Maithilí. But I suspect the reference was to the well known religious songs of Bidyápatí and others of the Vaishṇava school. These, however, belong to the earlier period, in which E. H. was not yet separate from B. The only specimens of literature of the strictly E. H. period are the writings of Tulsí Dás, especially his great work, the Rámáyan, a Hindí version of the well known story of Ráma, though not by any means a translation of Válmiki's famous Sanskrit work of the same name. The language of Tulsí Dás, however, is not E. H. proper or Bhojpúrí, but the Baiswárí, which is a dialect formed by a mixture of W. and E. H. (see pp. V. VI). Tulsí Dás was a native of Hájipúr, a village near the celebrated hill of Chitrakúta in the state of Riwá, about 50 miles S. E. of the town of Bandá in Bandelkhand. He lived from 1541 to 1624. Once he made a journey to Brindaban (and Delhi?); but for the most part he lived in Benares as minister of the Rájá of that town. For some more, mainly legen-



dary particulars of his life, see Garcin de Tassy's *histoire de la littérature Hindouie* vol. 3, pp. 235—244, where also some other less known works of his are enumerated.

All the other celebrated Hindí poets wrote in some dialect of W. H., generally Br. or Kn. The oldest of them is Chand Bardaí, who was a native of Lahore, but lived at the court of Prithiráj, the last Hindú ruler of Delhi, at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. He is the author of the *Prithiráj Rasau*, an epic poem recounting the exploits of that monarch. He belongs, however, strictly speaking, to the pre-Hindí period, when W. H. was not as yet separate from P. and G. Next to him come Kabír of Benares in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> cent., the author of the *Ramainis* and *Sabdas*. After him are Súr Dás of Mathurá, Nabhájí and Keshava Dás of Bijapúr, the authors respectively of the *Súrságar*, the *Bhaktamálá* and the *Rámchandrika*, etc. They flourished in the 16<sup>th</sup> cent., during the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jehan, the Augustan age of North India. Then follow Bihári Lál of Ambir near Jaipúr, the author of the *Satsai*, and Lál Kavi from Bandelkhand, the author of the *Chhatra Prakas*, in the 17<sup>th</sup> cent. For further particulars as to the lives and works of all these poets, see the respective articles in Garcin de Tassy's *hist. de la litt. Hind.* They all were natives of Western Hindústán, except Kabír, whose sect (the Kabír-panthís) still numbers most of its adherents in the E. H. area. He was born in or near Benares, and died and is buried in Magahar near Gorakhpúr in the Benares district. Yet his writings are certainly not in E. H., but in W. H. The fact is strange and has not, I think, been sufficiently noticed. Though he afterwards became a Hindú and even the founder of a Hindú sect, he was brought up originally by his Muhammedan foster-father in his own religion; and apparently he spent some part of his life in or near Delhi at the time of the emperor Sikandar Lodi. Perhaps one or both of these facts may be the reason of the peculiarity.

## THE TERMS TATSAMA, TADBHAVA, etc.

The term *tatsama* means lit. „the same as it“ or *Sanskritic*. It denotes properly those Gaudian words which have retained exactly the same form as they were in Sanskrit; e. g., E. H. *bhrātá* „brother“, *rājá* „king“. But practically it includes all words which have been reintroduced into the Gd. directly from the Skr., though in the process they have undergone slight phonetic changes, analogous to, but not so thorough as those which have been suffered by the tadbhava words (see §§ 40 ff); e. g., E. H. *chhamá* „forgiveness“, for Skr. *kshamá*; E. H. *ágyá* „command“, for Skr. *áñá*; E. H. *bisnu* „Vishnu“, for Skr. *vishṇuḥ*; E. H. *kripá* „mercy“, for Skr. *kṛpá*; E. H. *karam* „work“, for Skr. *karma*; E. H. *putar* „son“, for Skr. *putraḥ*. These might be called *semitatsamas*.

The term *tadbhava* means lit. „having the same nature as it“, or *Prákrític*<sup>1)</sup>. It denotes those Gd. words which, though the same in substance as in Skr., are considerably different in form. Practically it includes all those words which have come into Gd. from the Prákrit, and not from the Skr. In the E. H. these

1) Pr. Gramm. distinguish two kinds of tadbhavas; thus § R. (fol. 1<sup>a</sup>) *samskr̥tabhavas cha dvaidhā, sáddhyamānasamskr̥tabhavas siddhasamskr̥tabhavas cheti*; i. e. „there are two kinds of words which have the same nature as in Sanskrit; viz. those which must be shown to be so, and those which are admittedly so.“ It is not quite clear, however, wherein the distinction exactly consists, as no examples are given. Probably such forms are referred to, as *rát* and *rattí* „night“ (H. C. 2, 88), both for Skr. *rátriḥ*. The latter (*rattí*) is a *siddha tadbhava*, for its identity with the Skr. *rátriḥ* is evident and follows from the general rules (viz. H. C. 2, 79. 1, 84); but the former (*rát*) is a *sáddhyamāna tadbhava*, because its identity must be established by a special rule (viz. H. C. 2, 88). It will be seen that the distinction is analogous to what in Gd. I have distinguished as *semitatsamas* from the proper tadbhavas (as *putar* and *pút* „son“), or to Beames' distinction of *late* and *early tadbhavas* (see Bs. I, 18—17). But our „*semitatsamas*“ or „late tadbhavas“ are not identical with the Pr. Gramm. *siddha tadbhavas*, for the former *ex hypothesi* have not come through the Pr. at all, but are directly resuscitated from the Skr. at various periods. For this reason, and because they are clearly nearer in form to the pure tats. than to the pure tadbh., I have preferred to class them as a subdivision of tats. rather than (as Bs.) of tadbh.

words are generally obtained from the A. Mg ; but sometimes from the Śr. Thus compare the following *prākritic* words with the above list of *sanskritic* ones: E. H. *bhāi* „brother“ for A. Mg. *bhāie*; E. H. *rāy* „king“ for A. Mg. *lāyā* or *lāā*; E. H. *khet* „field“ for A. Mg. *khattam* (Skr. *kshetram*); E. H. *dāhin* „right“ for Pr. *ddhinam* (Cw. 100. Skr. *dāksṇam*); E. H. *ān* „order“ for Mg. *aññā* (H. C. 4, 293); E. H. *kānh* „krishṇa“ for A. Mg. *kaṇhe* (Skr. *kṛṣṇaḥ*); E. H. *kisān* „husbandman“ for A. Mg. *kisāne* (Skr. *kṛśānāḥ*); E. H. *kām* „work“ for A. Mg. *kamme*; E. H. *pūt* „son“ for A. Mg. *putte*; etc. It should be remembered that the Gds. are not descended from the high or literary (Mh.-Sr. and Mg.) Pr., but from the low vernacular or Ap. (Sr. and Mg.) Pr. This fact explains, why some Gd. *tadbhava* words show a higher state of preservation than that observed in the corresponding words of the High-Pr; for, in some instances, the latter had suffered a greater amount of decay than those of the Low-Pr. Generally speaking, the Low-Pr. is more tenacious of medial consonants than High-Pr. (see Ls. 396. 457). Thus E. H. *rāti* „night“, Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *latti* (cf. H. C. 4, 330), but High-Mh. Pr. *rāi* (Vr. 3, 58, but also *ratti*); E. H. *khāl* „eaten“, Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *khāda*, but Mh. Pr. *khāo*. Sometimes the more and the less perfect forms exist side by side; as E. H. *gais* (= *gai* + *s* „thou wentest“), for Ap. (Sr.) Pr. *gai si* or *gāido si* or *gamido si* (Pāli *gamito si*, High-Mh. Pr. *gao si* or *gādo si*) and E. H. *gailēs* or *gāilēs* „thou wentest“, for Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *gāida si* or *gamide si*. Hence, in some cases, it will always be doubtful whether a particular form must be considered as *prākritic* or *sanskritic*. Thus E. H. has both *nair* (or *nayar*) and *nagar* „town“; the former is clearly a *tadbhava* for A. Mg. *ṇayalam* or *ṇaalam*; but the latter may be either a *tatsama* for Skr. *nagaram* or a *tadbhava* for Ap. Mg. *ṇagalām*.

Native grammarians add the *deśya*, as a third division, to the *tatsama* and *tadbhava*<sup>1)</sup>. The term *deśya* means lit. „belonging

1) Thus S. R. (fol. 1<sup>a</sup>) *iha prākṛtaśabdās tridhā, saṃskṛtaśabdās saṃskṛtabhavad deśyāś cheti*; i. e. „there are three kinds of *Prākṛit* words, viz. the same as Skr., of like nature as Skr., and provincial (or country born).“

to the country", i. e., *provincial* or perhaps *aboriginal*. They designate by this name all those words which they are unable to derive satisfactorily to themselves from some Skr. word and, therefore, consider to have had their origin in the country (i. e., *rare* or *provincia*). In what way exactly they suppose them to have originated is not clear; namely whether borrowed from the aborigines, or invented by the rustic Aryans themselves in post-sanskritic times (Beames I, 12), or so corrupted by their common parlance from a Skr. original as to make them unrecognisable. The last seems to me the most probable, to judge from the sentiment of modern Pandits on the subject. The results of modern research tend towards diminishing the number of these *deśya* words, by discovering, through means unknown to native grammarians, their real origin and tracing them back to Pr. and Skr. In so far, they make in support of the opinion of those grammarians. But the question, as to whether they are or are not Aryan, is by no means decided thereby. A word may be Prākritic or Sanskritic, and yet may not be Aryan; Whatever non-Aryan elements there may be in the Indo-aryan languages, they must have been incorporated in the earliest times; i. e., at the period, when Paisāchī and the Ancient Apabhramsa were spoken by the subject aborigines and their Aryan conquerors respectively, and when old Sanskrit was the Aryan high language; a period which was anterior to that of what is now commonly called (classical) Sanskrit.

Natives distinguish between the *ṭheṭh* or *gāmvārī* and the *khari* or *nāgarī bhāshā*. *Ṭheṭh* means *genuine* or *pure* and *gāmvārī* means *rustic* or *vulgar* (from *gāṃ* = *grāma* „village“); again *khari* means *standard* and *nāgarī* *urban* or *cultivated* (from *nagar* „town“). The relation of these two *bhāshās* is analogous to that of English or rather of the South-German dialects as spoken in the towns or by the educated and the same as in the mouth of the village peasantry. The difference exist mainly in the pronunciation and in the vocabulary. Thus, in the *ṭheṭh bhāshā* the auxiliary verb is pronounced *bārāi* or *bārai*, but in the *khari bhāshā* *bātai*. Again in the latter, tatsama and even Urdū words are much more frequently employed than in the former which is almost entirely destitute of them. The specimens of E. H. appended to this grammar, being written by a Pandit, are rather in the *khari* than in the *ṭheṭh bhāshā*.

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## ALPHABET.

### FIRST SECTION. ON LETTERS AND SOUNDS.

#### 1. CHAPTER. THE ALPHABET.

1. The E. H. is commonly written in the *Kaithí* (कैथी or कइथी) alphabet. Its name is derived from *Káyath* (Skr. कायस्थ), the designation of the writer-caste among the Hindús. Though it has a general resemblance to the modern *Devanágari*, there are but few of its letters, which do not exhibit some points of difference; indeed, as will be seen by a reference to the table, all the vowels, and the consonants *kh*, *ch*, *jh*, *bh*, *d*, *dh* and *r* differ entirely in the two alphabets; and the horizontal top-line is omitted by the *Kaithí* in all letters alike<sup>1</sup>). It will be further noticed, that in *Kaithí* the consonants *k* and *ph*, *p* and *dh*, *r* and *l* very closely resemble each other, being distinguished in each case merely by the addition of a hook or curve to the latter; again, that there is only one sign for each of the following groups of *Nágari* letters: 1) ञ (properly = *n*) for the nasals ङ *ñ*, ञ *ñ*, ण *ṇ*, न *n*; 2) श (a combination of *s* and *ṣ*) for the sibilants स *s*, ष *ṣ*, श *śh*; 3) व for the labials ब *b* and व *v*; 4) ज (properly = *j*) for the palatals ञ *j* and य *y*; and also that of the two forms of *ch* one is very much like to one of the two forms of *dh*, the other to one of the two forms of *y*. For the vowels *Kaithí* has only four fundamental signs: अ *ä*, इ *i*, ए *ē*, ओ *o*. The others

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1) Sometimes a series of lines is first ruled across the page, and the letters are afterwards hung on to them. These lines must not be confounded with the top-line of the *Devanágari*, and in native writing the two are easy to distinguish.

are distinguished by diacritical marks, as shown in the table. In Manuscripts the initial *í* and *ú* are rarely distinguished from *ĩ* and *ũ* or the medial *ú* from *ũ*. It will be seen that altogether the Kaithí alphabet has only *twenty nine* distinct signs. It is used in printing as well as in writing; but owing to the preponderance of H. H., which has adopted the Devanágari, the latter is much more common in books. I shall adopt it in this work also, as the more generally known of the two.

2. *Affinities.* Four principal types of alphabet are used in North-India; the Kaithí, the Bangálí, the Oṛiyá and the Gurmukhí. The Kaithí is the most widely spread; it is used in writing not only in Eastern, but also, slightly modified, in Western Hindústán, Maráṭhā and Gujarát. In G. and sometimes in E. H. it is adopted also in print. The Bangálí, Oṛiyá and Gurmukhí are used in Bangál, Orissá and the Panjáb respectively, in writing and printing. The Gurmukhí probably takes its name from being originally used in committing to writing the oral traditions of the Sikh Gurus (Nának, etc.). The general likeness of these four types to one another as well as to the older Kutila and Gupta is unmistakeable, though their exact relation among themselves, their origin and age are matters not as yet fully elucidated. For some account of them see Bs. I, 54 ff. Besides these, there are two sub-types much in use in the area occupied by the Kaithí, to which they are the most nearly related. These are the Nágari, or Devanágari and the Mahájani or Koṭhívál. The first is an improvement, the second a corruption of the Kaithí or of its more ancient original. The exact meaning of the term Devanágari (divine city alphabet) is uncertain; but it suggests its being, as it certainly is, a caligraphic (polished or sacred) writing. The Mahájani (mercantile) is, as its name implies, the shorthand writing of the merchants and bankers, their *Koṭhívál* or *office-writing*; and is still commonly used by them. The Devanágari, on the other hand, is the type adopted for printing in Hindí and Maráṭhí; and as it is exclusively taught in the schools, it

will probably in course of time entirely supersede the Kaithí; perhaps not altogether an advantage, as it can be written with less rapidity and ease than its rival.

### 1. VOWELS.

3. The E. H. possesses fifteen vowels; a *neutral* and fourteen distinct ones. The latter consist of seven pairs, each containing a short and a long one. They are ॐ, ॐ, ॐ; ॐ, ॐ, ॐ; ॐ, ॐ, ॐ. Five of these, the neutral vowel and the short ॐ, ॐ, ॐ, ॐ are, according to the usual view, unknown to the Sanskrit phonetic system, and therefore have no place in the native grammatical scheme of sounds and characters. But in order to avoid the inconvenience of two different sounds being denoted by the same sign, I have ventured to introduce into the E. H. alphabet, used in this treatise, five new characters. For the short ॐ, ॐ, ॐ, ॐ I shall adopt the Gurmukhí or Bangálí forms of the ordinary Nágari signs, which differ from the latter merely in having a serpentine form ( ˘ and ˘ ) instead of a slightly curved one ( ˘ and ˘ ). For the neutral vowel I shall adopt a dot ( . ) placed after the consonant in the same manner as a stroke ( | ) is placed after it to denote the long ॐ, in transliterating I shall use the *apostrophe*. Accordingly the signs of the fifteen E. H. vowels are as follows:

*Initial:* — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ  
*Noninit.*: ˘ — ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

*Note:* The neutral vowel requires no initial form, as it never occurs in the beginning. The short ॐ has no non-initial form, as it is inherent in the consonant, which cannot be pronounced without it. When it is necessary to indicate the mere consonant, an oblique stroke, called the *viráma* or *stoppage*, is appended to the consonantal sign; thus क क˘, but क् k. The manner of writing the non-initial signs may be seen from the following examples; क k, क क˘, का ká, कि kī, को kī, कु kú, कू kú, के kē, के kē, को kō, को kō, कै kái, कै kái, कौ káu, कौ káu.

4. The neutral vowel is the shortest possible vocal utterance, and very obscure in its character. It may be compared to the English *u* in *but*; but it is shorter and more indistinct; like the vowel in the final syllables *ble* or *tre*, as in *amiable*, *centre*. It resembles the Hebrew *Sh'va mobile*; just as *ě* is like the Hebrew *Khateph Segol*, and *ǒ* like the Hebrew *Khateph Qamez*.

5. The five special 'E. H. vowels are principally met with in the following places:

a) the neutral vowel is pronounced: 1) often in rustic speech, at the end of a word, instead of the *quiescent* *ă* (see § 24), as घर- ghar' house, for घर ghar; and 2) in the penultimate of any word having more than two syllables and ending in a heavy one; as घर-वा ghar'vá house; घोड़-वा ghōṛ'vá horse; कर-तो kar'tō if I did; पढ़-लो parh'lō I read, etc. A compound consisting of two polysyllabic words is treated as if the words were distinct.

b) the short *ě*, *ǒ*, *ai*, *au* occur 1) always in the antepenultimate; e. g., बेटिया bēṭiyá daughter; पड़ोसिया parṓsuyá neighbouring; लोट-वा lōṭ'vá vessel; बोलावत् bōlávāt calling; 2) optionally in the genitive affixes के kě and कै kai as घर के ghar kě of the house (see § 372); 3) in the short pronominal forms in ह् (see § 433), as जेह् कर jēh kar of which (but जे कर jé kar); 4) in the conjugational suffixes ऐस् *ēs*, ऐन् *ēn* and ऐँ *ai* (see §§ 504. 506); as कर-तेस् kar'tēs (if) thou didst; पढ़-लेस् parh'lēs he read; रह-लेस् rah'lēs thou remainedst; कर-तेन् kar'tēn (if) they did; पढ़-लेन् parh'lēn they read; कर-तै kar'tai (if) they did; पढ़-लै parh'lai they read; 5) in the suffix ए *ě* of the conjunctive participle (§ 490), as कहे के kahē kě having said; 6) in some frequently used words, as और aur or औ au and (see § 26).

6. *Affinities*. The short vowels (they are not diphthongs) *ě* and *ǒ* must have existed in Pr. already; thus before conjuncts, as in षोढा (or षिढा for निढा Vr. 1, 12), षोढुं (for षीढुं Vr. 1, 19), सेढं (for शैढं Vr. 1, 35), सेज्ञा (for शय्या Vr. 1, 5), सेव्वा, ऐक्क (for सेवा, एक Vr. 3, 58), etc.; and मोत्ता (for मुक्ता Vr. 1, 20), ओव्वाणं (for औवनं Vr. 1, 41), तेल्लोक्कं (for त्रैलोक्यं Vr. 3, 58), etc.



See Ls. 145. 149. Cw. XVIII. Their existence, however, is, I believe, nowhere distinctly noticed by Pr. Gramm., except in the Ap. Pr. by H. C. (4, 410) and T. V. (3, 4. 68), कादिस्वैदीनोर् उच्चारणवत् । i. e., after consonants *ě* and *ǒ* are usually pronounced short. — Both the short vowels *ě*, *ǒ*, *ǎ*, *ǝ* and the neutral vowel are peculiar to E. Gd. The subject, however, has been as yet little attended to by Gd. Grammarians. As regards the short vowels, B. shows the short *ě*, e. g., in ऐक् *ěk one*, and short *ǒ* in गोम् *gǒm wheat*, बोले *bǒle he speaks*, etc. Oriyá, generally, follows the example of B. (see Bs. I, 69). It is usual, apparently, to substitute *ǎ* for *ǒ* in *writing*; thus B. गम्, बले; the same as occasionally in E. H. (see § 26). It is probable, that originally all Gd. languages possessed *ě* and *ǒ*; S. has still preserved the *ě* in some cases, but ordinarily it reduces *ě* to *ǎ*, and always *ǒ* to *ǝ* (see Tr. X—XIII). The other W. Gd. languages always substitute *ǎ* and *ǝ* for *ě* and *ǒ* (as to *ě* and *ǒ* in P. see Ld. 4); even the E. Gds. do so occasionally, see § 26 (cf. S. Ch 330). The Psh. has both *ě* and *ǒ* (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 33—35). — In B. the final of the weak adjectives, is pronounced like *ǒ*, e. g., बड़ *bǒrǒ great*; but it must not be confounded with the real *ǒ* which is a shortening of ओ *ó*, while this *ǒ* is a modification of अ *ǎ*; as shown by O., which pronounces *ǎ*; e. g., बड़ *bǎrǎ*. E. H. agrees with the W. and S. Gds. in dropping the vowel *ǎ* at the end of all words; see § 24. On the other hand, both the Psh. and Kf. still retain it (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 33. XX, 393). — In tatsamas with a conjunct य् or व् before the final अ, the latter is commonly pronounced, as योग्य *yogyá worthy*, तत्त्व *tatva substance*.

*Note:* The elision of a medial neutral vowel produces a conjunct consonant. Consequently in H. H. and in M. a conj. cons. is sometimes written, as H. H. बिन्ती *bintí* for बिनन्ती *bintí petition*, H. H. दुल्हा *dulhá* for दुलन्हा *dulhá bridegroom*, M. राम्या *rámyá* for रामन्या *rámyá Rám*, or घोड्या *ghoḍyá* for घोडन्या *ghoḍyá of a horse* (obl. form). It would be well, if this system of phonetic spelling were carried out uniformly.

7. The E. H. does not possess the four vowels ऋ *ṛi*, ॠ *ṛi*, लृ *lṛi*, ॡ *lṛi* of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in Skr. they occur rarely and are more or less artificial. In Pr. they had already disappeared; consequently they could not well survive in the modern Gd. In Hindī certainly, whether E. or W., they are never pronounced. In H. H. it is customary to write ऋ *ṛi* in tats. words; but in speaking the syllable रि *ri* or even इर *ir* is always substituted; thus Skr. अमृत *ambrosia* is always pronounced *amrit* (अमिर्त्) or *amurt* (अमिर्त्); Skr. कृपा *favor kṛpá* (किपा) or *kṛpá* (किपा). Perhaps it would be well to follow the example of the old Prákrit Grammarians and apply their system of phonetic spelling to our modern H. H. also. In any case it is incorrect to enumerate these four vowels or any of them as parts of the Hindī phonetic system.

8. *Nasalization*. In E. H. a vowel is pronounced in many words with a nasal tone, precisely as *n* or *m* in such French words, as *compensation*. This tone is indicated by the symbol (◡), called the *arddhachandra* (*halfmoon*); the tone itself is called *anunásika* (*co-nasal*); see § 23. I shall transliterate it by a *circumflex*. It generally occurs with a long vowel, rarely with a short one or with the semivowels य् and व्; e. g., रहतो *rah'tō*, लेई *lái*, कोई *koí*, होई *hōih*, नोई *nái*, or चललै *chalalā*, कुँवर *kuār*, कुँवरी *kuári*, जाँव *jāy*, जाँव *jāv*.

9. *Derivation and affinities*. The *anunásika* generally (except occasionally before ह् and ज्, see § 67) indicates the elision of a consonant, i. e., of a nasal, when it occurs between two vowels (§§ 127.128), and of the first part of a conjunct when it stands before a consonant (§ 149). The first case alone occurs in later Pr.; neither of them in earlier Pr. or in Skr.; both are common in all Gds.; see § 23.

## 2. CONSONANTS.

10. The E. H. possesses thirty five consonants. They consist of twenty consonants proper or mutes, five *nasals*, nine *semi-*

vowels and one *sibilant*. They may be further classified according to the organ of utterance into gutturals, palatals, cerebrals (or *mūrdhanya*), dentals, labials, and according to the degree of audibility into *surd* or hard and *sonant* or soft ones; as exhibited in the following table.

	Consonants proper				Nasals sonant	Semivowels sonant or soft		Sibilants surd
	surd or hard	sonant or soft						
guttural	क <i>k</i>	ख <i>kh</i>	ग <i>g</i>	घ <i>gh</i>	ङ <i>ṅ</i>	—	ह <i>h</i>	—
palatal	च <i>ch</i>	छ <i>chh</i>	ज <i>j</i>	झ <i>jh</i>	ञ <i>ṇ</i>	य <i>y</i>	—	—
cerebral	ट <i>ṭ</i>	ठ <i>ṭh</i>	ड <i>ḍ</i>	ढ <i>ḍh</i>	ण <i>ṇ</i>	इ <i>ṛ</i>	ऋ <i>ṛh</i>	—
dental	त <i>t</i>	थ <i>th</i>	द <i>d</i>	ध <i>dh</i>	न <i>n</i>	र <i>r</i> or ल <i>l</i>	ऌ <i>ṛh</i> or ड <i>ḍh</i>	स <i>s</i>
labial	प <i>p</i>	फ <i>ph</i>	ब <i>b</i>	भ <i>bh</i>	म <i>m</i>	व <i>v</i>	—	—

11. The E. H. palatals are pronounced like the English. Natives, generally good judges in such matters, do not seem, as far as I could learn from them, to have observed any difference between them. I believe the same is the case in B. and O. On the other hand, it has been often observed, that the W. H. palatals are rather more dental than the English; i. e., rather more like *ts*, *dz*<sup>1)</sup>. This is probably true of all W. Gd. palatals; excepting, perhaps, Sindhi<sup>2)</sup>. In M. they are distinctly semidental, and are pronounced as *ts*, *ts + h*, *dz*, *dz + h*<sup>3)</sup>. It appears, therefore, that the E. Gd. palatals are more distinctly and truly palatal than the W. and S. Gd. This seems to have been noticed already by the Pr. Grammarians. It is noticeable that both the true palatals and the semidentals occur in Psh. and Kf.<sup>4)</sup> In M.,

1) Thus, e g, Kl. 11.

2) See Tr. 14. His meaning is not quite clear; he seems to identify them at the same time with the „common Indian“ (that is, apparently, the W. Gd.) and with the English palatals.

3) The true palatals occur also; but apparently only in tatsamas and before palatal vowels; cf. Bs. I, 72.

4) See Tr. J. G. O. S. XX, 393. XXI, 20. 23.

इ is almost universally pronounced and written स or (generally before palatal vowels) श्; e. g., M. रीस् *bear*, E. H. रोइ; M. चूरी *knife*, E. H. झूरी; M. माफो *fly*, E. H. माहो (see Bs. I, 218). In Mw., both च् and झ् are pronounced (but not usually written) स्; e. g., Mw. सक्की *wheel* for E. H. चक्की; Mw. सास् *buttermilk* for E. H. झाइ (see Kl. 14, 25). Also G., S., P. and B. pronounce (and write) occasionally ह् as श्; e. g., G. घो *who* for S. हा (see § 438, 6); B. काणे or काहे *near* (Bs. I, 218); S. सी for Mth. ह्यो *we are*, P. सन् for N. इन् *they are*.

*Note:* Both the true reading and the true meaning of the Pr. Gramm. rule, however, are doubtful. Vr. 11, 5 (MS., see Cw. 89) has चवर्गस्य स्पष्टता तयोच्चारणः, which is explained by Bhāmaha चवर्गे यथा स्पष्टस् तयोच्चारणो भवति i. e. „the palatals are so pronounced as to be *distinct*“. My MS. of Md. (12<sup>th</sup> pāda, fol. 48<sup>b</sup>) reads चययोरुपपन्नयः स्यात्। यकारागमः। स्त्विर्। स्मात्र॥ If the examples can be trusted, the true reading would seem to be चययोरु उपरि यः स्यात् i. e. „*ya* is to be written above (i. e., as first part of a conjunct) the palatals and labials; this *ya* is an (inorganic) addition; e. g., *ychiram* long, *ymāa* (?)”<sup>1</sup>). My MS. is a Nāgarī copy of one in Oriyā characters, in which य् and प् and again ङ् and र् would closely resemble each other. K. I. 3 (in Ls. 393) reads यपचवर्गयुक्ता मनागुच्चार्यः, which would yield a sense similar to that of Md.<sup>b</sup> rule: „the labials and palatals in conjunction with *ya* are slightly pronounced”; or, perhaps, rather: „*ya* in conj. with l. and p. is slightly pron.” This is confirmed by the example given in the rule on the Vocative (Md. 12, 22, fol. 49<sup>a</sup>); see § 48, note.

12. The cerebrals are pronounced by striking the tip of the tongue against the centre of the hard palate, the dentals by striking it against the edge of the upper teeth. It has been a matter of much controversy, whether or not the former are originally Aryan sounds. They constitute a prominent feature of the Drāvidian languages, whilst among the Aryans they are peculiar

1) *ymāa* mother (*mátā*) or illusion *máyā*?

to India. Hence it has been commonly assumed that they are an importation from the former. This, however, is by no means certain. I am inclined to agree with the opinion of Beames (I, 232—234), that cerebrals of some kind belong to the original stock of the Aryan phonetic system. It is a well known fact that the (so-called) dentals of all the Aryan languages of Europe, especially of England, when referred to the standard of the Indo-aryan (true) dentals are not real dentals at all, but cerebrals of more or less purity. They are formed by striking the tip of the tongue against the anterior part of the hard palate or the gum of the upper teeth; and therefore are semi-cerebrals. To natives of India, whose ears are quick in detecting differences of pronunciation, they sound like real cerebrals and in transliterating English words, they always represent our dentals by cerebrals, as डैरेक्टर *director*, सार्टिफिकेट *certificate* (cf. § 21). The pure dentals, therefore, are as peculiar to the Indoaryan languages as the pure cerebrals and might with equal reason be adjudged non-aryan. It is far more probable that the original Aryan sound was a semicerebral (if not a pure cerebral) which has in India only, for reasons peculiar to that country, varied in two directions so as to become the true cerebral and the true dental respectively. It is deserving of notice as making for this view, that the old Indoaryan (Sanskrit) cerebral ॠ and ॡ have also been dentalised in various parts of India. The truth seems to be, that the whole class of original Aryan cerebrals has been undergoing in India a process of gradual decerebralisation. The first to be affected were the consonants proper and ॢ which had already in Skr. times become to a great extent dentals<sup>1</sup>). The next was the semivowel ॣ which was dentalised in the times of Mg. Pr. Finally the nasal । became dental in the comparatively modern times of Gd. As the dentals

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1) The old (Vedic) Skr. still preserves the old Aryan cerebral ॠ. Cp. vedic ॠ॒ graceful with Skr. ॠ॒॒ gentle; also R. ॠ॒॒ or ॠ॒॒ with ॠ॒॒; न॒॒ with न॒॒॒; न॒॒॒ with न॒॒॒, etc.

are softer and smoother sounds than the cerebrals, it may be supposed that the enervating climate of the great North Indian plain was, at least, one of the causes determining that process. On the other hand, it is quite natural also, that in those forms of the Indoaryan languages which were current among the common people, i. e., the Prākritis and Gaudians, the original Aryan cerebrals should to a great extent have not only stood their ground, but even been more intensely cerebralized. For most of those people belonged to or, at all events, were most in contact with the aboriginal Drāvidian population whose language, like their own, possessed the cerebrals. It is noticeable, that just as in Skr. times the old Aryan semicerebral consonants were often made fully cerebral, so in Pr. times in many cases the old (semidental) ण<sup>1</sup> is cerebralized to ण, and in Gd. times by the side of the old semicerebral ण a fully cerebral ॠ has been formed. — It may be added as some evidence against the Drāvidian theory of the cerebrals, that though the Gd. languages have now been for centuries under the influence of Arabic and Persian, yet none of the sounds peculiar to the latter have been imported into them (see § 21).

13. The nasal ॠ ṇ, I believe, never occurs in E. H., except in conjunction with a following consonant of its own class, as अङ्गिया *aṅgyā bodice*. The others may occur by themselves. The ॠ ṇ and ण ṇ, both initial and medial, are occasionally heard in the more vulgar (*theth*) forms of E. H.; thus जाही *nāhī no*, अग्न्या *agnā fire*, पार्सिङ्ग *ṇarsingh manlion*, पार्स्य *ṇarain Nārdyan*, पाणी *pāṇī water*. But in the higher forms of E. H. they are always changed to न n, as नाही *nāhī*, नर्सिङ्ग *narsingh*, etc.; even in tatsama words with an original ण ṇ, as कार्ण *kāraṇ cause* for Skr. कार्ण *karāṇa*. Hence the Kaithī alphabet has no special signs for ॠ ṇ and ण ṇ; and following its practise, I also shall limit myself in this work to the use of न n. When any of the five

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1) The Europeo-aryan r and n are semicerebral or semidental.

nasals are used as the first part of a conjunct, they are always indicated by a dot placed over the preceding consonant; as पंक् *pañk mure*, अंत *ant end*. This dot is commonly called *anusvāra*, but it must not be confounded with the real Skr. *anusvāra* which does not exist in E. H. (see § 23).

14. *Affinities*. The two nasals इ and उ (as non-conjuncts) had already been lost in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (T. V. 1, 1. 1. H. C. 1, 1). The latter (ज), however, is expressly mentioned by Pr. Grammarians (Vr. 10, 9. 10. T. V. 3, 2. 37. 3, 4. 61. H. C. 4, 293, 294. 392), as occurring in Mg. Pr. (and also in Ap. and Ps. Pr.), where the Skr. conjuncts न्य *ny* and एय *ny* change to उञ् णञ्. Agreeably with this, उञ् occurs in E. Gd. (especially in the respective *theth bhúshás*) before or after the palatal vowel (इ) or semivowel (य); thus E. H. अगिजा *fire* for अगिनिया, Mg. Pr. अगिणिण् (see Ls. 244 अगिणी), Skr. अग्निक्; जाही *not* for ग्याही = ने + आही (ने for न or ना, as in B., see S. Ch. 331); B. अगिजा *order* (see S. Ch. 10) for (O. H.) अगिना (Skr. अक्षा). So also in N. बाजि *at, by* S. Lk. 10, 29 40 (H. वे) for Ap. Pr. बाणि or बाणे, Skr. स्याने; लिजा *taken* (S. Lk. 19, 8) for W. H. लीना (= लिना)<sup>1</sup>. S. which generally follows E. Gd. phonological practices (cf. §§ 16. 18) keeps even more closely to the Mg. precedents; thus S. पुज *virtue*, Mg. Pr. पुज्जं, Skr. पुपुजं; S. वजु *woman's milk*, Mg. Pr. वज्जं, Skr. स्तन्यं; S. वजे *goes*, Mg. Pr. वज्जइ (H. 4, 294), Skr. वन्यते (§ 18); S. मजे *heeds*, Mg. Pr. मज्जइ, Skr. मन्यते, etc. In these instances the E. H. follows the old Ardhamāgadhī which has न् *nn*<sup>2</sup>) (see Wb. Bh. 402. 403); thus E. H. पुन् *virtue*, A. Mg. Pr. पुन्नं; E. H. वने *is made*, A. Mg. Pr. वन्नइ; E. H. माने *heeds*, A. Mg. Pr. मन्नइ. It is noticeable, that S. has also preserved the guttural nasal इ (Tr. XVI. XVIII), as अडु

1) Apparently it inserts even an inorganic उ after इ; as उराजा *feared* for उराइजा (उराया); विजा *was* for विजा, रुपिजा *money* for रुपिजा; see S. Lk. 19, 21. 23. 24. Such forms as रुपिजा *money*, अगिजा *order*, however, I have heard also in *theth Panjābī*.

2) The Mh.-Sr. Pr. has एय *ny* for एय *ny* (cf. H. C. 1, 66. 2, 159); but न् *nn* for न्य *ny* (cf. H. C. 2, 25. 44<sup>1</sup>, 243. 3, 58—61, etc.).

*anu* body, मनु *manu* ask (E. H. मनु), and apparently O. too (see Sn. 18), as केनु *kenu* who, येनु *jeinu* which. This would seem to indicate, that perhaps ३ also was not quite extinct in Mg. Pr., though I believe that it is not mentioned as present by any Pr. Gramm. I do not know of any instance of its occurrence in E. H. and B. As regards ए and न्, every ए changes to न् in Ps. Pr. (Vr. 10, 5. H. C. 4, 306); vice versa, every medial न् and optionally every initial न् become ए in all other Prs. (H. C. 1, 228. 229. T. V. 1, 3. 52. 53). Agreeably to this, ए is found as a medial in all Gd. languages, and as an initial occasionally in the Hindi. It is, however, now confined more or less to the thet or low forms of the Gds. In Urdu, H. H., H. P. and H. B., especially, ए (even when originally existing in Skr.) has uniformly given way to न्<sup>1</sup>). Thus E. H., etc. पाणी, M. पाणी<sup>२</sup> *water*, Pr. पाणि (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. पानीयम्, but H. H., etc. पानी; E. H. पारैए or पारै न *Nārāyaṇ*, Mg. Pr. पारयणे or नारयणे, Skr. नारयणः, H. H. पारै न् or नारयन्. As regards न्, it is uniformly preserved in the earlier Pr.; in later Pr. it is in a few cases elided, nasalizing the following vowel, as जडपा *Jamna* for Skr. यमुना (H. C. 1, 178. T. V. 1, 3. 11). In the Gds. this practice is rather common, see §§ 23. 127.

15. E. H. possesses four new consonants, which do not exist in the Skr. phonetic system; the semivowels र *r*, र्ह *rh*, ल्ह *lh* and र्ह *rh*. The र *r* is a pure dental like ल्, which explains their facile interchange (§ 30. 110); र्ह and ल्ह are their respective aspirates, pronounced as *r + h* and *l + h*, as बर्ह *barha* grows, कोल्ह *kolhū*

1) Ps. Pr. possesses only न्; the other Prs., as a rule, only ए. The high Gds., then, follow the Ps. It is a curious coincidence, that the area of the modern Ps. practice is nearly coterminous with the area of direct Mohammedan, i. e., foreign influence; see Introd. — Vr. 2, 42 does not yet admit any option in the change of the initial न्; it is allowed only by the later Gramm. H. C. and T. V., who moreover do not admit the change of न् to ए at all, if it is the resultant of a Skr. conjunct, as Pr. नाम्ना (not पात्रो) for Skr. न्यायः. This circumstance — unless Vr.'s silence as to the option be merely an oversight — would seem to indicate the commencement of the modern Ps. practice.



*sugarmill*. The  $\text{ॠ}$ , pronounced  $r + h$ , as बुद्धिया *burhiyá old woman*, is the aspirate of  $\text{ॡ}$  which is a pure cerebral, and, therefore, is equivalent to the Skr.  $\text{ॠ} r$ . For the latter is said by Skr. Grammarians to be a cerebral, not a dental<sup>1)</sup>. In fact, it is not, as commonly supposed, the cerebral  $\text{ॡ} r$  which is the new letter, but the dental  $\text{ॡ} r$ . The old Skr.  $\text{ॠ}$  has assumed a new sound, while its old one is represented by  $\text{ॡ}$ . To avoid the inconvenience of diacritical marks, I shall adopt the Gurmukhí form  $\text{ॠ}$  for  $\text{ॠ}$  and  $\text{ॡ}$  for  $\text{ॡ}$ , and the Gurmukhí cerebral  $\text{ॠ}$  for the Skr. cerebral  $\text{ॠ}$ . The aspirates  $\text{ॠ} rh$  and  $\text{ॡ} lh$  are single sounds in the same sense as  $\text{ॠ} rh$ ; all three are in certain cases interchangeable with  $\text{ॡ} dh$ , precisely as  $\text{ॠ}$ ,  $\text{ॡ}$  and  $\text{ॠ}$  with  $\text{ॡ} d$ .

16. *Affinities* Vedic Skr. has a cerebral  $\text{ॠ} l$  and  $\text{ॡ} lh$ , which in certain schools take the place of an original medial  $\text{ॡ} d$  and  $\text{ॡ} dh$  (see M. M. 4). These complete the series of the semi-vowels. In genealogical order they follow thus: from  $\text{ॡ}$  and  $\text{ॡ}$  arise (cerebral)  $\text{ॠ}$  and  $\text{ॡ}$ , then Skr. or W. Gd. (cerebral)  $\text{ॠ}$  or  $\text{ॡ}$  and  $\text{ॡ}$ , then (dental)  $\text{ॡ}$  and  $\text{ॡ}$ , finally E. Gd. (dental)  $\text{ॠ}$  and  $\text{ॡ}$ . Most words which in W. H. contain a non-initial  $\text{ॡ}$ , have in E. H. an  $\text{ॠ}$ , as O. H. फ्रु *fruit* for W. H. फल्; E. H. उर्है *it grows up* for W. H. उल्लहे. Indeed the affinity between these two sounds is so close and the transition so easy that E. Hindús seem to be hardly conscious of saying  $\text{ॠ}$  instead of  $\text{ॡ}$ . This proves, *firstly*, that the E. H.  $\text{ॠ}$  is a pure dental sound, and *secondly* that it is more modern than  $\text{ॡ}$ , of which it is, in fact, a comparatively recent modification<sup>2)</sup>. Hence it follows that wherever E. H. has its

1) The Skr.  $\text{ॠ}$  is, perhaps, not a full cerebral, but a semicerebral, like the English so-called dentals, only in so far, can the modern full cerebral  $\text{ॠ}$  be called a new sound

2) It existed, however, already in the A. Mg. of the Bhagavati (see Wb. Bh. 393) It may be noted, that while the Mg., treated of by H. C., has  $\text{ॡ}$  for  $\text{ॠ}$  (H. C. 4, 288),  $\text{ॡ}$  for  $\text{ॡ}$  (H. C. 4, 260. 302), and  $\text{ॡ}$  or  $\text{ॡ}$  for  $\text{ॡ}$  (H. C. 4, 267. 302), the Mg. of the Bhag. has, precisely like E. Gd.,  $\text{ॠ}$  for  $\text{ॡ}$ , elides  $\text{ॡ}$ , and uses only  $\text{ॡ}$  (cf Wb. Bh. 410 428. 429), e. g., in H. C. कलेदि, in Bhg. करैइ, in E. H. करै *he does*; in H. C. यापाध or नापाह, in Bhg.

dental ॠ, there must have been formerly a ॡ. This exactly agrees with what, the Pr. Gramms. tell us, was the case in their time. They say (see H. C. 4, 288. T. V. 3, 2. 36 and the examples in Vr. 11, 8. 10. 12. 13), that Mg. Pr. changes every Skr. ॠ into ॡ, that is, it turns the cerebral ॠ into the dental ॡ. The E. H. has gone a step further and has converted every dental ॡ into dental ॠ; e. g., Skr. ण्ति: *night*, Mg. Pr. लन्ती, E. H. रात्; Skr. मज्: *man*, Mg. Pr. नले, E. H. नॠ. There are, however, a few exceptions, as E. H. लेनुरी for Mg. Pr. \*लंनुलिन्ना (with pleonastic लिन्ना = डिका) = Skr. रंजू, E. H. लरै *he quarrels*, Mg. लउड्, Skr. रटति (see § 110). These bear out the statement of the Pr. Grammarians. But further, that dentalizing process of E. H. is still at work in the present day, turning most W. H. ॠ (= Skr. cerebral ॠ) into dental ॠ, as E. H. तोरै *he breaks* for W. H. तोडे; and occasionally the intermediate (Mg. Pr.) ॡ is still preserved, as in the W. H. pleonastic suffix डा which is in E. H. ला and रा; e. g., W. H. डेगे *goat*, E. H. डेली or डेरी (Skr. डामी, Ap. Pr. डायडिमा), or W. H. नाडी *watercourse*, E. H. नाली or नारी<sup>1</sup>). Again the very same process, by which the E. H. has already changed all *dialectic* Mg. Pr. ॡ into (dental) ॠ, it applies in the present day to all non-initial *original* (Skr.) ॡ also; as Skr. फलं *fruit*, Mg. Pr. फलं, E. H. फॠ; Skr. कदलकः, Mg. Pr. कयलए or केलए, E. H. केरा. Initial *original* ॡ, it is true, are exempted, as Skr. लंबः *long*, Mg. लंबे

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ज्ञाणह्, in E. H. ज्ञानह् *you know*. It appears, then, that the change of ॠ to ॡ belongs to the most ancient period of Mg, and that the present phonetic state (of ॠ for ॡ) existed already in the Mg. period of the Bhag. In the phonological part of the present work, however, I shall generally give the *ancient* Mg. equivalents (with ॡ) of E. H. words; for this reason, more than any other, to keep before the student's mind the fact of the change of the Skr. ॠ to E. H. ॠ, through Mg. ॡ.

1) Apparently in these exceptional cases the ॡ was already present in Skr., cf. the Skr. pleon. suff. ल and र; and Skr. नड or नल, Ved. नड *tubular reed, bone, artery*, etc., whence perhaps मज् *man*; and Skr. नाडी or नाली *watercourse*, whence, perhaps, नारी *water*.

or लम्मे (see § 18), E. H. लाम (W. H. लंभा), yet the tendency to the change is shown in the occasional substitution of प् or न् in the place of ल्, as in the pleonastic suffixes पा or ना for ला (e. g., अपपा or अपना *own*, cf. M. अपला); a substitution which is still more common in B. and O. (see Bs. I, 75); for the cerebral प् contains the sound of *r*, being somewhat like *rn*. Again the trustworthiness of the Pr. Gramms. is shown by their noting the remarkable agreement of S. with E. H., on which point see below. Thus Mđ. and R. T. say, that S. which is called the *pāschá* dialect, is distinguished by the interchange of *l* and *r*<sup>1</sup>). It is also noticeable that in the Kaithí alphabet, proper to E. H., the sign for the dental *r* (र) is different from that originally used for the Skr. cerebral *r* (ऋ) and still preserved in the Gurmukhí for the P. cerebral *r*; it is, in fact, a slight modification of the original sign for ल (ल) made by omitting the semicircular stroke (ऌ), and improved into the modern Devanágari (र). According to the Pr. Gramm. the change of र् to ल् does not obtain in the Mh.-Sr. Pr.; i. e., the latter does not change the cerebral into a dental. This agrees with the fact that to the present day in W. Gđ. (i. e., W. H., P., G., excl. Br. and S.) र् is more or less distinctly cerebral; and accordingly they do not interchange their ल् and र्, nor have they a cerebral र्<sup>2</sup>), but on the other hand they possess a cerebral ल्<sup>3</sup> *l*. The same is true of the S. Gđ., which like its original, the Dk. Pr. (Ls. 415), follows the W. Gds. (i. e., Mh.-Sr. Pr.). In fact their system of semivowels is very much the same still as in (Vedic) Skr. P. shows a tendency to change its cerebral र् to र्, and rarely its ल् to र्; hence, probably, its र् is not fully cerebral. S., on the other hand, agrees with E. H. in

1) Mđ. पाश्चाया रेफव्यत्येन (18<sup>th</sup> páda, fol 56); and R. T. पाश्चात्यज्ञा स्याद् रलपर्ययेण (Ls. Ap 5).

2) Their र् is always *ḍ*, not *r*; and their *r* is equivalent to र्<sup>3</sup> *r*; whence, e. g., W. H. ब्रहेला *wild hog*, probably written for ब्रहेला = ब्रहेला, from Skr. बराह + pleon. ला; W. H. मंजार or मंजार for Skr. मन्त्री.

every respect; it has the dental  $\text{र}$  and cerebral  $\text{ठ}$ , the interchange of  $\text{ल्}$  and  $\text{ऴ}$ , and no  $\text{ड}$ ; so also Br., except that it does not usually interchange  $\text{ल्}$  and  $\text{ऴ}$ . N. and B., again, agree with E. H. in the dental  $\text{र}$  and cerebral  $\text{ठ}$ , and the want of  $\text{ड}$ ; and though they do not interchange  $\text{ल्}$  and  $\text{ऴ}$ , they have the analogous change of  $\text{ल्}$  to  $\text{प्}$  or  $\text{न्}$ . The same is the case with O., except that it possesses the  $\text{ड}$ ; this is strange; I suspect that its  $\text{ड}$  is not a pure cerebral, for sometimes it has both  $\text{ड}$  and  $\text{ल्}$ , e. g., गोल and गोड ball; sometimes it has  $\text{ल्}$ , where the W. Gds. have  $\text{ड}$ , e. g., G. टडकुँ, M. टडणोँ, but O. टल्लिआ to confound. To sum up: W. Gd. (excl. S.) and S. Gd., like the Mh.-Sr. Pr., keep the cerebral  $\text{ठ}$ ; but E. Gd. and N. Gd. dentalize it, like the Mg. Pr.; S., like the old Páschá, follows the E. Gd. practice.

17. In E. H. the semivowels  $\text{य}$  and  $\text{व}$  are never *organic*, but always *euphonic*, i. e., either simply inserted, or produced by sandhi in order to prevent a hiatus. Thus जीवै he *lives* for जी + ऐ (Pr. जीअइ); खायल् eaten for खाइल् (Pr. खाइदे); जाय् के having gone for जाइ के; जाँय् they may go for जा + ऐँ; again लेवै to take for लेऐ; रोखल् he wept for रो + खल्; घोडवा horse for घोडवा; जाँय् I may go for जाँयै, etc. It follows that they can never occur at the beginning of a word. It should be remembered, however, that in Kaithí,  $\text{व}$  is always written for  $\text{ब}$ , and  $\text{य}$  not uncommonly for  $\text{न}$ . Whenever such apparently organic  $\text{य}$  or  $\text{व}$  occur initially, they must be pronounced  $\text{न}$  or  $\text{ब}$  respectively; as योग् or जोग् jog worthy; संयुत or संजुत saṅyut joined; वात् or बात् bát word; वारै or बारै báṭar he is, संवत् or संबत् sambat year. This applies even to tatsamas as यात्रा játrá pilgrimage, आचार्य áchāraj preceptor. The sound of  $\text{व}$  is very peculiar; it is neither distinctly  $b$  nor  $v$ ; of the two it is nearer to  $b$ ; but in many cases it is difficult to say which it is. This is especially the case in the *theth bháshá*; in the *khari bháshá*, it is, as a rule, distinctly  $b$ . The same remarks apply to B. and O. — Nor does an *organic*  $\text{य}$  or  $\text{व}$  ever occur in the middle of a word; it is always vocalized and commonly combined with the adjacent vowels, as नारैन्

or नारायण *Nārāyaṇ* (Pr. नारायणे); देवोदारू *pine* (Pr. देवदारू). This applies also to tatsamas, as देवता *deota* (देवोता) *idol*. In tatsamas it is the usual, though not the universal practice to write वृ and वृ; but the Pr. Grammarians' practice of phonetic spelling would be greatly preferable; and for clearness' sake I shall observe it in this work.

18. *Affinities.* This subject is involved in some obscurity. According to the Pr. Gramm. an initial वृ always changes to वृ in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (Vr. 2, 31. H. C. 1, 245. T. V. 1, 3. 74), but in the Mg. Pr. it not only remains unchanged, but even वृ (whether initial or medial) changes to वृ (H. C. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39. cf. Vr. 11, 4. K. I. 5 in Ls. 393); e. g., Skr. योत्तनम्, Sr. ज्ञोत्तपं, Mg. योवपं. But not only is the modern E. and S. Gd. practice precisely the reverse of that of Mg., and the same as that of Mh.-Sr.; but even in the contemporary (Mg.) Pr. literature the Sr. Pr. almost uniformly prevails; e. g., in the Bhagavatī (see Wb. Bh. 394; also Ls. 406. 411. 425). It seems impossible to admit that the Pr. Grammarians should have deliberately foisted on a language, and that in some cases probably their own vernacular, a rule the opposite of which they knew to be the truth. And it seems to be an equally impossible supposition — it is, indeed, as just stated, contradicted by the Pr. literature —, that a revolution so complete in the pronunciation of Mg. should have taken place within the last few centuries, as the accustomed interpretation of their rule would involve. Yet if the वृ, which they mention, is understood in the sense of the ordinary semi-vowel *y*, there seems no escape from one or other of these two improbable alternatives. The solution of the difficulty appears to me to be the admission of the fact, that in the old Mg. Pr. times there must have existed an obscure sound, intermediate between *y* and *j*, and doing duty for both these two; precisely analogous to the obscure sound which took the place in Pr. of the two sounds *v* and *b* and which still exists in E. H. (§ 17). These two obscure or neutral sounds I shall call the *semiconsonants* वृ

and व्. The palatal semiconsonant *y* still appears to exist here and there in isolated cases. It has been noticed by Beames to occur in the Panjáb<sup>1)</sup>. But from the Pr. Gramm.' statement, it is probable that it once universally prevailed in the Mg. Pr. The two cases, of य् and ज् on the one side and of व् and ब् on the other, are closely analogous and serve to elucidate one another. The existence of such *semiconsonants* य् and व् is, apparently, nowhere expressly noted in the Pr. Gramm.; but it follows almost of necessity from the fact, that side by side with them Pr. possesses an *euphonic* य् and व्<sup>2)</sup>. The latter are very common in modern Gd., and are pronounced precisely like our ordinary semivowels *y* and *v*; whence it follows, that the organic य् and व् must have had in Pr. more of a real consonantal character, and are, in fact, semiconsonants, i. e., neutral sounds between the full semivowels and the full consonants<sup>3)</sup>. It is this semiconsonant व्,

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1) „The Hindi holds fast the correct pronunciation (of ज्), but Panjabi rather finds it a stumbling-block. When a Panjabi says मक् *mayh* “a buffalocow” the sound he produces is something very odd. It might be represented by *meyh*, a very palatal *y* aspirated; perhaps in German by *moch*, or rather, if it may be so expressed, with a medial sound corresponding to the tenus *ch*” (Bs. I, 71). It is probably the sound, given to *g* (as in *lebendig*) in the Rhenish Provinces.

2) Thus K I. 1, 45. कृचिद्व वा ॥ गघपां गयपां वा ॥ 46. कृचिद्व वत्वं वा । सुह्रो सुह्रो वा ॥ i. e. sometimes (when a consonant is elided) an euphonic *y* or *v* is inserted, as *gayanam* for *gaanam* (Skr. *gaganam*), *suhavo* for *suhao* (Skr. *subhagah*). Again H. C. 1, 180. अघर्षो यमुतिः, and T. V. 1, 3 10 यमुतिः । नयर् ॥ in the place of an elided consonant between the vowels *ā* or *ā* an euphonic *y* is pronounced; as *nayaram* (Skr. *nagaram*), etc. Mṛ 2, 2. has अनाद्व् अदितो अपाँ पठित्व्यौ । यकारवदिति पाठमिच्छा ॥ (MS. fol 8\*) — See also Wb. Bh. 399.

3) The Pr. Gramm. themselves note a distinction in the sound of the two sets; thus T. V. 1, 3 10 calls the euphonic *y* लघुपयत्नत्रयकार् „pronounced with smaller effort“; in the same rule among the examples of the euphonic य् the Pr. पायपां *eye* for Skr. नयनं is given; this would have no sense, unless the organic (Skr.) य् was pronounced in Pr. differently from the euphonic य्. Again य् and व् are in Pr. sometimes *vocalized* and, by combination with the adjacent vowels, form ए and ओ; this

which according to the Pr. Gramm. is sometimes *substituted* for a single medial Skr.  $\text{व्}$  or  $\text{वः}$ , but as a rule *elided*, both in Mh.-Sr. and in Mg. Pr.<sup>1)</sup>. They give no rule as to the substitution of the semicons.  $\text{वः}$  for an initial or a conjunct Skr.  $\text{वः}$ ; whence it may be concluded, that in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. the latter remained unchanged. This conclusion, indeed, is indirectly supported by the fact that the Skr. conj.  $\text{म्ब}$  *mb* does not change in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. into  $\text{म्म}$  *mm*, as it would do according to Vr. 3, 8. if it were pronounced in Pr.  $\text{म्ब}$  *mv* with the semicons.  $\text{वः}$ <sup>2)</sup>. Thus Skr.  $\text{जम्बु}$ <sup>०</sup>, Pr.  $\text{जम्बु}$ <sup>०</sup> or  $\text{जंबु}$ <sup>०</sup> (Spt. 192); Skr.  $\text{निम्ब}$ <sup>०</sup>, Pr.  $\text{णिम्ब}$ <sup>०</sup> or  $\text{गिम्ब}$ <sup>०</sup> (Spt 252); Skt.  $\text{अम्बु}$ <sup>०</sup>, Pr.  $\text{अम्बु}$  or  $\text{अंबु}$  (Spt A. 32); Skr.  $\text{त्रिम्ब}$ <sup>०</sup>, Pr.  $\text{त्रिम्ब}$ <sup>०</sup> or  $\text{त्रिब}$  (Spt. 208), also Pr.  $\text{अम्ब}$  or  $\text{अंब}$  (Vr. 3, 53, for Skr.  $\text{अम्}$ );

occurs, as a rule, in declension and conjugation, and it will be observed, that the  $\text{वः}$  and  $\text{वः}$  thus treated are always the euphonic semivowels; thus Skr.  $\text{जयति}$  of  $\text{जि} + \text{अति}$  is Pr.  $\text{जेदि}$ , Skr.  $\text{भवति}$  of  $\text{भू} + \text{अति}$  is Pr.  $\text{होदि}$ , Skr.  $\text{तन्वी}$  of  $\text{तनु} + \text{ई}$  is Pr.  $\text{तणुई}$ , etc.; on the other hand, the organic semiconsonants  $\text{वः}$  and  $\text{वः}$  are not vocalized, but as a rule elided, thus Skr.  $\text{नयन}$  is Pr.  $\text{णान्नण}$  (T. V. 1, 3 8); Skr.  $\text{लावपय}$  is Pr.  $\text{लान्नय}$  (T. V. 1, 3. 8). In short, the euph. semivowels  $\text{वः}$  and  $\text{वः}$  are treated like vowels; but the semiconsonants  $\text{वः}$  and  $\text{वः}$  like consonants. Again note the change of Skr.  $\text{हाया}$  to Pr.  $\text{हाहा}$  (Vr. 2, 18).

1) Vr 2, 15  $\text{पोवः}$  *v takes the place of p*; H C. 1, 237 T. V. 1, 3 61  $\text{वोवः}$  *v takes the place of b*; Vr. 2, 2  $\text{पयवः}$   $\text{प्रायः}$   $\text{लोपः}$ ; Md. 2, 2  $\text{प्रायः}$   $\text{पयवः}$   $\text{लोपः}$ . (MS fol 8<sup>a</sup>) „as a rule *v* etc. are elided”. These rules are given on Mh. but they apply to Sr. and Mg too (by H. C 3, 302. 286). It is noticeable, that they do not apply to the Ap Pr., which possesses the full consonant  $\text{वः}$ ; thus H C 4, 396  $\text{अनादौ स्वरान्त्युक्तानां कत्वतयपकां गद्यध्वना}$ . „medial single *p*, *ph* etc. become *b*, *bh* etc.”.

2) While conjuncts consisting of a semivowel with an antecedent nasal are assimilated in Pr. (Vr 3, 2. 3), those consisting of a consonant with an antecedent nasal are not. Hence the second part of the conjunct in the examples must be pronounced  $\text{वः}$  *b*, not  $\text{वः}$  *v*; otherwise the forms ought to be  $\text{जम्बू}$ , etc.; as, indeed, they were probably in Mg. The rule Vr 3, 3 does not apply to the consonant  $\text{वः}$  *b*, but only to neutral  $\text{वः}$ , the example  $\text{लोडन्नो}$  for Skr.  $\text{लब्धन्नः}$  does not prove that it does, as  $\text{वः}$  would be assimilated, in any case, by the analogy of the rule Vr. 3, 1.

Skr. चुम्बति *he lusses*, Pr. चुम्बइ or चुम्बइ (H. C. 4, 239). On the other hand, it is very probable, that both the initial and the conjunct Skr. वृ were pronounced in the Mg. Pr. as the semiconsonant वृ. For the following reasons: *firstly*, while the W. and S. Gd., the descendants of the Mh.-Sr. Pr., show, like the latter, the cons. वृ in the place of the Skr. conjunct म्वृ, the E. Gd., the descendant of the Mg. Pr. (and S. which generally follows E. Gd. practices, cf. § 16), shows मृ which postulates in Mg. a conjunct म्वृ<sup>1</sup>) and hence the pronunciation म्वृ for Skr. म्वृ; thus Skr. त्वम्, Mh.-Sr. त्वम्, M. तव्वं, G. तव्वं, but E. H., B., O. ताम्, S. ताम्, Mg. \*त्वम्; Skr. निम्बः, Mh.-Sr. पिम्बो, W. H., M., G. नीव्वं, but E. H., B., O. नीम्, Mg. \*निम्मे; Skr. निम्बूकः, Mh.-Sr. पिम्बूको, W. H., M., G. निम्बू, but E. H., B., O. नीम्, S. निम्, or लिम्, Mg. \*निम्मू; Skr. लम्बः, Mh.-Sr. लम्बो, W. H. लम्बा, but E. H. लाम्, Mg. \*लम्मे; Skr. अम्बम्, Mh.-Sr. अम्बं, W. H. P. अम्ब, M. अम्बा, G. अम्बो, but E. H., B., O. अम्, S. अमो (also अम्बु), Mg. \*अम्मं; Skr. ताम्बम्, Mh.-Sr. तम्बं, W. H., P. तव्वं, M. तव्वं, G. तव्वं, but E. H., B., O. ताम् or तामा, S. टामो, Mg. \*तम्मं (cf. Ls. 246); in Skr. कम्बलः *blanket*, Mg. \*कम्मले, E. H. कम्मल् (cf. § 143 exc.) the original Mg. \*म्म is preserved; Skr. सम्बुध्यते, Mg. \*सम्मुक्कइ, E. H. समुक्कै<sup>2</sup>). *Secondly*, while E. Gd. (and Br.) possesses the initial semiconsonant वृ, the other Gd. languages have either the semivowel वृ or the consonant वृ (see Bs. I, 252. Kl. 11. 13) at the beginning of words. *Thirdly*, while the Gurmukhī (i. e. Panjābī) and Gujarātī alphabets possess two separate signs for *v* and *b*, the Kaithī (incl. Devanāgarī), Bangālī and Oriyā have only one, namely वृ, to denote both sounds *v* and *b*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot under (E. H. वृ) or over (O. वृ) it when it has the sound of *v*; as E. H. रावन् *Rāvan*,

1) The Mg. semicons. वृ seems to have a tendency to change to मृ, e g., Mg माहण for वाहण (Skr. ब्राह्मण), Mg वेसमण for वेसवण (Skr. वैश्रवण), see Wb. Bh 414. 415, also see § 134.

2) In the last instance सम्मु the assimilation म्मु appears to be common to all Gds.; cf. Bs. II, 108. H समकौती, G. समजुती, M. समजूत.



कवन् *kavan* who; but वचन् *bachan* word, वन *ban* wood<sup>1)</sup>. On the whole the case appears to stand thus: In Mh.-Sr. Pr. the Skr. semivowel व् and consonant व remain unchanged at the beginning of words, but become the semiconsonant व् in the middle. On the other hand, in Mg. they are pronounced as the semicons. व् in every case whether initial or medial. In E. Gd. the Mg. initial semicons. व् has a tendency to be hardened into the consonant व, and the Mg. medial semicons. व् has a tendency to be softened into the semivowel व् and vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels: thus Skr. वृध्यते, Mg. वुड्कड, E. H. वूकै *he knows*; Skr. शपयन्, A. Mg. सवह, E. H. सोह. The case of व् and ण् is precisely analogous. It is the semiconsonant व्, to which the Pr. Gramm. rule refers<sup>2)</sup>. From this rule it appears, that just as the semiconsonant व् was pronounced in Mg. Pr. for both the Skr. semivowel व् and consonant व, so the semicons. व् was pronounced in it for both the Skr. semivow. व् and cons. ण्; and that, again, in every case, both in the beginning and middle of a word. Moreover, just like the Skr. conjunct म्व *mb* is pronounced in Mg. म्व *mv* and changed to म् *mm*, so the Skr. conjunct ञ् *ṇ* is in Mg. pronounced \*ञ् *ṇy* and becomes उञ् *ṇṇ*<sup>3)</sup>. Once more: as the Bangálí and Oriyá alphabets have only one character for both *v* and *b*, so they have only one sign for both sounds *y* and *j*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot (B. ण्) or hook (O. ण्) under the व् when it has the sound

1) This proves, that the semicons व् was felt to be more like *b* than *v*; for otherwise the dot would be used, when it signified *b*, as indeed it is in Devanágari, the alphabet of W. H and M, where व् (i e व or dot within व) signifies *b*.

2) Thus Vr. 11, 4 णो षः *y* takes the place of *j*; H. C 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39 णय्यां षः *y* takes the place of *j*, *dy* and *y*.

3) Thus H. C. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2 37 णय्यञ्चञ्चो उञ्चः *ṇṇ* takes the place of *ṇj* etc., as षञ्चली for Skr. षञ्चली, धपाञ्चल् for Skr. धनञ्चयः, पञ्चले for Skr. प्राञ्चलः *straight*, none of these words, I believe, have survived in the modern Gds; nor do I happen to know any other instance in B. or O.; in S., perhaps, there is सिञ्जु *marrow* for Skr. \*माञ्ज<sup>o</sup> (see Tr. XXVII)

of *y*<sup>1</sup>). On the other hand the Gurmukhī and (in this case also) Kaithī have two separate signs for *y* and *j*, just as in the case of *v* and *b*<sup>2</sup>). Finally as in the case of the Mg. semicons. *य्*, so here too the Mg. int. semicons. *य्* has been hardened in the modern E. Gd. into the full consonant *य*, and the Mg. medial semicons. *य्* is softened into the semivowel *य्*, vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels; thus Skr. ज्ञानाति *he knows*, Mg. याणाड, E. H. ज्ञाने; Skr. रत्ननी *night*, Mg. रयणी, E. H. रडनि *or* रैनि. To judge, however, from the evidence of the A. Mg. Pr. of the Bhagavati, where *ry* and *rj* as a rule appear as *yy*, but *j* remains unchanged (see Wb. Bh. 394. 389), and from the fact that the Kaithī has separate signs for *y* and *j*, it is possible, that the A. Mg. never possessed the *single* semicons. *य्*, but only the double semicons. *य्य*, following in the former respect the Mh.-Sr., in the latter the Mg. In any case, in its modern representative, the E. H., the semicons. *य्*, whether single or double, has become a full consonant. — This theory of the semicons. *य्* is confirmed

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1) This shows again that the semicons *य्* was in Mg Pr. more like *j* than *y* — It is noticeable that Bhāmaha in his Comm. on V. 11, 4 does not use the term *स्याने* (he says *प्रकारस्य प्रकारो भवति*), which he employs in all other sūtras where an actual phonetic change is enjoined, thus on Vr. 11, 3 he says *प्रकारस्यकारयोः स्याने प्रकारो भवति*, and so even on Vr 11, 7 *प्रकारस्यकारयोः स्याने यो भवति* i. e. *yy* for *rj* and *ry*. Now in the Bhagavati *ry* and *ry*, as a rule, change into *yy*, but *j* does not change (Wb. Bh. 394. 389). This curious coincidence would seem to show, that the difference in Bhāmaha's terminology, if it was intentional, was meant to indicate, that in the case of *j* the change was one in *writing* only, but in the case of *rj* and *ry* it was one both in *writing* and *pronunciation*. In other words in Bhām' time the semicons. *य्* had already hardened into the full cons *य*, though it was still written *य्* (as in modern B. and O.), but the double *य्य* was still both written and pronounced as semicons. The latter would naturally hold out longer. In modern E Gd, however, it too has hardened to *य्य*.

2) It may be remarked, however, that in Kaithī, too, a dot is placed under *य्*, when it signifies an *organic y* in tatsama words; thus सत्य *true*; which shows, that formerly *य्* (without dot) signified *j*, the Pr. substitute of the Skr. organic *y*.

by and elucidates the treatment of the Skr. conjunct  $\text{ज्ञ्} \text{ṇ}$  in Pr. and Gd. According to the Pr. Gramm.  $\text{ज्ञ्}$  changes to  $\text{ष्} \text{ṇ}$  in Mh.-Sr.<sup>1)</sup> (H. C. 2, 42. T. V. 1, 4. 37. Vr. 3, 44), to  $\text{उञ्} \text{ṇ}$  in Mg. (H. C. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2. 37) and to  $\text{न्} \text{ṇ}$  in the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 402. 403). The Gds. show no trace of the form  $\text{उञ्} \text{ṇ}$ , but have always  $\text{न्} \text{ṇ}$  or  $\text{ण्} \text{ṇ}$ , as Skr.  $\text{राज्ञी}$  *queen*, Pr.  $\text{रष्णी}$  or  $\text{रूनी}$ , E. H.  $\text{रानी}$  or  $\text{राणी}$ , N.  $\text{रानी}$ , M. G. P. S.  $\text{राणी}$ ; Skr.  $\text{यज्ञोपवीतं}$  *sacificial thread*, Pr. \* $\text{यज्ञोवित्रं}$  or  $\text{यज्ञोवित्रं}$  (cf. Vr. 4, 1), G.  $\text{यज्ञोड}$ , E. H.  $\text{यज्ञउ}$  (for  $\text{यज्ञोड}$  see § 26. 122), M.  $\text{यज्ञवे}$ , S.  $\text{यज्ञयो}$ , W. H.  $\text{यज्ञेउ}$ ; Skr.  $\text{आज्ञा}$  *order*, Pr.  $\text{आणा}$  (Vr. 3, 55) or  $\text{आना}$ , H.  $\text{आन्}$ ; Skr.  $\text{संज्ञा}$ , Pr.  $\text{सष्ठा}$  or  $\text{सन्ना}$ , H.  $\text{सान्}$  *sign*; Skr.  $\text{विज्ञापिका}$ , Pr.  $\text{विषन्त्रिष्ठा}$  or  $\text{विन्त्रिष्ठा}$ , H.  $\text{विन्ती}$  *respectful information, petition*; Skr.  $\text{संज्ञापिका}$ , Pr.  $\text{सषन्त्रिष्ठा}$  or  $\text{सन्त्रिष्ठा}$ , H.  $\text{सनती}$  *instead* (lit. *hulling*)<sup>2)</sup>. If  $\text{ज्ञ्}$  was pronounced as a semicons. ( $\text{य्}$ ), it would easily be assimilated to the succeeding nasal. Besides from the form  $\text{न्} \text{ṇ}$  it appears, that this palatal semicons.  $\text{य्}$  had a tendency to pass into the dental class. There are, however, traces in Pr. of another modification of  $\text{ज्ञ्}$ , beside that into  $\text{ष्}$  or  $\text{न्}$ . The Skr. base  $\text{राज्ञ}$  *king* becomes in Ps. Pr.  $\text{राचिन}$  (Vr. 10, 12) and in the later Mh. Pr.  $\text{राडण}$  (H. C. 3, 50—55. K. I 237. 238. Cw 45. Ls. 315). The latter presupposes a Sr. form \* $\text{रात्रिण}$  or \* $\text{रात्रिन}$  or Mg. \* $\text{रायिञ}$ . Here, evidently the conjunct  $\text{ज्ञ्}$  has been dissolved into  $\text{त्रिण}$  or  $\text{त्रिन}$ , which the Ps., as usual, changes to  $\text{चिन}$ . On the same principle the E. H. word  $\text{सद्न्}$  or  $\text{सैन्}$  *hunt* (also S., see Tr. XXXIV) is formed from the Pr. \* $\text{सद्णा}$  or \* $\text{सन्त्रिणा}$ , Skr.  $\text{संज्ञा}$ <sup>3)</sup>. Instead, however,

1) They state, however, that  $\text{ज्ञ्}$  of the R.  $\text{ज्ञा}$  *know* always becomes  $\text{ज्ञ्}$  (Vr. 8, 23); this is born out by Gd, which has  $\text{ज्ञान्}$ , they also say that  $\text{ज्ञ्}$  of derivatives of the R.  $\text{ज्ञा}$  *optionally* becomes  $\text{ज्ञ्}$  (H C 2, 83 T V. 1, 4 82. Vr. 3, 5); but Gd shows no trace of this

2) Also  $\text{देवान्}$  or  $\text{देवाना}$  *mad*, Pr.  $\text{दहवष्णू}$  (H C 2, 83) or \* $\text{दहवन्न्}$ , Skr.  $\text{दैवज्ञः}$  (lit. *inspired*); and  $\text{वीन्}$  or  $\text{वीना}$  *seeing*, Pr. \* $\text{विष्णू}$  or \* $\text{विन्न्}$ , Skr.  $\text{विज्ञः}$  (lit. *knowing*), these two words, however, are probably introduced from the Persian, which accounts for their metaphorical meaning

3) H has both  $\text{सान्}$  and  $\text{सैन्}$  *hunt*, but only  $\text{रानी}$  *queen*, not  $\text{रैनी}$ ; probably to avoid confusion with  $\text{रैनी}$  *night* for Skr.  $\text{रत्नी}$ .

of ण being elided, it generally appears in the modern Gd. either as ण् g (E. and W Gd.) or ढ d (S. Gd.). This can be naturally explained, if the original ण be supposed to have been at first pronounced as the semicons. ण्. The latter, as already stated, has a tendency to pass into the dental class, but it passes even more easily into the guttural; i. e., original जिन becomes गिन or दिन. Next the nasal was suppressed and the two hiatus-vowels of निञ्च contracted to ग्य. This is still the common practice to the present day in regard to tatsamas in P. and H.: e. g., P. गिञ्चान्, H. ग्यान् *knowledge* for Skr. ज्ञानं: P. अगिञ्चा, H. अग्या *order* for Skr. अज्ञा; but it must have existed already in the Ap. Pr., as evidenced by the modern H. जग्य or जग्य *sacrifice*, which presupposes an Ap. Pr. form जग्य in which the conjunct ग्य gy has become subject to the ordinary Gd. laws on the treatment of conjuncts (see § 144. 147 150); so also the S. सर्वग्य *omniscient* for सर्वग्य (Tr. XXXII). — In G. tatsamas °गिन्° is changed to ग्या gnya, and M. has द्या dnya for °दिन्°; e. g., Skr. ज्ञान is in G. gnyān, in M. dnyān. It is usual, however, to retain in writing the Skr. conjunct ग्य in the place of the modern awkward triple nexus. — It has been already noted, that traces of the insertion of the euphonic semivowels य् and व् are already found in Pr. The practice is far more general in Gd.; in E. H. especially, these euph. letters are regularly employed in the formation of the *long* form of nouns (see § 203).

19. E. H. does not possess the two sibilants ण् ण and ण् श of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in tatsama words they are always pronounced as स s, as शिव su (सित) Śiva. Already in the A. Mg. Pr., the original of E. H., they had uniformly given way to the latter (see Wb. Bh. 393. 415. Ls. 411). In writing the symbols ण् and ण् are commonly used; but they are always pronounced s and kh respectively (as ण् khūs *happy*. pers. خوش), and, in fact, are the E. H. (Kaithi) signs of those two sounds. To avoid misunderstanding, however, I shall employ in this work the usual Devanāgarī characters स s and ख kh.

20. *Affinities* The sound of  $\text{ṛ}$  had been already lost in all Prs.; that of  $\text{ṛ}$  in the Mh.-Sr. and that of  $\text{ṛ}$  in the Mg. (Vr. 2, 43. 11, 3). Accordingly none of the Gḍs. have  $\text{ṛ}$ , the E. Gḍ. (exc. E. H.) has no  $\text{ṛ}$ , W. and N. Gḍ. no  $\text{ṛ}$ . S. Gḍ. and E. H., follow, like their prototypes (the A. Mg. and Dk. Pr.), the example of the Mh.-Sr. and have. as a rule, no  $\text{ṛ}$ . In other words, like their respective originals, E. Gḍ. (excl. E. H.) pronounces all three Skr. sibilants alike as  $\text{ṣ}$ ; W., N., S. Gḍ. and E. H. as  $\text{s}$ . In H. H., however, and in the other literary forms of W. Gḍ. both  $\text{ṛ}$  and  $\text{ṛ}$  are sounded in tatsamas, but alike as palatal  $\text{ṣ}$ ; thus  $\text{शिव}$  and  $\text{विष्णु}$  are  $\text{ṣiva}$  and  $\text{viṣṇu}$ . — In *writing*, the character  $\text{ṛ}$ , more or less modified in the different alphabets (see the *table*), is preserved in all Gḍs., and used as a symbol of  $\text{ṛ}$   $kh$ . Similarly E. Gḍ. uses  $\text{ṛ}$ , and W. and N. Gḍ.  $\text{ṛ}$ , and S. Gḍ.  $\text{ṛ}$  and  $\text{ṛ}$  indifferently, as a symbol for their *one* sibilant. In the literary or high forms of the various Gḍs., the use of all three *characters*  $\text{ṛ}$ ,  $\text{ṛ}$ ,  $\text{ṛ}$  (not of their sounds), has been reintroduced; chiefly in tatsamas; in tadbhavas, owing to an imperfect knowledge of their derivation, they are sometimes wrongly employed by native writers.

21. • Such foreign sounds as do not occur in the E. H. phonetic system, are assimilated in the following manner:

1) The semigutturals (arabic)  $\text{ق } q$ ,  $\text{خ } kh$ ,  $\text{غ } gh$  and  $\text{ح } h$  or  $\text{ح } h$  become respectively the pure gutturals  $\text{क}$ ,  $\text{ख}$ ,  $\text{ग}$  and  $\text{ह}$ ; as  $\text{كولى}$  for  $\text{كولى}$  *agreement*,  $\text{خالى}$  *only* or *empty*;  $\text{غريب}$  *poor*;  $\text{حالى}$  *state*;  $\text{هري}$  *every*.

2) The semipalatals (arabic)  $\text{ز } z$ ,  $\text{ذ } dh$ ,  $\text{ص } s$  and  $\text{ظ } zh$  become pure palatal  $\text{ज्ञ}$ ; as  $\text{كاغذ}$  (O. H.  $\text{कागद}$ ) *paper*;  $\text{زبانتي}$  *more* (see Bs. II, 54);  $\text{زميندار}$  *landholder*;  $\text{ضامن}$  *surety*;  $\text{ظاهر}$  *manifest*.

3) The semicerebrals (english)  $\text{t}$  and  $\text{d}$  become pure cerebral  $\text{ट}$  and  $\text{ड}$  respectively; as  $\text{كلكटर}$  *collector*,  $\text{لار}$  *lord*.

4) The semidentals  $\text{ط } t$  and (sibilants)  $\text{ث } th$ ,  $\text{س } s$  and  $\text{ش } sh$  become pure dental  $\text{त}$  and  $\text{स}$  respectively; as  $\text{تيار}$  *ready*;  $\text{ثابت}$  *proved*;  $\text{صاحب}$  *master, sir*;  $\text{خوش}$  *happy*.

5) The semilabial ف *f* becomes pure labial फ़, pronounced *ph*, not *f* as in W. H.; e. g., फैदा *phaidá* for فايدة *faidá profit*.

6) The spirants ع *u* and (sometimes) و *v* are dropped, and if they were medial, the hiatus-vowels are contracted, as मालूम *known*, माकिऊ for موائف *like*.

### 3. THE VISARGA AND ANUSVÁRA.

22. The E. H. does not possess the *Visarga* (:) or unmodified sibilant (see M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. Already in Skr. the visarga had ceased to be pronounced in certain cases and was assimilated either to the preceding vowel or to the following consonant. In Pr. this became the universal practice (cf. Ls. 142. 229. 230). It follows that none of the Gds. can possess the visarga; on the contrary, they further subject the assimilated vowel or consonant of the Pr. to the disintegrating action of their own laws. Thus compare the following examples: Skr. अन्वोऽपि *also another*, A. Mg. Pr. अन्ने बि, E. H. अनड or अनै; Skr. यशोवान् *glorious*, A. Mg. Pr. जसावन्ते or जसवन्ते, E. H. जसवंत्; Skr. दुर्बलः *weak*, Mg. दुवुले, E. H. दूबर्; Skr. निश्चिन्तः *thoughtless*, Mg. निच्चिते, E. H. निचीत्; Skr. निस्ताजवति *he pours off*, Mg. नित्वाल्ड, E. H. निवारै; Skr. निष्कलं *fruitless*, Mg. निष्कलं, E. H. नीकल; Skr. अग्निः *fire*, Mg. अग्नो, E. H. अग्नि; Skr. दुःखं *pain*, Mg. दुक्ख, E. H. दुख्; Skr. अन्तःकरणं *conscience*, Mg. अंतक्कलपं, E. H. अंतकर्न्; Skr. निष्कालयति *expels*, Mg. निक्कालड, E. H. निकालै; Skr. निष्वाण *breath*, A. Mg. निस्साले, E. H. निसास्. It will be seen from this, that the spelling with a visarga (as दुःख्, अंतःकरण्), affected by Hindí purists (especially foreign lexicographers), is indefensible. A sound, which had disappeared in Pr. already, could not have survived in Gd. As a matter of fact, no Hindú pronounces or writes <sup>1)</sup> it, even in tatsamas; they say *dukh* not *dukhkh*, and *antakaran* not *antahkharan*. The latter is even

1) I have seen a native writer use the visarga to indicate a sonant final *a*, as कर्बः *karaba* (*you will do*), the practice, however, is not to be commended; as little as the use of the anusvára to indicate *nasalization* (§§ 23. 8); both are abuses of the Skr. symbols.

sometimes pronounced *antkaran*, where the *quiescence* of the *ã*, which could not be unless the *ã* were final (see § 41), clearly proves the absence of a visarga.

23. The E. H. does not possess the *Anusvāra* (·) or unmodified nasal (M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. The anusvāra should be carefully distinguished from the *anunāsika* ( ). The former is a separate sound (like the visarga or like any vowel or consonant), while the latter is merely the nasalization of a sound. If the breath is emitted wholly through the mouth, the *pure* sounds, whether vowels or consonants<sup>1)</sup>, are produced; if a part only be thus emitted, while the rest is allowed to escape simultaneously through the nose, a nasalized sound, whether vowel or consonant<sup>1)</sup>, is produced; if the breath is expelled wholly through the nose, the mouth being shut, a pure nasal sound (unmodified by any organ of speech in the mouth) is the result. The latter is the anusvāra, which, therefore, is called by native Grammarians *nāsikya*, because pronounced in the nose only. The second group, the nasalized sounds, are called by them *anunāsika* or *co-nasals*, because they are pronounced through both mouth and nose *at the same time*. The pure nasal, monopolising as it does the whole of the breath, cannot be pronounced *together with*, but only *after* an other sound. Hence it is called by the native Gramm. anusvāra, i. e. *after-sound*. — Now any sound, whether vowel or consonant, may be nasalized, except *ṛ* *r*, *ṣ* *s* and *ḥ* *h*<sup>2)</sup>; but only five of these, when thus nasalized, are written with separate letters, viz. the nasal consonants or, briefly, the *class-nasals*, *ṅ* *n*, *ṇ* *ṇ*, *ṁ* *m*. The nasalization of the rest (i. e. *ā*, *ī*, *ū* and the vowels, which I shall call, briefly, the *anunāsika*) is indicated by the sign (◌̣), called *arddhachandra* (halfmoon); thus *ạ̄*, *ị̄*, *ụ̄*, etc. (§ 8). The pure nasal (or anusvāra) is denoted by the sign (·), called *bindu* (dot);

1) Modified in the mouth, according to the organ of speech, into gutturals, palatals, etc.

2) In Skr. also *ṣ* and *ś*; and in Gd. also *ṛ*.

thus अं *am* is the vowel *á* succeeded by a nasal tone, while अँ *ã* is the nasalized vowel *á*. The latter is but *one* sound; the former are two successive sounds. The two cases, therefore, are quite distinct. — The anusvára has the nearest affinity to the class-nasal न् *m*; the latter is formed by a momentary, the former by a prolonged contact of the lips. — As to the use of these three kinds of nasals (the class-nasals, the anusvára and the anunásika) in Skr., 'Pr. and Gd. respectively, the following *general* laws may be laid down. *Firstly*, as regards the nasal in the *body of the word*. 1) In Skr.: a) a nasal standing before स् *s* (श्, ष्) and ह् *h* must be the anusvára; b) before any consonant proper it must be the respective class-nasal; c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels it must be one of the three, ए, न् or म् or न् (cf. M. M. 5. 7. 59. 60). 2) In Pr.: a) a nasal standing before स् (Mg. ष्), must be the anusvára; b) before ह् and any cons. proper it may be either the anusvára or the respective class-nasal; in the latter case ह् changes to घ् (H. C. 1, 264. T. V. 1, 3. 86); c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels ए, न् and म् remain, as a rule, unchanged<sup>1)</sup>; but occasionally न् before म् may be changed to anusvára, while before vowels it may become ष् with or without anunásika or be elided<sup>2)</sup> (cf. ad a. b., Vr. 4, 17. H. C. 1, 29. 30. T. V. 1, 1. 47. 48; ad c., Vr. 3, 2. 3. 43. 44. 53. 2, 3. T. V. 1. 4. 78. 79. 37. 48. 49. 3, 2. 37. 44. 3, 3. 3. 1, 3. 11. H. C. 2, 42. 56. 61. 78. 79. 1, 23. 4, 397. 1, 178). 3) In Gd. a) the nasal is never anusvára under any circumstances; b) before स्, ह्, and any cons. proper it may be either anunásika or the respective class-nasal; if anunásika, the preceding vowel is almost universally lengthened; if class-nasal, ह् becomes घ्; c) before semivowels

1) Unless the conjunct is dissolved; as Skr. ताम्रिका *tamarind*, Pr. तम्रिका, H. तम्रिका (see § 167)

2) Occasionally न् before vowels is changed to anusvára or anunásika in Pr.; as Skr. गृहाणि *houses*, Pr. घरान् or घरान् (H. C. 3, 26. T. V. 2, 2. 31), M. घरैः.



and vowels it is often changed to *anunásika*, in which case the hiatus-vowels are generally contracted. Compare the following examples: *ad a b*) Skr. हंसः *goose*. A. Mg. हंने, E. H. हँस् or हन्स्; Skr. सिंहः *lion*, A. Mg. सिंहे or सिङ्गे (or सिंवे), E. H. सोँह् or सोँव् or सिङ्ग् (or सिव् § 13); Skr. पट्टः *mud.* Mg. पंके or पङ्गे, E. H. पाँक् or पङ्क् (or पंक् § 13); Skr. अञ्जनम् *eyesalve*, Sr. अंजपां or अञ्जपां, E. H. अँजन् or अञ्जन्; Skr. कण्टकः *thorn*. Mg. कंटए or कण्टए, E. H. काँटा or कण्टा; Skt. चन्द्रः *moon*, Mg. चंदे or चन्दे, E. H. चाँद् or चन्द्; Skr. कम्पति *he trembles*, Mg. कपइ or कम्पइ, E. H. काँपे or कम्पे; *ad c*) Skr. पुण्यम् *virtue*, A. Mg. पुपां or पुन्, E. H. पुन्; Skr. मन्यते *he heeds*, Mg. मन्इ, E. H. मानै; Skr. गम्यते *it passes*, Mg. गम्मइ, E. H. गमै; Skr. तन्मुलः *roseapple*, Mg. तन्मुले or \*तम्मुले (§ 18), E. H. तामुन्; Skr. अमृम् *mango*, Mg. अम्वं or \*अम्मं (§ 18), E. H. आम्; Skr. जन्मयते *is born* (Den. R.), Mg. जम्मइ (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. तामे or तैमै; Skr. भ्रमरकः *bee*. Ap. भवँरउ, E. H. भौँरा, Skr. कमलम् *lotus*, Ap. कवलं, E. H. कवल्ल्; Skr. कुमारः *prince*, Mg. कुमाले or कुमले (H. C. 4, 302. 1, 67), E. H. कुअँर् or कुअँर्; Skr. स्थाने *at (a place)*, Mg. थाणे or (Ap) थाणि, E. H. थेँ; Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत् *thirty five*, Mg. पञ्चतीसा or पणतीसा (cf. H. C. 2, 174. 43), E. H. पैँतीस् (for पयँतीस्). There are a few exceptions; 1) in Pr.: *α*) occasionally the *anusvára* is optionally dropped, in which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened (Vr. 1, 17. 4, 16. H. C. 1, 28. 29. T. V. 1, 1. 46. 48); *β*) occasionally an *anusvára* is substituted for a consonant proper forming the first part of a conjunct (Vr. 4, 15. H. C. 1, 26. T. V. 1, 1. 42); *γ*) the nasal preceding a consonant proper which is not *ásanna* (T. V. 1, 1. 47), i. e., between which and itself another consonant has been dropped, *must* be *anusvára* (H. C. 1, 25. T. V. 1, 1. 41); *δ*) a nasal, preceding ह् by transposition, remains, as a rule, unchanged; very rarely it is elided and the preceding vowel lengthened (Vr. 3, 8. 32. 33. H. C. 2, 74. 75. T. V. 1, 4. 67—70. H. C. 2, 73. T. V. 1, 4. 64). 2) In Gd.: *α* and *β*) the Pr. practice is retained and extended, only substituting *anunásika* for *anusvára*; *γ*) in this case also *anunásika* is substituted for *anusvára*; *δ*) either ह् is elided and the preceding

vowel lengthened or the conjunct is dissolved. Compare the following examples: ad *a*) Skr. विंशतिः *twenty*, Pr. वीसा, E. H. वीस्, Skr. सिंहः *lion*, Pr. सोहो or सिंहो, E. H. सोह् or सोह्, etc. (see above); Skr. मांसम् *flesh*, Pr. मासं or मसं, E. H. मास् or मास् or मन्स्; Skr. संहर्ति *he collects*, Pr. संहर्इ or सहरइ (T. V. 3, 1. 133), E. H. सहरै; Skr. सम्मुखे *before*. Pr. संमुहे or समुह, H. सामहे or समुहे or सोहो; Skr. पठन् *reading*. Mg. पठंते, E. H. पठन्; Skr. संस्यः *together with*, Mg. संये or सत्ये, E. H. साय्; ad *β*) Skr. वक्रन्, Pr. वक, E. H. वाक्; Skr. अश्रुकन् *tear*, Pr. अंशुअं, E. H. अंशू; Skr. सत्यम् *true*, Pr. सच्चं, E. H. साच्च; Skr. निद्रा *sleep*, Pr. पिद्रा, E. H. तोद्, etc. (see § 149): ad *γ*) Skr. पङ्क्तिः *row*, Pr. पत्तो, E. H. पाँत्ति; ad *δ*) Skr. चिह्नम् *sign*, Pr. चिपहं (H. C. 2, 50), E. H. चीन् or चिनहा; Skr. ब्राह्मणः *Brāhman*, Mg. बन्हणे, E. H. ब्रामन् or ब्रमहन्; Skr. कृष्णः *lushna*, Mg. कपहे, E. H. कान् or कनह् (as in कानपुर *Cawnpur* and कन्हैया लाल *Kanhayá Lal*); Skr. अस्मे, A. Mg. अह, E. H. हम् *we*; Skr. कुष्माण्डः, Mg. कोहले, E. H. कोहर; Skr. तुम्ह, Pr. तुम्ह, E. H. तोहरा *your*. Secondly; as regards the nasal न् at the end of a word: 1) in Skr. a) before consonants it may become anusvára or the respective class-nasal; b) before vowels it remains न् (M. M. 29). 2) In Pr. a) before consonants it must become anusvára; b) before vowels it generally becomes anusvára or remains unchanged; but it may occasionally become anunásika or be elided (Vr. 4, 12. 13. H. C. 1, 23. 24. T. V. 1, 1. 39. 40. §. C. 1, 1. 39. 40. H. C. 3, 25. T. V. 2, 2. 30). 3) In old Gd. it becomes anunásika if preceded by a long-vowel, and is elided if preceded by a short one; this is on the whole preserved by M., G. and S.; in the other modern Gds., as in H., B., etc., it is always elided. Compare the following examples: Skr. फलं भ्रेष्टयति or फलन्तोष्टयति *he breaks fruit*, Pr. फलं तोडेइ, E. H. फर् तोडे; Skr. फलं लभते or फलल्लभते *he takes fruit*, Pr. फलं लहइ or लेइ, E. H. फर् ले; Skr. फलमवहति *he gathers fruit*, Mg. फल अवहलइ or फलमवहलइ, E. H. फर् (ओहरै); Skr. दधि *curds*. Pr. दहिं or दहिं or दहि; Skr. दधिकम्, Pr. दहिअं, M. दहो, E. H. दहो. This induction clearly proves two things. Firstly; that in the main a gradual attenuation of the nasal has taken place. The nasal

consonant of the Sanskrit becomes anusvára in Pr., and anunásika in Gd., and finally drops of altogether<sup>1</sup>). In one instance, however, a consolidation of the nasal has taken place: namely the Skr. anusvára before ण् and ह् has become in Pr. a nasal consonant before ह्, and in Gd. before both ण् and ह्. *Secondly*, that Gd. possesses no anusvára. This fact has been much obscured by the objectionable modern practice of writing and printing the anusvára, instead of the anunásika, as णं I for णँ, हें for हँ, etc. The correct practice, which is still generally followed by natives of the old school in their writing and printing<sup>2</sup>), is to use the anusvára, just as in Skr. (M. M. 5. 59), only when the full nasal consonant ought to be written and *must be pronounced*. Here, of course, the dot is not the real anusvára, but merely a sort of stenographic sign for the class-nasal, used for the sake of more expeditious writing and not affecting the pronunciation in any way. The anunásika, on the other hand, is used whenever a vowel is to be pronounced with a nasal tone. Thus natives write and pronounce either चाँद् *cháñd* or चंद् *chand*, but not चाद्. It would be well to revert generally to this older and more correct practice. In the present work the distinction will be carefully observed.

## 2. CHAPTER. EUPHONIC PERMUTATION OF LETTERS.

### 1) IN PRONUNCIATION AND INFLECTION.

#### VOWELS.

24. If any word ends in a short अ ँ, that अ ँ becomes *quiescent*, that is, it is not pronounced; and such a word may practically be considered as one ending in a consonant. The

1) H C (4, 411) and T V (3, 4. 67) have a rule on the Ap. Pr. which seems to indicate such an *attenuation* of the final nasal (anusvára); चिन्दोर् अन्ते। पदान्ते वर्तमानस्य चिन्दोर् अपभ्रंश उच्चारलाघवं भवति प्रायः॥ i. e. the anusvára at the end of a word is usually pronounced *slightly*

2) In writing the anunásika commonly appears as two dots (·), the second being merely an abbreviation of the semicircle (◌̣).

quiescent *ā* will, for the sake of clearness, be indicated in this work by the *virāma* (cf. § 3, note). Thus बाघ् *bāgh* tiger (not *bāgha*); बात् *bāt* word; चलत् *chalat* walking, होइब् *hoib* we shall be.

*Exception.* It is always pronounced in the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. plur. in conjugation; thus होइब् *hōiba* you shall be (not *hoib*), बाट *bāta* you are (not *bāt*).

25. An antepenultimate आ *ā* is always made अ *a* which with a following इ *i* or उ *u* optionally, yet generally, combines to ए *ai* and औ *au*. Antepenultimate ई *ī*, उ *ū*, ए *e*, औ *ō* are shortened whenever followed by a consonant<sup>2</sup> (excl. euphonic व् and व्र्). Thus रम्वा *ram'vá* long form of राम् *rām* Rāma, गिध्वा *gidh'vá* of गिध् *gidh* vulture; घोर्वा *ghor'vá* of घोरा *ghorá* horse; बेट्वा *bet'vá* of बेटा *betá* son; मिट्का *mit'ká* of मीटा *mītá* sweet; नउवा *naū'vá* or नौआ *naūá* of नाउ *náu* barber; भइया *bhaiyá* or भैया *bhaiyá* of भाई *bhái* brother; बतिया *batiyá* of बात् *bāt* word; सुतल्तो *sut'l'tō* 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. pret. of सूतब् *sūtab* to sleep; खाइब् *khaib* or खैब् *khaib* 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. fut. of खाइब् *khaib* to eat; कर्उतो *karaū'tō* or करौतो *karaū'tō* 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. pret. conj. of कराइब् *karáib* to cause to do (for करावतो *karáv'tō*, see § 34); but पीयतो (if) *I drank*, छूअल्तो or छूवल्तो *I touched* (see § 65).

*Exception.* The long vowel of a transitive (or causal) root is never shortened; e. g., मारल्तो *már'l'tō* *I killed* of मारब्, caus. of मर्ब् *to die*.

*Note:* There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., Ap. Pr. तइसो for \*ताइसो (H. C. 4, 403. T. V. 3, 3. 10) = Mh. तारिसो, Skr. तादृशः *such*.

26. The short ऐ *ē* and औ *ō* are sometimes reduced to इ *i*, and short ओ *ō* and औ *ō* to उ *u*; or, more often, all four to अ *a*. Thus: बेटिया *bētyá* or बिटिया *bitiyá* daughter; कहै *kahē* or कहि *kahi* having said; गैलन् *gailēn* or गैलन् *gailan* they went; गैलौ *gailāi* or गैल *gailā* they went; लोटिया *lōtiyá* or लुटिया *lutiyá* brass vessel; परोसिया *parōsiyá* or परसिया *parasiyá* neighbouring; जनोउ *janōu* or जनउ *janāū* brahmanical thread; औ *āi* or अ *a* and; और् *āir* or अर् *ar* and; गुमाखी or मौमाखी *honey-bee*; चवालिस् or चौवालिस् *forty four*, etc.

*Note:* There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., वेत्रपा or विस्रपा *paan* (Vr. 1, 34); सप्तिच्छरो *saturday* for Skr. शनैश्चरः, E. H. ननीक्षर (H. C. 1, 149. cf. Vr. 1, 38); सप्तुत्तरस्य *one hundred and seven* for Skr. सप्तोत्तरशतम् (Wh. Bh. 427); अन्तुन् or अन्तुन् *mutual* for Skr. अन्योन्यम् (H. C. 1, 156); सुडो *drunk* for Skr. शोषुडः (Vr. 1, 44); Ap. कवणु *who* (H. C. 4, 395. cf. 4, 408) for केवणु = केवडु (lit. of *what* sort. see § 438, 2).

27. A final *anunásika* is often omitted; thus तू *tú* or तू *tú* you; तै *taí* or ते *taí* thou; मै *maí* or मै *mai* I; मे *mē* or ने *me* in; नाँही *náhi* or नाँही *náhi* not; जानी *jání* or जानी *jání* we know, etc.

28. To avoid the *hiatus* of two contiguous vowels, *y* is inserted after आ *á*, ई *í*; and optionally *v*, after ऊ *ú*, ओ *o* and ए *e*. But neither *y* nor *v* can be inserted, if the second vowel be इ *i* or ई *í*; in this case the hiatus, as a rule, remains, though अइ *ai* may and ईइ *íi* must be contracted to ऐ *ai* and ई *í* respectively, if they are followed by a heavy syllable. Thus: बिया + अल् = खियायल् *khiyáyal* it was eaten; जा + ए = जाये *to go*; पी + अल् = पीयल् *piyab* to drink; पी + ऐ = पीयै *piyai* he drinks; again चूल् चूवत् or चूल् चूत् *chúat* dripping from चू + अल्; चूवै *chúvai* or चूऐ *chúai* it drips from चू + ऐ; रोवत् *rovat* or रोअल् *roát* weeping from रो + अल्; रोवै *rovai* or रोऐ *roai* he weeps from रो + ऐ; लेवै के *levai ke* or लेऐ के *lei ke* to take from ले + ऐ. But खा + ई = खाई *khái* he shall eat; खा + ईला = खाईला *kháilá* we eat; पी + ईला = पीईला *píilá* we drink; चू + ई = चूई *chúí* it will drip; चू + ईला = चूईला *chúilá* we drip; बोई *boí* he will sow, बोईला *boilá* we sow; देई *dei* he will give, देईला *deilá* we give; again खइबै *khaibai* or खैबै *khaibai* we shall eat from खा + इबै; पीबै *píbai* we shall drink from पी + इबै; खाइव् *kháiv* we shall eat from खा + इव्; पीइत् *píit* (if) we drank from पी + इत्; चूइबै *chúibai* and चूइव् *chúiv* we shall drip; बोइबै *boibai* and बोइव् *boiv* we shall sow; लेइत् *leit* (if) we took from ले + इत्.

*Exception 1.* The suff. ई (3. pr. sg. fut. ind.) may optionally combine with a preceding ई to ईई; thus पी + ई = पीई *píi* or पी *pí* he will drink; जी + ई = जी *jí* or जीई *jíi* he will live.

*Exception 2.* The initial अ of the suffs. of the fut. ind. (viz. अद्यो etc.), of the pres. part. (अत्) and of the pret. conj. (viz. अतो etc.) combines with a preceding आ or ए, and with ओ of the verb हो to become to आ, ए, ओ respectively; thus खा + अद्यो = खाद्यो *khādyō I shall eat*; दे + अद्यो = देद्यो *debō I shall give*; हो + अद्यो = होद्यो *hodyō I shall be*; खा + अत् = खात् *khāt eating*; दे + अत् = देत् *det giving*; हो + अत् = होत् *hot being*.

### SINGLE CONSONANTS.

29. र *r* is generally substituted for र् *r*; thus E. H. तोरै *he breaks* for W. H. तोडे; E. H. तोरै *he joins* for W. H. तोडे; E. H. बारी *garden* for W. H. बागी; E. H. तोरू *wife* for W. H. तोडू; E. H. नारी *artery* for W. H. नाडी, etc. Sometimes also र्ह *rh* for र् *rh*; as E. H. बार्है *bārhai he grows* for बार्डे (W. H. बडे); E. H. गार्है *gārhai he beats into form* for W. H. गारडे.

30. र *r* is almost universally substituted for a non-initial ल् *l*; thus E. H. फरू *fruit* for W. H. फल्; E. H. गारू *abuse* for W. H. गाली; E. H. चरै *he walks* for W. H. चले; E. H. डारै *he throws* for W. H. डाले; E. H. करिया *black* for कलिया, etc.; but never रोग् for लोग् *people*, etc.

*Exception.* The ल् of the suff. चल of the past tense never changes; e. g., गयल् *gone*, not गयर; पढ्लो *I read*, not पढरो.

31. ल् *l* and न् *n*, if initial, are sometimes interchanged; thus ल् for न् in लीला *dark blue* or नीला (Skr. नील); and न् for ल् in नोन् *salt* or लोन् (Skr. लवण, cf. Vr. 1, 7); नंगोट् *waistcloth* or लंगोट् (Skr. लिङ्गपट्टः, Mg. लिंगपट्टे)<sup>1</sup>.

32. ह *h* may be dropped; 1) always final, thus जेह् कै or जे कै *of whom*; ओह् कै or ओ कै *of that*; ऐलह् or ऐल *aila you came*; कर्तह् or कर्त *karata (if) you did*. 2) sometimes medial (see § 126); as ताँ or तहाँ *there*, काँ or कहाँ *where*, जहाँ or जहाँ *wheresoever*, मे or मेँ or माहीँ *within*; के or (O. H.) काहीँ *towards*; मराठा or मरहठा *a Marāṭhā*; सगा *full brother* for \*सगहा (see § 120); दिवा *day* for \*दिवहा (see § 134, note).

1) Not from नंग, Skr. नग्न *naked*, as Bs. I, 248; the original ङ् of लिङ्ग is preserved in the ए of B. नेङ्गटि.

33. A medial *v*, followed by *ṛ* or *ṝ*, is always elided; and further *ṛ* (but not *ṝ*) combines with a preceding *ā* (or *ā̄* by § 25) to *ṛ ai*; thus पाव् + इबो" (= प + इबो") = पेबो" *I shall find*; आव् + इबे = ऐबे *thou wilt come*; बियाव् + इबह् = बियैबह् *you will cause to eat*. But पाव् + ṝ = पाई *he will find*; आव् + ṝ = आई *we come*; बियाव् + ṝला = बियाईला *we cause to eat*.

34. A medial *y* or *v*, containing a *neutral* vowel (see § 5, a), are vocalized to *i* and *u* respectively, and optionally combine with a preceding *ā̄* (or originally *ā* by § 25) to *ṛ ai* or *ṝ au*. Thus गवल् + ऐस् (= गवल्स् *gaylēs*) = गइल्स् *gailēs* or गैल्स् *gailēs* *thou wentest*; पिया + अल्यु" (= पियवल्स्यु" *piyaylyū*) = पियइल्यु" *piyalyū* or पियैल्यु" *piyalyū* *I could be drunk*; कराव् + अतो" (= कर्वातो" *karavtō*) = कर्उतो" *karavtō* or कर्ौतो" *karavtō* (if) *I caused to do*; चराव् + अल्स् (= चर्वाल्स् *charavlēs*) = चर्उल्स् *charavlēs* or चर्ौल्स् *charavlēs* *he caused to walk*.

35. *Affinities*. There are instances of this change in Pr.; thus आइरिओ or आयरिओ = Skr. आचार्यः (H. C. 1, 73); केल for \*कइल for कयलं = Skr. कदलम् (H. C. 1, 167); बोर for \*बउर for \*बवरं = Skr. बदरम् (H. C. 1, 170); ओसरइ for \*अउसरइ for अवसरइ = Skr. अपसरति (H. C. 1, 172); पाउरणं = Skr. प्रावरणम् (H. C. 1, 175); उसहो or वसहो = Skr. वृषभः (H. C. 1, 133); also in inflexion as नेदि = \*नइदि = Skr. नयति; होदि = \*हउदि = Skr. भवति, etc.; see § 18, note 3, p. 18).

### COMPOUND CONSONANTS.

36. *kh* is always pronounced and written *chh*; thus छोटा *chhotá* *small* (Skr. क्षुद्रकः?); छत्रि *chhatrī* *a chhatrī* (Skr. क्षत्रियः); क्षमा *chhamá* *forgiveness* (Skr. क्षमा *kshamá*).

37. *ñ* is always pronounced and generally written *gy*; as ग्यान् *gyān* *knowledge* (Skr. ज्ञान *jñāna*); आग्या *agyá* *command* (Skr. आज्ञा *ājñā*).

38. *ṁh* is always pronounced and generally written *ṁgh* (or *ṁgh*); as सङ्घ *saṅgh* *collection* (Skr. संहः *saṁhaḥ*); सङ्घात् *saṅghāt* *collection* (Skr. संहतः *saṁhataḥ*); सिङ्घ *siṅgh* *lion* (Skr. सिंहः); सिङ्घासन *siṅghāsan* *thron* (Skr. सिंहासनम्), etc. (see § 159).

39. 'स्' *ms* is always pronounced and written 'स्' *ns* (i. e. न्स *ns*; cf. §§ 13. 23); as बन्स् (or वन्स्) *bans race* (Skr. वंशः *vaṃśaḥ*); बन्सीधर् (or वन्सीधर्) *bansidhar a name* (lit. *flute-holder*, Skr. वंशीधरः *vaṃśīdharah*); हिंसा (or हिन्सा) *hinsā slaughter* (Skr. हिंसा *himsā*); हंस् (or हन्स्) *hans goose* (Skr. हंसः *hamsaḥ*), etc. (see § 159).

*Note:* It has become the fashion in modern times, to resuscitate the writing of ञ and ञ्ह; but the practice of the older, native school is more correct and preferable.

## 2) IN DERIVATION<sup>1)</sup>.

### a) CHANGES OF FINAL SOUNDS.

40. *In limine*, it should be observed, that Skr. and Pr. nouns pass into Gd. in the form of the nominative singular, the final sound of which undergoes the following changes:

41. A *visarga* or *anusvāra* is dropped, and a preceding ञ becomes quiescent; thus E. H. पुत्र् *son* (a tats.) for Skr. पुत्रः; E. H. कबि *poet* for Skr. कविः; E. H. गुरु *teacher* for Skr. गुरुः; E. H. परगट् *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटम्; E. H. बन् *forest*, Pr. वणं (Vr. 4, 12), Skr. वनम्; E. H. सै or सय् *hundred*, Mg. सयं (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. शतम्; E. H. खेत् *field*, Pr. खेत्तं (H. C. 2, 17 खेत्तं), Skr. क्षेत्रम्; E. H. वारि *water*, Pr. वारि or वारिँ or वारिँ (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. वारि; E. H. मधु *honey*, Pr. मधु or मधुँ or मधुं (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. मधु, see § 23.

42. Pr. masc. or fem. ञा or ञ becomes quiescent ञ; thus E. H. नीद्र् *sleep*, Ap. निद्र् (H. C. 4, 418), Pr. गिद्र् (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. निद्र् (fem.); E. H. बाह् *arm* (also बाँह्), Ap. बाह (H. C. 4, 329), Pr. बाहा (H. C. 1, 36. 4, 329), Skr. बाहा (fem.); E. H. बात् *word, event*, Pr. वत्ता (Vr. 3, 24), Skr. वार्ता (fem.); E. H. राय् *prince*, Ap. राय (H. C. 4, 402), Pr. राया (H. C. 3, 136) or राया (Vr. 5, 36), Skr. राज्ञा (masc.).

43. Pr. masc. or fem. ई or इ becomes इ or quiescent ञ; thus E. H. दीह् or दीठि *sight*, Ap. दिठि (H. C. 4, 330) or Pr. दिठि

1) This list of sandhi-laws lays no claim to completeness, a quality unattainable in the present state of our knowledge of Gd. derivation; but it contains, perhaps, all the more important and more general phenomena.



(H. C. 1, 128), Skr. दृष्टिः (fem.), E. H. बहिन् or बहिनि *sister*. Ap. बहिणि (H. C. 4, 351) or Pr. बहिणी (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी (cf. § 132, note); E. H. आग् or आगि *fire* (fem.), Pr. आगी (Vr. 5, 18. fem.), Skr. अग्निः (masc.); E. H. अँख् or अँखि *eye* (fem.), Ap. अखिख (cf. H. C. 4, 396), Pr. अच्छी (Vr. 4, 20. fem.), Skr. अक्षि (neutr.); E. H. मुन् or मुनि *sage*, Ap. मुणि (cf. H. C. 4, 341) or Pr. मुणी (cf. H. C. 3, 125), Skr. मुनिः (masc.); E. H. बिहफै or बिफै *thursday*, Pr. बिहफई (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. बृहस्पतिः (masc.); E. H. ज्ञान् or ज्ञानि *sage*, Pr. ज्ञाणी, Skr. ज्ञानी (masc.).

44. Pr. masc. or fem. ऊ or उ becomes उ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. तरू or तरु *tree*, Ap. तरू (H. C. 4, 370), Pr. तरू (H. C. 1, 177), Skr. तरुः (masc.); E. H. पाँसु *rib*, Pr. पंसू (H. C. 1, 26), Skr. पर्शुः (masc.); E. H. तन् or तनु *body*, Ap. तणु (H. C. 4, 401) or Pr. तणू (cf. Vr. 5, 18), Skr. तनुः (fem.); E. H. पतोह् or पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, Pr. पुत्रवहू (cf. Spt. 122), Skr. पुत्रवधू; E. H. सासू or सासु *mother-in-law*, Pr. सासू (Spt. 339), Skr. श्वश्रूः.

45. Pr. masc. ए or इ becomes ऐ ई or इ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. माग् *road*, Mg. मगि or मगे (Mehh. 96, 20), Skr. मार्गः; E. H. नर् *man*, Mg. नलि or नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नः; E. H. काम्, Mg. कम्मि or कम्मे (Wb. Bh. 420. masc.), Skr. कर्म (neutr.); E. H. कर्त् *doing*, Mg. कलंति or कलेति or कलेति (Mehh. 108, 18), Skr. कुर्वन्; E. H. रबल् or रबिल् *kept*, Mg. लक्खिदि or लक्खिदे (Mehh. 112, 6), Skr. उचितः. Also in locatives; as E. H. लाग् or लागि *till*, Ap. लगि or लगे (H. C. 4, 334), Skr. लग्ने; and in conjunct participles, as E. H. कह् or कहि or कहे *kahē having said*, A. Mg. कहे (see Wb. Bh. 435) or Mh. कहिअ, Skr. कथित्वा (see § 490, 491).

46. *Affinities*. The termin. ए or इ is Mg. Pr.; the Mh.-Sr. is ओ and Ap. उ (H. C. 4, 332) and both become in W. Gd. उ or quiescent अ; in O. H. and especially in S. the Ap. उ is still preserved; thus W. H. नर्, O. H. and S. नरू (Tr. 33) *man*, Ap. नरू (H. C. 4, 362) or णरू (K. I. 9) or Pr. नरो or णरो (H. C. 1, 229); W. H. काम्, S. कम् (Tr. 33) *work*. Ap. कम्मु, Pr. कम्मो (Vr. 4, 18); W. H. माग्, O. H. मागु, S. मग् *road*, Ap. मग्गु (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. मग्गो (Vr. 3, 50); Kn. कर्त्, Br. कर्त्तु *doing*, Ap. कर्त्तु,

Sr. कर्तो or करेत्तो. — It will be observed that just as Mh.-Sr. ओ is reduced to Ap. उ, so Mg. ए is reduced to इ. This is expressly stated by Vr. 11, 10. K. I. 12 (cf. Ls. 393. 402) and Md. 12, 20 (fol. 49<sup>a</sup>) सौ पुंस्यदेहितौ। पुंसि सौ परे अकार एदितौ स्याताम्। i. e., masc. nouns in *ā* have a nom. sing. in *e* or *i*. The form in इ (like that in उ) was probably Ap. Mg. It only occurs exceptionally in the Bhag. (see Wb. Bh. 416). H. C. (4, 287) and T. V. (3, 2. 30) do not notice it; which, perhaps, shows that Ap. Mg. इ was pronounced like short ऐ ऐ (cf. H. C. 4, 410. and see § 6). — In the Gds., especially in their literary forms, the final इ and उ generally become quiescent, and hence are omitted in *writing*, and thence again have come to be practically identical with quiescent अ. — Occasionally E. H. has Ap. Sr. forms; as वाक् *wound*, Ap. वाउ (H. C. 4, 346), Sr. वाओ, Skr. वातः.

47. Pr. masc. अए becomes आ; thus E. H. घोरा *horse*, Mg. घोउए, Skr. घोटकः; E. H. भला *good*, Ap. भल्ला (H. C. 4, 351), Mg. भल्लए, Skr. भदूकः; E. H. घरा *pitcher*, Mg. घउए, Skr. घटकः.

48. *Affinities*. The term. अए is Mg.; the Mh.-Sr. is अओ, and Ap. अउ; the latter contracts in the W. and N. Gd. to ओ or (Br.) औ; thus Br. ओडौ, भलौ, घडौ; Mw., G., S., N. ओडो, भलो, घडो; only P. forms an exception in having the E. H. term. आ, and hence it has got into Urdú and H. H.; thus P., U., H. H. ओडा, भला, घडा. Again M., B. and O. have आ like E. H. It will be seen, then, that while E. and S. Gd. have आ, W. and N. Gd. have ओ or औ, again Mg. Pr. has अए, Mh.-Sr. Pr. has अओ; hence it may be concluded, that the E. and S. Gd. termin. आ is a modification of the Mg. Pr. अए, while the W. and N. Gd. ओ or औ is a modification of the Mh.-Sr. अओ. The Ap. Pr. has both अओ and अउ (H. C. 4, 332). Probably the Br. औ is a contraction of the Ap. अउ; as Ap. भल्लउ, Br. भलौ *good*; while the Mw., G., S., N. ओ is a contraction of the Ap. अओ, by the quiescence of अ; as Ap. भल्लओ, Mw., G., S. भलो (i. e. भल्लओ). The Ap. Mg. form, corresponding to the Ap. Sr. अउ, would be अइ (cf. § 46); this is still preserved in the Psh. ऐ (Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 37), as Psh. तलै *talai bottom*,

E. H. तरा or तला, S. तलो, Ap. Mg. तलइ or तलए, Ap. Sr. तलउ or तलओ, Skr. तलकः; but the Psh. has also occasionally the E. Gd. form आ; as Psh. लगिआ *applied*, P. लगिआ, Bs. and H. H. लगा, Ap. Mg. लगिअइ or लगिदए, Skr. लग्नकः (lit. 'लग्नितकः'), Ap. लगिअउ, Br. लग्यो, Sr. लगिअओ, S. लगिओ or लग्यो. The Psh. ए *ai*, then, corresponds to Br. ओ *au*; being contractions of (Ap.) Mg. अइ *ai* and Ap. (Sr.) अउ *ai* respectively; on the other hand, E. and S. Gd. आ corresponds to W. and N. Gd. ओ, being contractions of the Mg. अए and Sr. अओ respectively, by the quiescence of अ. It appears, then, that the termin. आ is distinctly Mg., and merely a (comparatively modern) modification of the old Mg. ए; and not, as it is usually assumed, of the old Sr. ओ. There are, however, some traces of the term. आ in Pr.; moreover, they seem to be distinctly connected with Mg. Pr. *Firstly*: Vr. (11, 17) expressly gives शिआला as a Mg. by-form of शिआले *jackal* (E. H. सियार). *Secondly*: Vr. (11, 13) and K. I. (Ls. 393) state that the Mg. vocative ends in आ, and Mđ. (12, 21. 22. fol 49<sup>a</sup>) adds also ए, as चेलए or चेलआ (E. H. चेरा *oh! disciple*<sup>1</sup>). That is, the nom.

1) Vr. 11, 17 शृगालस्य शिआला शिआले शिआलकाः and Mđ. 12, 21 एदोती सम्बोधने प्रायः पुंसि सम्बोधने एदोती स्यातां। हे वञ्चसे। हे वञ्चसो। प्रायो ग्रहणात्। हे गोमिका। हे भट्टिदालाआ ॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in *ā* ends in *e* or *o*, as, *he voamse, he voamso* (Skr. वयस्य); and Mđ. 12, 22 आदाक्षेपे। पुंसि सम्बुद्धौ अकार आ स्याद् आक्षेपे। अले ले खेलआ। चकारात्। खेलए। खेलओ ॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in *ā*, in the sense of rebuke, ends in *ā*; also in *e* and *o*. Neither H. C. nor T. V. give these rules in their chapter on Mg.; but they have an allusion to the voc. in आ in their chapt. on the Ap. (H. C. 4, 330. T. V. 3, 4. 1); e. g., ठोला मई तुहुँ वारिआ मा कह दीहा माणु; this is Bs. ठोला मै तूँ के बारा मत् कह दीहा मान् i. e., lit. boy! I have forbidden you, do not make long sulkiness!; again बिट्टीए मई भणिअ तुहुँ मा कह वंकी दिदि, = Bs. बेटी मै भनि तूँ के मत् कह वंकी दीह i. e., lit. daughter! I have told you, do not make a coquettish look. It is to be noted, that K. I. (16. 18. of Ls. 450) gives both आ and ए as the termin. of the voc. in Ap. Pr. In the present day, E. H. has a voc. in आ, but W. H. in ए; as E. H. हे चेरा, W. H. हे चेले *oh disciple*. This, perhaps, explains the silence of H. C. and T. V. as to the Mg. nom. and voc. in आ; they have relegated it into their chapt. on Ap., in which as, perhaps, indicated in H. C. 4, 447

sing. in ए is used in Mg. as voc., and the form in आ is but a slightly worn down by-form of the nom. (as usual with Pr. voc., cf. H. C. 3, 38. T. V. 2, 2. 42<sup>1</sup>). The latter form, which was at first (in Mg.) confined to the voc.-nom., is in Gd. extended to the nom. generally. *Thirdly*: H. C. gives several instances of a nom. in आ in the Ap. Pr.; e. g., भल्ला हुआ नु मारिआ बहिणि महारा कंतु। (4, 351); this is A. Mg. Ap.; the corresponding Sr. Ap. is in कंतु महारउ हलि सहिए निच्छंडं रत्तेइ ज्ञासु। (4, 358); the former is Bs. (a kind of semi E. Gd., see Introd.) भल्ला हुआ नु मारा बहिन् मोरा काँत्, i. e., it has happened well, sister, that my husband has killed; the other is Br. (W. H.) काँत् मेरा सहेली निहँच रत्ते ज्ञासु i. e. surely friend! with whom my husband is angry<sup>2</sup>).

49. Pr. masc. इए and उए become ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. तेली *oilman*, Mg. तेलिए (cf. H. C. 2, 98), Skr. तैलिकः; E. H. माली *gardener*, Mg. मालिए, Skr. मालिकः; E. H. बहिनीई (W. H. भौनाई) *sister's husband*, Mg. बहिणिवइए, Skr. भगिनीपतिकः; E. H. नाती *grandchild*, Pr. नत्तिओ (H. C. 1, 137), Skr. नप्तृकः; E. H. भाई *brother*, Pr. \*भाइओ (cf. H. C. 1, 137), Skr. भातृकः; again E. H. बिहू *scorpion*, Mg. विंहुए (Vr. 1, 15. 3, 41, T. V. 1, 4. 18), Skr. वृश्चिकः; E. H. लडू *a kind of sweetmeat*, Mg. लडुए, Skr. लडुकः; E. H. गोहूँ *wheat* (H. H. गेहूँ), Ap. Mg. गोहूँवे (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Mg. गोहुमे, Skr. गोधुमः.

50. *Affinities*. These contractions into ई and ऊ are common to all Gds.; but in W. and N. Gd. they arise from the Mh.-Sr. termin. इओ and उओ respectively; as W. H. तेली, Sr. तेलिओ; W. H. माली, Sr. मालिओ; W. H. भौनाइ, Sr. भामिणिवइओ (cf. H. C. 1, 190); W. H. बिहू, Sr. विंहुओ; W. H. लडू, Sr. लडुओ; W. H. गोहूँ, Sr. गोहुयो. But M. and S. have भाउ *brother*, Dk. भाउए or भाउओ

and T. V. 3, 4 71, rules of various Ap. dialects would seem to be mixed up (see also Ps. IX).

1) The voc. in Mh.-Sr. Pr. is either like the nom. हे चेलो or worn down हे चेल; so in Mg. either like nom. हे चेले, or worn down हे चेला.

2) It is also like P., which shares the nom. in आ with E. Gd., भल्ला होइआ जो मारिआ बहिन् मेरा काँत्।

(H. C. 1, 131); नातू *grandson*. Pr. ननुओ (H. C. 1, 137). This contraction as well as those noted in the following paragraphs, may be explained by the apparently Pr. tendency of lengthening the antepenultimate इ (see Wb. Bh. 438) and उ; while at the same time the final ए and ओ have a tendency in the Ap. to be shortened to इ and उ (see § 46), and in Gd. to be cast off altogether (see § 45), thus Mg. तेल्लिए, Ap. \*तेल्लिइ, \*तेल्लोइ, Gd. तेली, Sr. तेल्लिओ, Ap. तेल्लिउ, \*तेल्लोउ, Gd. तेली; or Mg. लट्टुए, Ap. \*लट्टुइ, \*लट्टूइ, Gd. लट्टू, Sr. लट्टुओ, Ap. लट्टुउ, \*लट्टूउ, Gd. लट्टू (cf. § 65, note). There are some traces of this contraction in Pr.; thus Pr. पवासू *traveller* (T. V. 1, 2, 48) or पावासू (H. C. 1, 44. T. V. 1, 2, 10) or पावासुओ (H. C. 1, 95) = Skr. प्रवासो (or प्रवासकः); Pr. सव्वण्णू *omniscient* (H. C. 1, 56) for \*सव्वण्णुओ (= Skr. सर्वज्ञकः), and other words in एणू.

51. Pr. fem. इआ and उआ become ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. घोरी *mare*, Pr. घोडिआ, Skr. घोटिका; E. H. माटी *earth* (W. H. मिटी), Pr. मट्टिआ (H. C. 2, 29), Skr. मृत्तिका; E. H. लाठी *club*, Pr. लट्टिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 247), Skr. यष्टिका; E. H. मउसी *mother's sister*, Pr. माउसिआ (H. C. 1, 134. 2, 142), Skr. मातृव्यम्का; E. H. माई *mother*, Pr. \*माइआ (see § 63), Skr. मातृका; again E. H. पतोहू *son's wife*, Pr. पुन्नवहुआ (cf. Spt. 35), Skr. पुन्नवधुका; E. H. बालू *sand*, Pr. वालुआ, Skr. बालुका.

52. *Affinities*. Here all Gds. agree; as do also all Prs. But M. has माउ *mother*, Pr. माउआ (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. मातृका. The steps of change are probably these (see § 42); Pr. घोडिआ, Ap. घोडिअ (H. C. 4, 330) or \*घोडीअ, Gd. घोडी; Pr. बालुआ, Ap. बालुअ or \*बालुअ, Gd. बालू, etc.

53. Pr. neut. अअं, इअं and उअं become आ, ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. सोना *gold*, Pr. सोणअं (cf. Spt. 194) or सुवणअं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. सुवर्णकम्; E. H. तामा *copper*, Mg. \*तम्मअ (see § 18) or तम्मअं (cf. Vr. 3, 53), Skr. ताम्रकम्; E. H. लोहा *iron*, Pr. लोहअं, Skr. लोहकम्; again E. H. घी *clarified butter*, Pr. घिअं (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. घृतम्; E. H. पानी *water*, Pr. पाणिअं (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. पानीयम्; E. H. दही *curds*, Pr. दहिअं, Skr. दधिकम्; E. H. मोती

*pearl*, Pr. मोन्नित्रं, Skr. मौक्तिकम्; again E. H. अँसू *tear*, Pr. अंसुअं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. अश्रुकम्; E. H. तू *yoke*, Pr. तुअं, Skr. युगम्; E. H. आलू *potato*, Pr. आलुअं, Skr. आलुकम्.

54. *Affinities*. As regards the forms in आ, B., O. and also P. agree with E. H.; thus B., O., E. H. तामा, P. तँआ. M. has एँ; as तँखेँ. The M. nouns are neuter, but the corresponding E. Gd. ones are masc.; compare the masc. forms in § 47. In Mg. Pr. neuter nouns either end in अअं or (becoming masc.) in अए (cf. Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399). From the Mg. अअं or with the favorite euph. ए, अयँ, which form still occurs occasionally in O. H., arises the contracted M. एँ. From the Mg. masc. अए arises probably the E. Gd. आ. On the other hand, the corresponding termin. in G. is उँ or उ; as तँखुँ or तँखु; in Mw. ओँ or ओ, as तँखोँ or तँखो; in Br. औँ or औ (or also आ); in S. ओ, as टामो. The forms with anunásika are neuter, those without it are masculine. These W. Gd. forms have arisen from the Ap. (Sr.) Pr., which has the neut. termin. अउँ (H. C. 4, 354. T. V. 3, 4. 26). This contracts in W. H. to औँ or औ, and is shortened in G. to उँ. By dropping the final anunásika, the neuters would, naturally, become masc., through identity of termination; see § 48. This masculinizing tendency is seen already in the Ap. Pr., where the neut. termin. अँ sometimes becomes masc. उ (Ls. 460. 476. H. C. 4, 331. 445; as m. जलू *water* for n. जलँ, cf. H. C. 4, 395), and similarly neut. अउँ would become masc. अउ. As regards the forms in ई and उ, they are alike in all Gds., except in M., which adds a final anunásika (as पाणीँ *water*, अँसू *tear*) and treats them as neuters, while the other Gds., having dropped the original anunásika, treat them as masculines.

## b) CHANGES OF MEDIAL SOUNDS.

### a) SINGLE VOWELS.

55. अ becomes इ or ई; rarely; thus E. H. पिंजर्रा *cage*, A. Mg. पंजरअं (cf. Spt. 225), Skr. पंजरकम् (also पिंजरकम्? M. W. 572, 3); E. H. किरकिरू *plashing*, Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. सुमिरन् *memory*, A. Mg.

सुमलपां (cf. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. स्मज्जाम; E. H. पिचोतरन्ने *one hundred and five*, A. Mg. पंचत्तलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. पंचोत्तज्जतम्, E. H. चिरई *sparrow*, Pr. चउइआ (cf. H. C. 4, 445?), Skr. चटकिक्का; E. H. खियावै *he feeds*, Pr. खयावइ, Skr. खादयति (\*खदापयति); E. H. झिन *moment*, Pr. झपो (H. C. 2. 20), Skr. क्षपाः, E. H. फिटन्करो *alum*, Mg. \*फट्टिक्कालिआ (or \*फिट्टिक्कालिआ cf. H. C. 4. 177), Skr. फट्टिकाजिका; E. H. निनानअं *ninety nine*, Pr. \*नवाणवई, Skr. नवनवति: (see § 397), E. H. ड्यालिस् *forty six* for O. H. ड्यालिस् (see § 152). Especially before ह्; as E. H. ड्हित्त् *seventy six*, Mg. ड्हित्तलि (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. षट्सप्ततिः; E. H. ड्हिलोतरसे *one hundred and six*, A. Mg. ड्हलत्तलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षड्त्तज्जतम्; E. H. लिहल् *taken*, Mg. \*लहिरे<sup>1</sup>), Skr. लब्धः (\*लभितः); E. H. दिहल् *given*, Skr. दत्तः; E. H. लिहिस् *thou tookst*, O. H. लिहेन्, Ap. Pr. \*लहिअसि, Skr. लब्धोऽसि (\*लभितोऽसि); E. H. लिहिन् *they took*, O. H. लिहेन्, Ap. Pr. \*लहिअहि, Pr. \*लहिअन्ति, Skr. लब्धाः तन्ति (in active sense); E. H. दिहिस् *thou gavest*, दिहिन् *they gave*; E. H. किहिस् *thou didst*, O. H. किहेस् for \*कएस्, Ap. \*करिअसि, Skr. कृतोऽसि<sup>2</sup>); E. H. किहिन् *they did*. Again ई in तीसो *flax*, Skr. अतसी (cf. § 172).

*Note:* W. H. गिने *he counts*, Pr. गणाइ (H. C. 4, 358), Skr. गणयति; W. H. ड्हिमा *forgiveness*, Skr. क्षमा; W. H. पिह्लौ or पड्हिलौ, Ap. Pr. पड्हिल्लउ (Skr. पञ्चकः); but E. H. गनै, ड्हिमा and पाड्हिल् or पड्हिला.

56. अ becomes उ or ऊ; very rarely; as E. H. पुआल् *straw*, Skr. पलाली; E. H. मूह् (also मेह्, see § 57) *mustache*, Pr. मंतू (H. C. 2, 86 or \*मंहू? cf. H. C. 1, 265). Skr. प्रमश्रु; E. H. खुतली *itch*, Ap. Pr. \*खड्डुडिअ (Skr. खड्गः).

*Note:* W. H. उंगली *finger*, Pr. अंगुलिआ (cf. H. C. 4, 333), Skr. अङ्गुलिका; O. H. सुगन् *bird* (Chand), Ap. Pr. सगुणु, Skr. प्रकुनः; but E. H. अंगुरी, सगुन्.

1) cf. Spt. 146 लहिङ्गा = Skr. \*लभित्वा or लब्ध्वा, and P. past part. लब्ध्मा.

2) Regarding the forms लिहल्, लिहिस्, लिहिन्, किहिस्, etc. see §§ 307. 501. 503.

57. अ becomes ए, ऐ, ओ or ए, ऐ, ओ; rarely; E. H. मेहर (or मेहरी or मेहरारू) *woman*, Pr. महिला (Spt. 48), Skr. महिला; E. H. केवार (or केवारा) *door*, Pr. कवाडो, Skr. कपाट; E. H. चोच्च beak, Pr. \*चंचू, Skr. चक्षुः; E. H. मोच्छ mustache (see § 56), Pr. मंसू (H. C. 2, 86), Skr. श्मश्रु; E. H. सेछ hole (in a wall), Pr. संधी (cf. H. C. 4, 430), Skr. सन्धि; and others see § 148.

58. इ becomes अ; rarely; E. H. ऐतना *this much*, Mg. एन्निलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. इयतकः, cf. S. एतिरो, G. एटलो; E. H. तेतना *so much*, Mg. तेन्निलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. जेतना *how much soever*, Mg. जेन्निलए, Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना, Mg. केन्निलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. लंगोट् *waistcloth*, Mg. लिंगवट्टे, Skr. लिङ्गपट्टः; E. H. धरती *earth*, Mg. धलित्तिआ, Skr. धग्नित्रिका; E. H. पोरसा *fathom*, A. Mg. पउलिसअं (cf. H. C. 1, 111. 4, 287), Skr. पौरुषकम्; and optionally E. H. परलै or परिलै *he examines*, Mg. पलिकखड, Skr. पजीक्षते; E. H. ०इल् or ०इल् suffix of *past part.*, Mg. इदे, Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. पठल् or पठिल् *read*, Mg. पठिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. ०अब् or ०इब् suffix of *infinit.*, Ap. इव्वं (K. I. 50. Ls. 468), Skr. इतव्यम्; e. g., E. H. पठब् or पठिब् *to read*, Ap. पठिव्वं, Skr. पठितव्यम्.

*Note:* Also W. H. गहर deep, Pr. गहिरं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीरस्; W. H. बहर dumb, Pr. बहिरो (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिरः; W. H. कलेस् trouble, Pr. किलेसो (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. क्लेशः; W. H. हरस् joy, Pr. हरिसो (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. हर्षः; W. H. बरस् rain, year, Pr. वरिसं, Skr. वर्षम्; W. H. फरस् touch, Pr. फरिसो (cf. H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शः. But E. H. गहिर, बहिर, किलेस्, हरिस्, बरिस्, फरिस्. The Pr. form एन्निलं or (in some MSS.) एन्निल्लं is probably a curtailment of एन्निअलं, composed of एन्निअ and pleon. suff. ल (or ल्ल), and curtailed just as Ap. इव्व from Mh.-Sr. इअव्व, e. g., Ap. पठिव्वं for Sr. पठिअव्वं.

59. इ or ई becomes उ or ऊ; very rarely and optionally; E. H. पहर or पहरी or पहरा *watchman*, Mg. पहली, Skr. प्रहरी; E. H. बुंदी or बिंदी or बुंदा or बूँट drop, Pr. बिंटू (cf. H. C. 1, 34), Skr. बिन्दुः.

*Note:* Compare Pr. पवास् (H. C. 1, 44) for Skr. प्रवासी *sojourner*.

60. उ becomes अ; rarely; thus E. H. आपन् or आपुन् *own*, Pr. अप्पुल्लं (H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्मीयम् (or आत्मभवम्), cf. M. आपला,



G. आषणो; E. H. पतोह् *son's wife*, Pr. पुत्रवह्, Skr. पुत्रवधूः; E. H. उडगन् *stars*, Mg. उडगणे (cf. H. C. 1, 202), Skr. उडगणाः; E. H. कुटकी *a kind of medicine*, Pr. \*कटुकिञ्चा, Skr. कटुकिका, E. H. त्रया *troop*, Pr. \*तृत्यञ्च, Skr. यूयकम्; E. H. सामह् or समह् *in front of*, Ap. सम्मुह्. Skr. सम्मुखे (H. H. साम्हने); optionally कपूत् or कुपूत् *bad son*, Mg. \*कुपुन्न, Skr. कुपुन्नः; also E. H. बूदू or बुंदा *drop*, Mg. बिंदुर्, Skr. बिन्दुकः.

Note: Also W. H. उंगली *finger*, Pr. अंगुलिञ्चा, Skr. अंगुलिका; W. H. बित्रली, Pr. बिन्नुलिञ्चा (Vr. 4, 26), Skr. बिन्नुत्; W. H. कूकरू *dog*, Pr. कुक्कुरो, Skr. कुक्कुरः; W. H. जौबन् *roseappletree*, Pr. तंबुलो, Skr. तम्बुलः; W. H. समके *he understands*, Pr. संबुक्कइ, Skr. सम्बुध्यते; Mw. कण् or कुण् *who* (see § 438, 2); but E. H. अंगुरी, बिन्नुरी, कुक्कुर, जामुन्, समुकै, कौन्. As regards E. H. आपन् *own*, the change of उ to अ, and ल् to न् appears already in Pr. अप्पणव (H. C. 2, 153. 4, 350) = E. H. अपना, see § 111.

61. उ and ऊ become respectively इ and ई; very rarely; as E. H. तनिक् *small*, Pr. तणुक्के, Skr. तनुकः; किन् or फुन् or पुन् *again*, Pr. पुणो or पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनरू; E. H. चाई (fem.) *wind*, Pr. वाउ (masc.), Skr. वायुः (or वातिः masc.), बुंदो (fem.) *drop*, Pr. बिंदू (masc.), Skr. बिन्दुः.

62. उ becomes ए; very rarely; as फेकरा *lungs*, Skr. फुफ्फुत्तः.

63. ऋ becomes इ; very rarely; thus E. H. कितान् *husband-man*, A. Mg. \*कित्ताणे, Skr. कृषाणाः; E. H. गोध् *vulture*, Mg. गिडे (Md. 1, 31), Skr. गृध्रः; E. H. माई *mother*, Mg. माइञ्चा (Wb. Bh. 178. cf. H. C. 1, 135), Skr. मातृका; E. H. भाई *brother*, Mg. \*भाइर्, Skr. भ्रातृकः; E. H. भतीजा *brother's son*, Mg. \*भन्निज्जर्, Skr. भ्रातृजकः.

Note: None of these words are mentioned in the exceptional lists of H. C. I, 128—144. T. V. 1, 275—291. Vr. 1, 28—30, enjoining this change instead of the regular one of ऋ to अ (H. C. 1, 126. Vr. 1, 27), exc. माईपां gen. pl. for Skr. मातृणाम् (H. C. 1, 135); but Md. gives बिडो and Bh. माइय<sup>०</sup>; and it is plain from the general form of the words, that in all of them the change of ऋ to इ must have taken place in Pr. already. In H. C. 1, 128 we find कित्तिञ्चो for कृषितः as an analogy for कित्ताणो; and in 1, 137 नन्निञ्चो and नन्नुञ्चो for नत्तृकः as an analogy for भाइञ्चो and भाउञ्चो (H. C.

1, 131) = भ्रातृकः; and in 1, 135 माइहरं for मातृगृहं as an analogy for भन्तिजो = भ्रातृजः.

64. ओ becomes ए; very rarely; as गेहूँ or गोहूँ, Pr. गोहुमो, Skr. गोधुमः; but only W. and H. H.; the E. H. only गोहूँ.

65. Short vowels become long; very rarely; E. H. ढोला loose, A. Mg. सिढिल्ल (cf. Vr. 2, 28. H. C. 1, 215), Skr. सिढिल्लकः; E. H. पूर or पुर town, Pr. पुरं, Skr. पुरम्. Comp. H. C. 1, 113 मूसलं, E. H. मूसर for Skr. मुसलम्; especially in the verbal roots पी drink, सी sew, लू leak, छू touch, मू die, बो sow, नो bow, भो roam; e. g., E. H. पीये, Pr. पिमिह, Skr. पिवति; E. H. चूरे, Pr. चुम्र (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोतति.

Note: This is a very common change in M., made for the purpose of compensating the shortening of the ultimate; as M. हन्नीण she-elephant for Pr. हन्तिणी; and it may explain the origin of the modern long termin. आ, ई, उ (§§ 47—49); e. g., E. H. घोरी mare for घोरीअ = Pr. घोडिआ, etc. It is, also, very common as the result of the elision of part of a conjunct, see § 147.

66. Long vowels become short; 1) regularly in the first part of a compound; thus E. H. पनसार watering place, Pr. पाणिअसाला (or perhaps Ap. \*पाणिसाला, eliding अ as in इव् for इअव् see § 58, note), Skr. पानीयशाला; E. H. पनचक्की watermill, Pr. पाणिअचक्किआ, Skr. पानीयचक्रिका; E. H. फुलवारी flowergarden (for फूलवारी), Pr. \*फुल्लाडिआ, Skr. फुल्लाटिका; E. H. अथपका half-ripe (for आथपका), Mg. अडपक्कए, Skr. अर्धपक्वः; E. H. नदीया name of a town in Bengal (for आदीया), Mg. नअदीयए, Skr. नवद्वीपकः; E. H. मुमाखी honey-bee (for मौमाखी), Mg. महुमक्खिआ, Skr. मधुमक्षिका, etc. 2) rarely otherwise; thus E. H. दिया lamp (also दीया and दोवा), Mg. दीयए (or \*दियए cf. H. C. 1, 101 पल्लिविअं = प्रदीपितं), Skr. दीपकः; also in semitats. as E. H. पखान् stone, Skr. पाषाणः; E. H. पताल् hades, Skr. पातालम्; E. H. मुरा swoon, Skr. मूर्हा; and see also § 25, as E. H. दुबरा weak from दूबर, Mg. दुबुलए, Skr. दुर्बलकः, etc.; and § 146, as E. H. सब् all for \*साब्, Mg. सव्वे, Skr. सर्वः, etc.

67. Vowels are nasalized; often optionally before ह् and स्; as E. H. मुँह or मुँह or मुह् mouth, face, Mg. मुह (H. C. 4, 300),

Skr. मुखम्; E. H. मेह् or मेह् *rain*, Mg. मेहे (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. मेघः (lit. cloud, ?); E. H. सोह् or सोह् *oath* (fem.), A. Mg. सवह् (cf. H. C. 1, 179), Skr. श्रपय; E. H. छाह् *shade*, Pr. छाही (H. C. 1, 249) or छाहा (Vr. 2, 18), Skr. छाया; E. H. बाह् or बाह् (fem.) *arm*, Pr. बाह or बाहा (H. C. 4, 329), Skr. बाहा (fem., but बाहुः masc.), E. H. माह् or माही or माही *within*, Ap. मडकहिं, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. खांती or खाती *cough*, Pr. खासिन्ना (cf. H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कासिका; E. H. हांती or हाती *laughter*, Pr. हासिन्ना (cf. H. C. 3, 105), Skr. हासिका; E. H. घास् or घास् (fem.) *grass*, A. Mg. घास्ते, Skr. घासः (masc.), etc.; rarely otherwise; as E. H. पाव् or पाव् *foot*, Ap. पाउ, Sr. पाश्वे, Skr. पादः; E. H. कूष् or कूष् or कूष् or कूष् *well*, Ap. कूवउ or कूवउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. कूपकः; sometimes ह् is elided after nasalization, as E. H. नाह् or नाह् *they go* (for नाह्), Ap. नाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. नन्ति (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. \*यान्ति.

*Note.* In Ap. Pr., too, व् is sometimes nasalized; as Ap. तिव्व or तेव्व *how* (see H. C. 4, 397), E. H. त्व्; Ap. तिव्व or तेव्व *thus*, E. H. त्व्.

### β) VOWELS IN CONTACT.

68. The *hiatus* of vowels is treated in three ways: 1) the two contiguous vowels may be contracted or expanded partly by the ordinary Skr. rules of *sandhi*, partly by special Gd. rules given below §§ 71 ff. Or 2) they may be separated by an *euphonic* semivowel (§ 28), and the dissyllable, formed thereby, sometimes again contracted (§ 34). Or 3) they may be left in hiatus. On the whole, the third case is less usual, than the two others; even in E. H.; but certainly in Gd. generally; for sometimes, when E. H. preserves the hiatus of the Pr., other Gds. make *sandhi*; thus E. H. कइस् *of what kind*, but W. H. कैसा, M. कसा, for Ap. Pr. कइसो (H. C. 4, 403); or E. H. गइल् *he went*, but M. गेसा, Mg. \*गमिदे; or E. H. खाइल् *eaten*, but M. खाला, Mg. खाइदे.

69. The semivowels, which may separate contiguous vowels,

are generally य् or व्, rarely ह्. About the use of य् and व् see § 28. Examples of an inserted euphonic ह् are probably; E. H. अटिहा or अटिया *inferior*; E. H. छूहै or छूवै or छूऐ *he touches*; E. H. दिहल् *given* for दे + अल् (probably by analogy to लिहल् *taken*, cf. § 307); E. H. दिहिल् *he gave* for दि + इस्, and किहिल् *he did* for कि + इस् (analogous to लिहिल् *he took*, see § 307); E. H. पहिचान् *cognizance* for पइचान् (Pr. परिचम्रणं, Skr. परिचयनम्?); E. H. °अनिहार् *a suffix of agency*, Ap. Pr. अणिमम्रडो (see § 321); E. H. अहा *a pleon. suff.*, Mg. अमर्, Skr. \*अककः (§ 208); E. H. आहर् or आवर् *a suffix of abstract nouns*, Pr. अमवट्ठो (see § 288). There is, apparently, one instance of an euphonic ल्; viz. E. H. दिलोतरसो or दियोतरसो *one hundred and two* (made analogously to तिलोतरसो 103, चलोतरसो 104, द्विलोतरसो 106); see §§ 394. 397.

70. *Affinitives*. All three semivowels य्, व् and ह् are already used in this way in Prākṛit. Thus य् is especially mentioned by H. C. 1, 180. T. V. 1, 3. 10. §. C. 1, 3. 5 and apparently both य् and व् by K. I. 1, 45. 46 (in Ls. Ap. 41). About ह् there is no rule; but it occurs apparently in the words फलिहो, निहसो, चिहुरो, झाहा, etc. (for स्फटिक, निकष, चिकुर, झावा) mentioned in Vr. 2, 4. 18. H. C. 1, 186. 249. They not unfrequently occur in Pr. literature; especially in Mg.; thus in the Bhagavatī (see Wb. Bh. 397. 409 411. 415); also in the Saptasataka (see Wb. Spt. 28. 29. 45); see also Ps. X.

71. Gd. *sandhi* is made in two ways; 1) by *contracting* the two vowels, or 2) by *expanding* the second. By *expansion* I mean the change of ए or इ to य *ya*, and of ओ or उ to व *va*. Peculiar Gd. contractions are: अ or आ with इ to ऐ; अ or आ with उ to औ; इ with अ to ऐ or ए or ई or इ; उ with अ to औ or ओ or ऊ; ए with अ or इ or उ or ए to ए; ओ with अ to ओ. See in detail § 73, etc.

72. *Expansion-sandhi* is not unknown in Skr.; but it affects the first vowel; thus ए, ऐ, ओ, औ become respectively अय्, आय्, अव्, and in certain cases इ or ई and उ or ऊ become इय् and उव् (see M. M. 53); e. g., gen. sing. रै-अस् = रायः; नो-अस् =

नावः; धी-अस् = धियः; लू-अस् = लुवः. In Pr. there are traces of the Gd. expansion; thus ओ or उ to व in पवटो or पओटो or पउटो = Skr. प्रकोट (Vr. 1, 40); आवज्ज for \*आओज्ज or आउज्ज = Skr. आतोयम् (H. C. 1, 156); उ or उ to व in सोममल्ल for \*सोवमल्ल for \*सोउमल्ल = Skr. सोकुमार्यम् (Vr. 1, 22); दुअल्ल for \*दुवल्ल or दुउल्ल = Skr. दुकूलम् (Vr. 1, 25); ओहलो for \*उवहलो (cf. H. C. 1, 173) for उउहलो = Skr. उट्टूलः (H. C. 1, 171); सोमालो for \*सुवमालो for सुउमालो = Skr. सुकुमारः (H. C. 1, 171). I do not recollect any example of ए or इ to य. Also the contraction of इ + अ to ए and उ + अ to ओ is found in Skr.; as in gen. sg. अग्नि-अस = अग्नेः; मधु-अस् = मधोः. Here the change is commonly explained as a *guna* of the final इ or उ: but it may be, as in Pr. and Gd. it undoubtedly must be, explained as an expansion of इ and उ to अय् and अव् and contraction of the resultant dissyllable अय and अव to ए and ओ; as \*अग्नयः = अग्नेः; \*मधवः = मधोः. Instances of this change in Pr. are not uncommon, thus वेइल्ल for \*वयइल्ल for विअइल्ल = Skr. विचकिलम् (H. C. 1, 166); कषेरो for \*कषयारो for कषिआरो = Skr. कर्णिकारः (H. C. 1, 168); एणिहं for \*अयसिं for इआणि = Skr. इदानीम् (H. C. 2, 134. Ls. 129); एत्तिअं for \*अयत्तिअं for \*इअत्तिअं = Skr. इयतिकम्; केत्तिअं for \*कयत्तिअं for \*किअत्तिअं = Skr. कियतिकम् (H. C. 2, 157); एदूहं for \*अयदूहं for \*इअदूहं = Skr. \*इयादृशम् (i. e. \*इयत् + दृश or ईदृश; cf. Wb. Spt. 59); केदूहं for \*कयदूहं for \*किअदूहं = Skr. \*कियादृशम् (or कोदृश) H. C. 2, 157. Again ओ for \*अव for उअ = Skr. उत (H. C. 2, 172); cf. ओहरइ for अवहरइ = Skr. अवहरति (H. C. 1, 172); पोरो for \*पवरो for \*पूअरो = Skr. पूतरः (H. C. 1, 170); पोप्फलं for \*पवप्फलं for \*पूअप्फलं = Skr. पूगफलम् (H. C. 1, 170); सोणारो for \*सवषारो for \*सुअषारो for सुवषारो = Skr. सुवर्णकारः (Spt. 194. H. C. 1, 26), etc. An instance of the change of अ + इ. to ऐ in Pr. is ऐ for अइ = Skr. अयि (H. C. 1, 169); but the Pr. tendency is to produce and retain the hiatus अइ, अउ, अआ, as दइओ = Skr. दैत्यः (H. C. 1, 151), पउरो = Skr. पौरः (H. C. 1, 162), वाउरणं = Skr. प्रावरणम् (H. C. 1, 175), etc. Somewhat analogous are in Skr. स्वरम् for स्वईरम्, प्रौढः for प्रउढः, etc. (M. M. 19).

73. अ or आ with अ or आ becomes आ; as E. H. इहाँ here,

Ap. Pr. एहं, Skr. ईदृशे (scl. स्थाने, see § 467); E. H. तोहार yours (W. H. तुम्हारौ), Ap. Mg. \*तुम्हल्लिए or \*तुम्हल्लिए or तुम्हल्ले (cf. H. C. 2, 99. 147. 4, 422), Skr. युष्माकम्; E. H. खात् eating, Mg. खान्ते, Skr. खादन्; E. H. सङ्गंध (fem.) bad odour, Pr. \*सडिअंधो, Skr. \*अदितगन्धिः (cf. H. C. 4, 219); E. H. राउत् name of a caste, Mg. \*लाअउत्ते, Skr. राजतूतः; E. H. लोहार blacksmith, Mg. लोह्माले, Skr. लौहकारः; E. H. चमार leather-worker, shoemaker, Mg. चम्माले, Skr. चर्मकाजः; E. H. परिवा first day of a lunar fortnight, Mg. पडिअ (Vr. 4, 7), Skr. प्रतिपत्.

*Exception.* Sometimes व् is inserted; as in the nominal long forms, e. g., रमन्वा Rāma for Mg. लामआह, Skr. रामकस्य (see § 369, 2); sometimes य्, as in रैन or रयन् night, Mg. लअणो, Skr. जतनो.

74. इ or ई with इ or ई becomes ई; as E. H. पी or पीई he will drink, Pr. पिइहिइ, Skr. पास्यति (\*पिबिष्यति), W. H. पीहे = Pr. \*पिइहइ; E. H. पीओ I shall drink, Ap. Pr. पिइवुडं, Pr. पिइवुन्दि, Skr. पातव्य° (\*पिबितव्य°), see § 309.

75. उ or ऊ with उ or ऊ becomes ऊ; as E. H. दूना twofold, Mg. दुउणए (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. द्विगुणकः.

76. *Affinities.* There are some examples of the preceding contractions in Pr.; as Ap. अम्हार (H. C. 4, 345) = \*अम्हअरिओ or \*अम्हअरिओ, Mh. अम्हअरौ (H. C. 2, 147), Skr. अस्माकम् (lit. \*अस्मकृतः), H. H. हमार, E. H. हमार, W. H. हमारौ (Br.) or म्हारौ (Mw.) our; Pr. खाइ or खान्इ (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादति, E. H. खाय् he eats; Pr. राउल or राअउलं (Vr. 4, 1), Skr. राजकुलम्, E. H. राउर, W. H. राउल् a title of honor; Pr. भाण or भाअण, Skr. भाजनम् (H. C. 1, 267) vessel; Pr. सोणार° (Spt. 194) for सुवसआर°, Skr. सुवर्णकार°, E. H. सोनार goldsmith; Pr. कुम्मारो or कुम्भारो (Vr. 1, 4), Skr. कुम्भकारः, E. H. कोहार, W. H. कुम्हार potter; Pr. पावालिका for पन्नावालिका (Spt. 162), Skr. प्रपापालिका guardian of a well; again उअसो for \*उअसो for उववासो (H. C. 1, 173, see § 34), Skr. उपवासः, E. H. उपास् (perhaps a semi-tatsama) fasting, etc. See Wb. Spt. 32. But as a rule, Pr. prefers to preserve the hiatus; see Wb. Bh. 408. Skr. has similar laws, see M. M. 14. 52.

77. अ with इ becomes ऐ, if antepenultimate, but ऐ or अय aya

or अय् *ay*, if penultimate, optionally; as E. H. गयल् or गडल् or गैल् gone, Mg. गमिदे (see §§ 307. 109), Skr. गतः, W. H. गयो, P. गङ्गा, Ap. Pr. \*गमिञ्चउ; E. H. भयल् or भडल् or भैल् been, Mg. \*भविदे (see § 307), Skr. भूतः, W. H. भयो, P. होङ्गा, Ap. Pr. भविञ्चउ or हविञ्चउ (cf. H. C. 4, 401); E. H. कय् or कै having done for कङ्, W. H. करि, Ap. Pr. करि (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. करिञ्च (H. C. 1, 27), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. पङ्ठे or पेठे he enters, Pr. पङ्ठङ् (cf. H. C. 4, 444), Skr. \*प्रविष्टति (see § 352); E. H. खड्लो or खैलो I ate, Mg. खाङ्ङम्हि, Skr. खादितोऽस्मि (see § 487); E. H. गड्लो or गैलो I went, Mg. गमिदऽम्हि, Skr. गतोऽस्मि; E. H. तड्सन् or तैसन् such, Ap. Mg. तड्सिल्ले (see § 111), A. Mg. तारिसे (H. C. 4, 287) or तारिसे (Ls. 115), Skr. तादृशः.

*Exception.* The termin. ऐ and ऐ of the 3. pr. sg. and pl. pres. and of the gen.-affix कै are always thus contracted; e. g., E. H. चलै he walks (not चलङ् or चलय्), Pr. चलङ्, Skr. चलति; E. H. करै they do, Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. करंति, Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. कै of (lit. done by) = O. H. करि, Ap. \*करिउ or \*करिओ or कैरो (H. C. 4, 422), Skr. कृतः. In the oblique form of the singular and in postpositional locatives अङ् becomes generally ए or ई; as E. H. भले obl. form of भला good, O. H. भलहि, Ap. Pr. भल्लहे, Skr. भद्रस्य (see § 365, 6. 367, 4); E. H. पाङ्गे or पाङ्गे or पाङ्गे or पाङ्गे after, G. पाङ्गे, Ap. Pr. पङ्ङङ् (H. C. 4, 334. 420; for पङ्ङहि, see § 367, 4) or पङ्ङहिं (§§ 367, 5. and 378), Skr. पङ्गे; E. H. आगे before, Ap. Pr. अगङ् (H. C. 4, 391), Skr. अग्रे; E. H. माङ्गे or माङ्गे (cf. § 67) within, S. मङ्गे, Ap. Pr. मङ्गहिं or मङ्गहि, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पाङ्गे near, by side of, Ap. पङ्गहिं, Skr. पङ्गे; E. H. लागे or लगे with, for, till, M. लागी, Ap. लगहि, Skr. लगे.

78. अ with उ becomes औ, if antepenultimate, but औ or अव् *ava* or अव् *av*, if penultimate, optionally; thus E. H. चौय् or चवय् or चउय् fourth, Mg. चउत्ये (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थः; E. H. चौया or चउया fourth, Mg. चउत्यए (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थकः; E. H. औध् or अवध् the province of Oudh, also अनुधा (W. H. अनुधा *semitats.*), Mg. \*अनुडा or \*अनुडा, Skr. अवोधा; E. H. रौरा or रउरा a honorific title, you (cf. § 25), Mg. लाउलए (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. गतकुलकः; E. H. ऐकलोता or ऐकलउता (or अक<sup>०</sup> or टा) only-born son, Mg. एक्कलउत्तए

(cf. Wb. Bh. 439) or °दृए (cf. H. C. 2, 165. Vr. 12, 5), Skr. एकलपुत्रकः; E. H. नेठोत् or नेठउत् *son of husband's elder brother*, Mg. नेठउत्ते (cf. Wb. Bh. 315), Skr. ज्येष्ठपुत्रः.

*Exception.* The termin. औ or ओ of the 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. pres. is always thus contracted; e. g., E. H. करौ or करो I do, Ap. करउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. करमि, Skr. करोमि, Ap. Pr. सउ *hundred* is in E. H. सो beside सौ, सव्, सउ; Skr. शतम्. In the *postpositional* locatives अउ becomes ऊ; as E. H. पाछू *behind*, Ap. Pr. पच्छहुं, Skr. पश्चे, etc.; see § 367, 5.

79. *Affinities.* In Pr. अइ and अउ generally remain in hiatus, but sometimes become ए and ओ; thus देवुं and दइवुं *fate* (H. C. 1, 153), Skr. दैवम्, but E. H. दैव्; Ap. केहो *of what kind* for \*कइहो or \*कादिहो, Skr. कीदृशः (cf. Ls. 455); Pr. केलं for \*कइलं or कयलं (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदम्, also E. H. केरा *plantain*; again Pr. लोपां for \*लउपां or लवपां *salt* (H. C. 1, 171); Skr. लवपाम्, also E. H. लोन् or नोन्; Pr. चोव्वारो or चउव्वारो *shed, court* (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. चतुर्वारः, but E. H. चोन्नार; Pr. चोत्यो or चउत्यो (H. C. 1, 171), but E. H. चौय्. Only in one exceptional case अइ becomes ऐ, viz. Pr. ऐ for \*अइ = Skr. अग्नि (H. C. 1, 169). These remarks refer to the Mh.-Sr. and Ap. (Sr.) Pr.; perhaps the Mg. even more strictly preserved the hiatus; for thus it may be explained why *on the whole* the E. and N. Gd. have ऐ and ओ, while the W. and S. Gd. have ए and ओ and occasionally even modify ए to आ (just as the Mg. nom. sing. term. ए; see §§ 47. 48), or exceptionally (shortened) to अ; thus E. H., B., O., also M. चौया, N. (also Br.) चौयो *fourth*, but G., S., Mw. चोयो; E. H., B., O., N. also M. चौदा or चौदह *fourteen*, but Mw., G. चौद (or चौद), S. चोडह; again E. H. गैल् *gone*, but M. गेला; E. H. कैल् *done*, but M. केला; E. H. भैल् *been*, but M. काला (for \*हैला, \*ह्माला); E. H. खैलो I ate, M. खालो; E. H. ऐलो I came, M. आलो; E. H. तैसन् *such*, M. तत्ता. The contraction of the Ap. Pr. loc. term. अहिं to ई is quite regular in M.; see Man. 28, 2. 3; as M. घरौ *in a house*, Ap. घरहिं (K. I. 12, 27. in Ls. 451. see § 367, 5), Skr. गृहे; M. पासौ *by the side of*, Ap. Pr. पासहिं (cf. H. C. 2, 92),



Skr. ऋर्णे; M. आदीँ for (affix of dative), Ap. Pr. ऋर्हिं (cf. H. C. 2, 32), Skr. ऋर्णे; M. ठाईँ in (Man. 127), Ap. ठाणहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, etc.

80. अ with ई or उ becomes ऐ or अय् and ओ or अव् respectively; optionally; as E. H. कनहई or कनहै or कनहय् *kanhai* (krishna); E. H. घड्ड or घडो or घडव् *pitcher*, redundant forms of कान् or कनहा (W. H. कान्ह) and घडा, see § 356.

81. अ with ए, ओ, see § 97.

82. आ with इ or ई and with उ or ऊ remains in hiatus; thus E. H. खाइव् *we shall eat*, Ap. खाइव्वा (scl. इह), Pr. खाइव्वाःहो, Skr. खादित्तव्याः स्मः (with active sense, see § 309); E. H. खाई *he will eat*, Pr. खाहिइ (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादिष्यति (W. H. खाहै = Pr. \*खाहइ); E. H. माई *mother*, Mg. माट्मा (see § 61), Skr. मातृका; E. H. बाई *wind* (see § 61); E. H. राउरू *you*, Mg. लाउले (cf. Vr. 4, 1); Skr. राजकुलः; E. H. नाड *barber*, Mg. नाविए or पहाविए (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नापितः.

*Exception.* The suff. उ of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pr. sg. imper. combines with आ to ओ; as E. H. जो *go thou*, Ap. जाउ (cf. H. C. 4, 387. Ls. 467), Skr. गहि; E. H. खो *eat thou*, Ap. खाउ, Skr. खाद. A final इ or उ optionally becomes य् and व्; as E. H. खाय् or खाइ *having eaten*, Ap. खाइ (cf. H. C. 4, 439), Pr. खाइअ, Skr. खादित्वा; E. H. जाय् or जाइ *having gone*, Ap. जाइ, Pr. जाइअ, Skr. गत्वा; E. H. जाँय् or जाँई *they go*, Ap. जाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. जाति, Skr. गन्ति; again E. H. घाव् or घाउ *wound*, Ap. घाउ (H. C. 4, 346), Pr. घामो, Skr. घातः; E. H. पाव् or पाँव् or पाउ or पाँउ *foot*, Ap. पाउ, Skr. पादः; E. H. राव् or राउ *a title of nobility, prince*, Pr. राउ (as if Skr. राजः); E. H. खाव् *I eat*, Ap. खाउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. खामि or खाम्मि, Skr. खादामि; sometimes also penultimate इ or उ; as E. H. खायल् or खाइल् *eaten*, Mg. खाइदे, Skr. खादितः; E. H. रावरू or राउरू *you* (see above).

83. इ with अ becomes ए; as E. H. डेह् or देह् *one and a half*, for \*दिह्, Mg. दिवडे (Wb. Bh. 190. 411, and § 416); sometimes optionally; as E. H. नियरू or नेरू *near*, Mg. निमडं, Skr. निकटम्; when final, ए is shortened to ऐ or इ, as E. H. कऐ or कइ *having*

done, Mg. कलिञ्च (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. चल्यो, O. H. चलेउ, Ap. \*चलिञ्चउं (see § 505), Pr. चलिञ्चऽम्हि, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि.

*Exception.* The nominal termin. इञ्च contracts to ई; as E. H. पानी water, Pr. पाणिञ्च; see § 53. 49. 50.

84. उ with अ becomes ओ; as E. H. सोधा sweet scent, Mg. सुञ्धए (cf. Spt. 13), Skr. सुगन्धकः.

*Exception.* The nominal termin. उञ्च contracts to ऊ; as E. H. आसू tear, Pr. अञ्चुञ्च; see § 53. 49. 50.

85. *Affinities.* Both the above contractions are not uncommon in Pr.; thus Pr. लेइ he takes for \*लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते, E. H. ले (cf. E. H. past part. लिहल); Mg. घोक्काए (cf. H. C. 1, 173) magician for \*उञ्चक्काए or उवञ्चक्काए, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. घोका; Mg. हेति for \*हुञ्चते or हुवते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवन्, E. H. होत्, etc. (see § 72). They are common alike to all Gds.

86. इ or उ with आ become इया and उवा; optionally; the insertion of य् is usual, that of व् unusual; thus E. H. हिया or हिआ heart, Pr. हिमञ्च, Skr. हृदयम्; E. H. बियाइ marriage. Mg. विआहे, Skr. विवाहः; E. H. पियास् thirst, Pr. पिआसा (cf. H. C. 4, 434) or पिवासा (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. पिपासा; E. H. पुआल or (rarely) पुवाल straw, Pr. \*पलाली, Skr. पलाली; and regularly in the nominal long forms, as घोर्िया or (rarely) घोर्िआ mare; जोरुआ or (less usually) जोरुवा wife, see §§ 195. 199.

*Exception.* In the nominal short forms, इआ and उआ are always contracted to ई and ऊ respectively; see § 51.

87. इ with उ or ऊ becomes इयु and इयू; optionally; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. सिउ or सियु Siva, Ap. सिउ, Pr. सिओ, Skr. शिवः; E. H. पिउ or पियू sweetheart, Ap. पिञ्चउ, Pr. पिञ्चओ, Skr. प्रियकः.

88. उ with इ or ई remains in hiatus; as E. H. सुइया needle, Pr. सुइआ, Skr. सूचिका; E. H. सुई parrot, Pr. सुइआ, Skr. शुकिका.

89. इ or उ with ए or ओ; see § 98.

90. ई or ऊ with अ; see § 97.

91. ई with any other vowel inserts य्; as E. H. धीया daughter,

Pr. धीष्ठा (Vr. 4, 33), Skr. धीदा or दुहिता; E. H. सोया *Sitá*, Pr. सीष्ठा, Skr. सीता (semitats.); E. H. पीयु *drink thou*, Ap. पिउ (see § 65), Pr. पिव, Skr. पिब; E. H. पीयै *he drinks*, Pr. पिबद् (H. C. 4, 10), Skr. पिबति; E. H. पीयो or पीयो I *drink*, Ap. पिबउ (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. पिबमि, Skr. पिबामि.

92. उ *with* ञ, इ *and* ई *remains in hiatus*, as E. H. धूष्ठा *smoke*, Ap. धूळउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. धूसो, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. चूड्हे *they will leak*, Ap. चुड्हिं (cf. § 65), Pr. चुड्हति, Skr. श्रोतिष्यन्ति; E. H. भूई *earth*, Ap. भूविष्ठा (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. भूमिष्ठा, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. सूई *needle*, Pr. सूड्ठा, Skr. सूचिका.

93. उ *with* ए, ऐ, ओ *and* औ *becomes* उवे, उव, उवो, उवौ; optionally; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. चूरे or चूवै *it leaks* (W. H. चूर or चूवे), Pr. चुबद् (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोतति; E. H. चूओ or चूओ or चूवो or चूवो I *leak*, Ap. चुबउ, Pr. चुबमि, Skr. श्रोतामि.

94. ए or ओ *with* ञ, इ *and* उ; see § 97. 98.

95. ए or ओ *with a long vowel remain in hiatus*; less usually व् is inserted after ओ; as E. H. लेई *he will take*, Pr. लहिहिउ, Skr. लप्स्यते (\*लमिष्यति); E. H. होई *he will be*, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. बोऐ or बोवै *he sows*, Pr. ववद्, Skr. वपति; E. H. बोओ or बोवो or बोवो or बोवो I *sow*, Ap. ववउ, Pr. ववमि, Skr. वपामि.

96. ऐ or औ *with any vowel insert* व् *and* व्; optionally; the insertion of व् is usual, but not that of व्; as E. H. भैयन् or भड्यन् कै (see § 77) *of brothers*, Pr. भाड्छाण, Skr. भ्रातृकाणाम्; E. H. भैया or भड्या *brother*, Mg. भाड्छाह, Skr. भ्रातृकस्य (see § 369, 2), E. H. नौयन् or नड्यन् कै (see § 78) *of barbers*, Pr. नाविष्ठाण, Skr. नापितानाम्; E. H. नौया or नौवा or नड्या or नडवा *barber*, Mg. नाविष्ठाह, Skr. नापितस्य; E. H. नोई *he will bow*, Pr. नविहिइ or नमिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. नौओ I *bow*, Ap. नवउ, Pr. नवमि, Skr. नमामि; E. H. नोऐ or नोवै *they bow*, Ap. नवहिं (H. C. 4, 367), Pr. नवन्ति, Skr. नमन्ति.

97. ञ *before or after a long vowel is often elided, before*; E. H. सुम्मार *cook*, A. Mg. सूम्माले, Skr. सूपकाः; E. H. फुलेल् *scented oil*, Pr. फुल्लैल्, Skr. फुल्लतैल्; *after*; E. H. सोर or सोयर् *cold, damp*, Pr. सीयलं (cf. H. C. 4, 343. Spt. 53), Skr. शीतलम्; E. H. पोर or

पीयूर *yellow*, Pr. पीयूलं (H. C. 1, 213), Skr. पीतलम्; E. H. चूर 'or  
चूयूर *hog*, A. Mg. चूयूले, Skr. चूकरः; E. H. योर or योरा *little* (W.  
H. योडा). Pr. योअउं or योअउअ (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तोक्म् or स्तोक्कम्.  
But never in conjugation; e. g., E. H. पीयन् *drinking*, Mg. पिअते,  
Skr. पिबन्; E. H. बोअन् *sowing*, Mg. ववते, Skr. ववन्.

*Note.* पीयन्, बोअन्, etc. are not real exceptions; for their  
ई, ओ, etc. are merely subsequent Gd. lengthenings (cf. § 65); nor  
होन् *being*, देन् *giving*, लेन् *taking*, for these are not contractions of  
हो-अन्, etc., but of Mg. Pr. हुअते, लहते, देते (cf. H. C. 4, 307).

98. इ or ए and उ or ओ after a vowel often become य *ya*  
or यू *y* and व *va* or वू *v* respectively; thus E. H. गयल् or गडल्  
*gone* (see § 77); E. H. धय् *having put* for धइ, Ap. धरि, Pr. धरिअ,  
Skr. धृत्वा. E. H. लायल् or लाइल् *caten* (§ 82. exc.); E. H. पाय्  
*having found* for पाइ. Ap. पात्रि, Pr. पात्रिअ, Skr. प्राप्य; E. H. चूय्  
*having leaked* for चूइ or चूऐ, Pr. चुइअ, Skr. श्रुतित्वा; E. H. होय्  
*he is* Pr. होइ (H. C. 1, 9) or हवइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति; E. H.  
होय् *having been* for होइ or होऐ, Pr. ह्विअ (H. C. 4, 271), Skr.  
भूत्वा; E. H. कोयूर or कोइर *cuckoo* (W. H. कोइल्), Mg. कोइल्, Skr.  
कोकिलः; E. H. नारियूर *cocanut* (W. H. नारियल्), Mg. नालिएल्, Skr.  
नारिकेलः; O. H. आयसु *order* (in Tulsidās). Ap. आएसु, Pr. आएसो, Skr.  
आदेशः; E. H. चवय् or चउय् *fourth* (see § 78); E. H. घाव् or घाउ  
*wound* (see § 82. exc.); E. H. जाय् I go, Ap. जाउ, Pr. जामि (H. C.  
2, 204). Skr. यामि.

*Exception.* The suff. इ of 3<sup>d</sup> pers. and उ of 2<sup>nd</sup> pr. sg.  
pres. and imper. is always dropped after the roots ले, दे; thus  
ले *he takes*. Pr. लेइ (H. C. 4, 238, see § 85); E. H. दे *he gives*.  
Pr. देइ (H. C. 4, 238), Skr. ददाति; E. H. दे *take thou*, Ap. देउ,  
Skr. देहि. Again the nominal term. Mg. इए and उए (or Sr. इओ,  
उओ) are contracted to ई and ऊ; see § 49; the expansion of  
final ए (or ओ) to य or व would naturally tend to lengthen the  
preceding इ and उ, and the resultant अ after ई and ऊ. would  
drop off. by § 97; e. g., तेल्लिए. तेल्लिय or तेल्लीअ, तेल्ली *oilman*.

## γ) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

99. Medial single consonants in E. H. are of two kinds, *original* and *resultant*. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. either from the (A. Mg.) Pr.; as in the tadbh. E. H. सगल् *whole*, A. Mg. सगले, Skr. सकलः; E. H. पर्विवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पडिबन्ना, Skr. प्रतिपत्; or from the Skr.; as in the tats. E. H. रान्ना *lung*, Skr. रान्ना, or in the semitats. E. H. क्रिया *mercy*, Skr. कृपा. The latter are those which have arisen either from the *simplification* (§ 143) of a conjunct consonant by eliding one, as in the tadbh. E. H. पाली *letter*, Pr. पत्तिन्ना, Skr. पत्रिका; E. H. माथा *head*, Mg. मत्थए, Skr. मस्तकः, or in the semitats. E. H. प्रियो, Skr. पृथ्वी; E. H. अनुधा, Skr. अयोध्या; or from the *dissolution* (§ 138) of a conjunct by inserting a vowel; as in the tadbh. भगत् *devoted*, Ap. \*भक्तु, Skr. भक्तः, or in the semitats. तत्त *effort*, Skr. यत्त. Tatsama single consonants, whether original or resultant, may, of course (as in Skr.), be of any kind, whether surd or sonant, aspirate or unaspirate; they never suffer any further change in E. H.; for some doubtful exceptions see §§ 102. 129. Tadbhava *resultant* single consonants, too, as may be seen from the examples in §§ 138, 143, may be of any kind; but the tadbh. *original* can only be sonants, never surds, because already in Pr. every original single surd cons. has been made sonant, if it be not wholly elided (cf. § 101). Both tadbhava classes, the resultant and the original, are liable to further changes in E. H. These may be of five kinds: 1) sonant consonants proper (i. e. cerebrals and dentals) are *softened* to semivowels (इ or रू or ल् and ऋ or ई or ल्ह) cf. §§ 102—115; 2) aspirate consonants proper (except palatals and cerebrals) may be *reduced* to the simple aspirate (ह), cf. §§ 116—120; 3) semivowels (viz. व् and य्) and the nasal (म्) may be vocalized (इ and उ), cf. §§ 121. 122; 4) semivowels (viz. व्, ल्, रू, ह्) and nasals (viz. म् and न्) and occasionally double consonants (viz. क्क, च्च, त्त, न्न, य्य, प्प) may be elided, cf. §§ 123—128 and 151—157; and 5) semi-

vowels (viz.  $\underline{r}$  and  $\underline{v}$ ) may be hardened, cf. § 129. Besides, there are isolated instances of changes of a miscellaneous kind. See in detail § 97, etc.

100. *Affinities.* All these five kinds of changes exist in Pr. already; but modified partly in character, partly in frequency. Thus in Pr. they affect as a rule (exceptions see § 116, note. § 145, exc. 2. and § 142) only *original* single consonants; in E. H. also *resultant* ones. Again 1) in Pr. surds are softened to sonants, in E. H. sonants to semivowels; e. g., *orig.*, Skr. कर्पटकः *cloths*, Mg. कप्पडर्, E. H. कपरा; Skr. कथितः *sand*, Mg. कथिदे, E. H. कहिल् or कहल्; *result.*, Skr. कपर्दिका, Mg. कवडिग्रा (cf. H. C. 2, 36), E. H. कोरी, W. H. कोडी. This rule refers only to cerebrals and dentals, which alone are capable of the change. But something analogous takes place in the case of the other classes; thus in Pr., labials ( $\underline{p}$  or  $\underline{b}$ ) are softened to  $\underline{v}$  (H. C. 1, 231. 237); in E. H.,  $\underline{v}$  is *vocalized*; e. g., Skr. व्रणयः *oath*, A. Mg. सवथे or सवहे, E. H. सोह् (for सडह्); in Mg. Pr. for gutturals ( $\underline{k}$ ,  $\underline{g}$ ) and palatals ( $\underline{c}$ ,  $\underline{j}$ ) is substituted the euphonic  $\underline{v}$  (cf. Wb. Bh. 397); in E. H.,  $\underline{v}$  is *vocalized*; e. g., Skr. नगउम् *town*, Mg. नयलं, E. H. नैरू; Skr. उन्नती *night*, Mg. लयणी, E. H. रैनि. There are, however, traces of these changes in Pr. already, see §§ 35. 105. 109, note, etc. Then 2) in Pr., aspirate consonants are changed to sonant aspirates or reduced to the simple aspirate ह् (see H. C. 4, 267. 302. Wb. Bh. 410); E. H. allows only the simple aspirate and occasionally extends the rule to resultant aspirates; e. g., Skr. कुजुय *you make*, Mg. कलेध or कलेह, E. H. कर्ह्; Skr. पत्ते, Ap. पक्खहिं, E. H. पाही (for पाखी). Traces of its extension to resultants, however, occur in Pr. also, see § 116, note and Wb. Bh. 410. Again 3) in Pr.,  $\underline{r}$  and  $\underline{v}$  are sometimes *vocalized* (§ 35); in Ap. Pr. also  $\underline{r}$  (see § 122, note); but in E. H. the process is far more common; see examples above (No. 1). Next 4) in Pr., unaspirate consonants proper and  $\underline{r}$  and  $\underline{v}$  only are *elided* (Vr. 2, 2. H. C. 1, 177); E. H. extends the practice occasionally to  $\underline{r}$ ,  $\underline{l}$ ,  $\underline{h}$ ,  $\underline{m}$ ,  $\underline{n}$ , though traces of the latter exist in Pr. also (see §§ 125, note. and 127, note).

Lastly 5) in Mh.-Sr., initial  $\varphi$  is always hardened to  $\varphi$ ; E. Gd. extends this practice to both initial  $\varphi$  and  $\varphi$  (see § 17), even when they become the initial of a syllable by the dissolution of a conjunct; e. g., Skr. कार्यम्, E. H. कार्यम्; Skr. पर्वतः, E. H. पर्वत्. As to the Gds., they all agree generally in regard to the four last kinds of changes. With respect to the first, the E. and S. Gd. agree; but W. and N. Gd. do not change  $\delta$  to  $\delta$ , but elide it; and have a tendency to preserve  $\delta$  or change it to  $\delta$ , but not to  $\delta$ .

101. With regard to tadbhava original consonants proper, the following may be stated *generally*. In Mg., as in Pr. generally,  $\kappa$  and  $\eta$  were usually elided; exceptionally  $\kappa$  was changed to  $\eta$  (H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396);  $\chi$  and  $\eta$  were, as a rule, elided (not mentioned at all in E. H. 4, 396; one exception in H. C. 1, 177);  $\delta$  and  $\delta$  were never elided, but  $\delta$  softened to  $\delta$  (H. C. 1, 195); in Mg. (but not in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177)  $\eta$  and  $\delta$  were not elided, but  $\eta$  softened to  $\delta$  (H. C. 4, 260. 302. cf. 4, 396); in the later Mg., however, (as in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177)  $\delta$  must have been, as a rule, elided, except in the past part. pass. and in a few other words; in the Mg. of the Bhagavatī, indeed, there appears to be no difference between Mg. and the ordinary Pr. (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. 428. 433); but E. H. (and E. Gd. generally) agree with the Pr. Gramm. statement, as above modified (see § 109). In Mg., as in Pr. generally,  $\varphi$  and  $\varphi$  are softened to  $\varphi$  (H. C. 1, 231. 237). Again in Mg., as in Pr. generally,  $\chi$  and  $\varphi$  were, as a rule, reduced to  $\chi$  (only a few exceptions in H. C. 1, 187. 188. cf. 4, 396);  $\chi$  and  $\varphi$  were always left unchanged (being not mentioned in H. C. 1, 187. 4, 396); and  $\delta$  was always changed to  $\delta$ , but  $\delta$  left unchanged (H. C. 1, 199). In Mg. (but not in Pr. generally H. C. 1, 187)  $\varphi$  was changed to  $\varphi$ , and  $\varphi$  optionally reduced to  $\chi$  (H. C. 4, 267. 302. cf. 4, 396). In Pr. generally,  $\kappa$  was always changed to  $\eta$ , and  $\eta$  optionally reduced to  $\chi$  (H. C. 1, 236. 187. cf. 4, 396). Thus it follows, that E. H. can possess only the following tadbh. orig. cons. proper,

to which it applies its own laws of phonetic change. Of unaspirates: exceptionally ण; regularly ङ; in the past part. and exceptionally in other words ढ; regularly ञ. Of aspirates: exceptionally ख; regularly छ, क् and ढ्; optionally ध् and भ्. The unaspirates च् and ण् are never present; in words like E. H. पचै *it rots*, बजै *it sounds* (§ 143) they are resultant, owing to a doubling (च्, ण्) in Pr.

aa) Softening.

102. क् becomes ण; rarely; 1) original; thus E. H. काग *crow*, Ap. कागु, Skr. काकः (but usually कवा, Mg. काए, or कोवा (for \*कववा), Mg. कावए); E. H. साग *vegetable*, Ap. सागं, Skr. शाकम्; E. H. सग *cart* (W. H. सगड्), A. Mg. सगडं (cf. Wb. Bh. 248), Skr. शकटम्; E. H. सगर *whole*, Ap. सगलं, Skr. सकलम्; E. H. सगुन् *bird*, Ap. सगुणु, Skr. शकुनः; E. H. ऐगारह *eleven*, Ap. \*एगारह (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. एकादश; E. H. परगट् *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटम् (semitats.). — 2) resultant; thus E. H. बिगत् or बेगत् *individual*, Skr. व्यक्तः; E. H. मुगति *salvation*, Skr. मुक्तिः; E. H. भगत् *devotee*, Skr. भक्तः; E. H. भगति *faith*, Skr. भक्तिः; E. H. भगताई *devotedness* (cf. § 220) = Skr. भक्तता; E. H. रगत् *blood*, Skr. रक्तम्. Not always; as E. H. चकर *wheel*, Ap. Pr. चक्रं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. चक्रम्; E. H. बकरै *she-goat*, Ap. वक्रिआ, Skr. वक्रिका.

*Note:* Probably in most or all of these words, the change took place in Pr. already; for it is expressly mentioned by Pr. Gramm. to occur in exceptional cases; see H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396; as Pr. एगो, Skr. एकः, Pr. आगारो, Skr. आकारः, etc. (cf. Ls. 202); and in Gd., too, it occurs only as an exception. As a rule क् is elided in tadbh., both in Pr. and Gd.; and in tats. it remains unchanged.

103. ट् becomes ड् or ढ्; very rarely; always resultant, as E. H. निवाडै or निवारै *he accomplishes* for \*निवादै, Pr. निवुट्टड् or निवुट्टेड्, Skr. निर्वर्तयति; E. H. पेड् or पेर् *tree* for \*पेट् (see § 148), Pr. पट्टो, Skr. पत्रो (?).

104. ड् becomes ड् or ढ्; as a rule; ढ् is more usual; 1) original; thus E. H. कपरा or कपडा *cloths*, Mg. कपडए, Skr. कर्पटकः; E. H. केवारा or केवाडा *door* (§ 57), Mg. कवाडए, Skr. कपाटकः;



E. H. धरै or धरै *he fashions*, Pr. घडइ (H. C. 1, 195), Skr. घटयति;  
 E. H. चिरई *bird* (cf. § 55), Pr. चडइया, Skr. चटकिका, H. H. चिठिया;  
 E. H. तोरै or तोरै *he breaks*, Pr. तोडइ or तोडेइ, Skr. तोटयति, E. H.  
 नरू or नरू *a kind of reed*, Mg. नडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195), Skr. नटः;  
 E. H. परै or पडै *he falls*, Pr. पडइ (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. पतति; E. H.  
 परिवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पडिवा (Vr. 4, 7), Skr.  
 प्रतिपत्; E. H. परोस् *neighbourhood* (cf. § 122), A. Mg. पडिवासे or  
 पडिवेसे, Skr. प्रतिवासः or प्रतिवेशः; E. H. पापरू or पापडू *cake*, Mg.  
 पपडे, Skr. पपटः; E. H. वारी or वाडी *garden*, Pr. वाडिआ, Skr.  
 वाटिका; E. H. भरू or भडू *large boat*, Mg. भडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195).  
 Skr. भटः (?); E. H. लरिका or लडिका *boy*, Mg. \*लडिक्कर from Skr.  
 लट (cf. § 252. 334. 353), H. H. लडका; E. H. लरै or लडै *he*  
*quarrels (makes uproar)*, Mg. लडइ, Skr. जटति (cf. § 110, exc.); E. H.  
 सरै or सडै *it rots*, Pr. सडइ (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. श्रद्धति; generally in  
 the E. H. pleonastic suffixes ड or रू, डा or रा, आडू or आरू, आडा  
 or आरा, Ap. Mg. डे, उए, अडडे, अडडए (cf. H. C. 4, 429. 430); thus  
 E. H. गोरू or गोडू *foot, leg*, Ap. गवडु (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. गमडे,  
 Skr. गमः (lit. going); E. H. थोरू or थोडू *little* (cf. § 97), Ap. Mg.  
 थोडडे, Skr. स्तोकः; E. H. ठोकरा or ठोकडा *small piece*, Ap. Mg.  
 \*ठोक्कडए (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तोकः; E. H. चमरा or चमडा *leather*,  
 Ap. Mg. चम्मडअ, Skr. चर्म; E. H. बडरू or बडडू *calf*, Ap. वडडड,  
 Skr. वत्सः; E. H. सैकरा or सैकडा *a hundred*, Ap. Mg. सयक्कडअ, Skr.  
 शतकम्; E. H. नेठरा *eldest*, Ap. Mg. नेटडए, Skr. ज्येष्ठः; E. H. पडिवाड  
 or पडिवाडू or वाडरा *hindmost*, Ap. Mg. \*पडिवाडडे or वाडडए or  
 पडिवाडडे or वाडडए, Skr. पश्चिमकः; E. H. पडारी or पडाडी (sl. रूस्ती)  
*hind-rope (for tying horses' hind-legs)*, Ap. पडडडडिआ, Skr. पश्चक°;  
 E. H. अगारी or अगाडी *fore-rope*, Ap. अगडडिआ, Skr. अग्रक°, etc. —  
 2) resultant; thus E. H. कौरी or कोडी *cowrie*, Pr. कवडिआ (H. C.  
 2, 36), Skr. कपर्दिका, etc.

105. ड becomes ल; only original; very rarely; thus the  
 E. H. pleonastic suffix ल or ला, Ap. Mg. डे or उए (cf. H. C. 4, 429),  
 e. g., E. H. परलू or ला *ulterior*, Ap. Mg. पलडे or उए, Skr. पजः;  
 E. H. मोटलू *fat*, Ap. Mg. \*मोटडे or \*मुटडे, Skr. मूर्त्तः; E. H. नडली  
*mother*, Ap. Mg. \*माडडिआ, Skr. मातृका, etc.; also otherwise, as

E. H. द्विलोत्तरसौ or सो, Ap. Mg. \*द्वुत्तरस्यं or \*द्वुत्तरस्यं (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Ap. Sr. \*द्वुत्तरसत्. Skr. द्वुत्तरसत्.

*Note:* This change is not uncommon in Pr., see Vr. 2, 23. H. C. 1, 202; in such cases E. H. optionally, but usually changes ल् to र्; as Skr. षोडश sixteen, A. Mg. सोलन (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सोरह् or सोलह्; Skr. तडाकः tank Ap. तलाउ (cf. H. C. 1, 202), E. H. तराउ or तराव् or तलाव्; Skr. नडम् a kind of reed, Pr. नडं or नलं (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नर् or नल् or नड्; Skr. नाडिका stalk, Pr. नाडिका or नालिका (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नारी or नाली or नागे.

106. इ becomes न्; only original; very rarely; thus E. H. तवन् or तउन् or तोन् that (lit. of that kind), Ap. तेवडु (H. C. 4, 407) or \*तेवडो, Pr. तेदूहो (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. तादृशः (see § 438, 2); E. H. तवन् or तउन् or तोन् which (lit. of which kind), Ap. तेवडु (H. C. 4, 407), Pr. तेदूहो, Skr. दादृश. E. H. कवन् or कउन् or कोन् who (lit. of what kind), Ap. कवणु (H. C. 4, 395) or केवडु (H. C. 4, 408), Mg. केवन्नियं (Wb. Bh. 422), Pr. केदूहो, Skr. कोदृशः (see § 26. note); cf. also E. H. घुघडा or घुघना mouth (of a horse, etc.) from घोश् mouth.

107. त् becomes इ or र्; very rarely; always resultant; as E. H. सप्तसठि or सउसठि or सतसठि sixty seven, Pr. सप्तसठ्ठी (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तषष्टिः.

108. द् becomes र्; very rarely; always original; thus गगरी waterpot, Pr. गगरिआ (cf. Vr. 2, 13), Skr. गग्गदिका; E. H. सत्ररू seventy. Pr. सत्ररी (H. C. 1, 210. Wb. Bh. 248) for \*सत्रदो, Skr. सप्ततिः; E. H. ०रह् ten, Pr. ०रह (Vr. 2, 14) or ०रस (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. दश; e. g., E. H. बारह twelve, Pr. बारह (H. C. 1, 219) or बारस (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. द्वादश.

*Note:* This change, also, is old Pr.; I know no strictly modern example.

109. द् becomes ल्; only original; always in the E. H. suffix of past part. इल् or अल्. Mg. इदे (cf. H. C. 4, 260. 302. Vr. 11, 11), Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. गइल् or गैल् or गयल् gone (see § 77); E. H. भइल् or भैल् or भयल् been (see § 77); E. H. धइल् or धैल् or धयल् put, Mg. धलिदे (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धग्गिओ Spt. 241), Skr. धृतः; E. H. कइल्

or कैल् or कायल् *done*, Mg. \*कलिदे, Skr. कृतः (see § 307); E. H. खाइल् or खायल् *eaten* (see § 82. exc.); E. H. पाइल् or पायल् *found* (cf. §§ 33. 123), Mg. पाविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 387. पाविम), Skr. प्राप्; E. H. आइल् or आयल् *come*, Mg. आविदे, Skr. आप्; E. H. पठल् or पठिल् *read*, Mg. पठिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. चर्ल् or चर्िल् *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, Skr. चलितः, etc.; rarely otherwise; e. g., E. H. सल् *hundred*, A. Mg. \*सदं, Skr. शतम्.

*Note.* This change is especially Mg., e. g. कले, गले or कदे, गदे (in Md. 12, 28. optional with कडे, गडे, Vr. 11, 15), Skr. कृतः, गतः; Mg. केलमं (Sak. 37, 13) for \*कलिमं, Skr. कृतम्; A. Mg. ईदिशे for \*ईदिशे, Skr. ईदृशः (cf. Lss. 417. 423); rarely in Pr. generally, as Pr. पलिमं (H. C. 1, 221), Skr. प्रदीपम्, E. H. पलीत् *a light, candle*; Pr. पलिलं (H. C. 1, 212) for \*पलिद, Skr. पलितम्, E. H. पलिल् or पलल् *mud*; Pr. अलसी (H. C. 1, 211) for \*अदसी, Skr. अतसी, E. H. अलसी *linseed*.

110. ल् becomes र्; as a rule; see §§ 16. 30; thus E. H. नर् *man*, Mg. नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नः; E. H. राय् *king*, Mg. लाया (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. राजा, etc.

*Exceptions.* E. H. लेनुरी *cord*, (Ap.) Mg. \*लनुडिआ, Skr. जञ्चु; E. H. लरै or लरै *he quarrels* (S. ररे), Mg. लडइ, Skr. जटति (cf. लटति or लडति); but E. H. रारि or राडि *quarrel* (noisy contention), Mg. लाडि, Skr. गटि; E. H. डलै or डरै *he throws*, Mg. \*डालेइ or डालेइ, Skr. दाजयति (also डालयति); E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. \*भवलैइ or \*भमलेइ, Skr. भ्रमजयति (?); E. H. गलिवावै or गरियावै *he abuses* and गाली or गारी *abuse*. cf. § 142; E. H. निकालै or निकारै *he ejects*, cf. § 115, note; E. H. चलोतरसै *one hundred and four*, Mg. चुलुतरसव (§ 397), Skr. चतुत्तरशतम्; E. H. सम्हालै or सम्हालै *he supports*, cf. § 120; E. H. चालिस् *forty*, Mg. चन्नलीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. चत्वारिंशत्; E. H. डाला *branch*, Mg. डालमं (cf. H. C. 4, 445), Skr. दाजकम्.

111. ल् becomes न्; sometimes; in the E. H. pleonastic suffix न् or ना, Mg. ले or लए; e. g., E. H. रामुन् *roseapple-tree*, A. Mg. \*रामुल्ले (see § 18) or रम्युल्ले, Skr. रम्बूलः; E. H. ऐतना *so many*, Mg. एन्निलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Mg. एनुलए (cf. H. C.

4, 408), Skr. इयतिकः; E. H. तेतना *so many*, Mg. तेत्रिलए or तेत्रुलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. जेतना *as many*, Mg. जेत्रिलए or जेत्रुलए (H. C. 4, 407), Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना *how many*, Mg. केत्रिलए or केत्रुलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. आपन् or आपुन् or अपना or अपुना *own*, Mg. अप्पुल्लं or अप्पुल्लन्नं (cf. H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्तीयम् or यकम्; E. H. अइसन् or ऐसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. \*अइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403. 2, 164. Wb. Bh. 437) or \*अइसुल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. ईदृशः; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. \*तइसिल्ले or \*तइसुल्ले, Skr. तादृशः; E. H. ऋइसन् or त्रैसन् *of whichever kind*, Ap. Mg. \*ऋइसिल्ले or \*ऋइसुल्ले, Skr. वादृशः; E. H. कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*, Ap. Mg. \*कइसिल्ले or \*कइसुल्ले, Skr. कोदृशः, see also § 31.

*Note:* There are a few optional examples of this change in Pr.; see H. C. 1, 256. 257; as पांगल or लंगलं, Skr. लङ्गलम् *plough*.

112. ए becomes न्; as a rule; see § 13; thus E. H. पानी (or *theth* पाणी) *water*, Mg. पाणिन्नं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. पानीयम्, etc.

113. ह becomes ङ्; very rarely; only resultant; thus E. H. कोह *leprosy* for \*कोह्, Pr. कुहं (or कोह cf. H. C. 1, 116 or कोहं?), Skr. कुहम्; E. H. रल्ह *angry*, Mg. लुहं (or लुहं?), Skr. गुहः; E. H. अठत्तिन् *thirty eight*, Mg. अट्ठत्ता (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टत्रिंशत्.

*Note:* This change is possibly Pr.; as the Skr. conjunct ह्र has a tendency to change to ह्र in Pr.; see § 114.

114. ह becomes ह्र or ह्रै; as a rule; ह्र is more usual; thus 1) original; E. H. कमठा or कोठा *a kind of gourd*, Mg. कमठए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. कमठकः; E. H. मठा or मही *shed*, Mg. मठए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. मठकः; E. H. मठी *small temple*, Pr. मठिआ, Skr. मठिका; E. H. पढै *he reads*, Pr. पढइ, Skr. पठति; E. H. फेढा *stool*, Mg. पोहए, Skr. पोठकः. 2) resultant; E. H. काढै or काहै *he draws*, Pr. कइइ (H. C. 4, 187), Skr. कर्षति (lit. \*कृषयति); E. H. बढै *he encloses*, Pr. वेइइ (Vr. 8, 40) or वेइइ (H. C. 4, 51), Skr. वेष्टते or वेष्टयति; E. H. बढै *he grows*, Pr. वइइ (Vr. 8, 44), Skr. वर्धति; E. H. बरइ or बहइ or बरहइ (cf. § 138) *carpenter*, Mg. वइइए, Skr. वर्धकिकः; E. H. बूढा *old man*, Mg. वुइइए (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृढकः; E. H. बूढी *old women*, Pr. वुइइआ (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृढिका; E. H. डेह or देह *one and a half*, Mg. दिवइ (Wb. Bh. 190), Skr. अर्धद्वितीयः

(see § 416); E. H. *अर्द्ध* two and one half. Pr. *अर्द्ध*, Skr. *अर्द्धतृतीया* (see § 416); E. H. *साढे* one half more, Pr. *सर्द्ध*, Skr. *सार्द्ध*.

115. *ह* becomes *ल्ह*; very rarely; only original; E. H. *कुलहार* axe, Mg. *कुलाल* (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. *कुलाजक*; E. H. *कुलहारी* small axe, Mg. *कुलालिनी*, Skr. *कुलाजिका*; E. H. *कोल्हू* mill (for making sugar or oil), Mg. *कुल्ले*, Skr. *कुल्ल*: (a post round which the mill stone moves).

Note: E. H. *दुलहा* bridegroom, *दुलही* or *दुलहिन्* bride (spelled H. H. *दुल्हा*, *दुल्हिन्* see § 6, note) are Mg. *दुल्लह*, *दुल्लहिनी* (cf. H. C. 4, 338. Ls. 227. 228), Skr. *दुर्लभक*, *दुर्लभिका* (lit. *difficult to obtain*), not Skr. *उद्धोढा*, *उद्धो* (as Bs. I, 271. 245). And E. H. *निकाले* is Pr. *निक्काल* or *निक्काले*, Skr. *निष्कालयति* (of R. कल्: perhaps caus. or denom. of कृ), not Pr. *निक्कड्ड*, Skr. *निष्कर्षति* (as Bs. I, 354). As to *कोल्हू*, the Mg. *कुल्ले* might be *कुल्ले* in Ap. Mg. (cf. vulgar B. *कुल्ल* axe for Mg. *कुलाले*, see Bs. I, 270), and thence (eliding ल्) *कुल्ल*, *कुल्ल* or *कोल्हू* (cf. §§ 49. 125); there is Skr. *कुल्लः*, Mg. *कुलालू* tree (*post?*), which might also produce *कोल्हू*. An instance of this change in Pr. is *अंकोल्ल* for \**अंकोल्ह* (H. C. 1, 200; cf. *पल्लट्ट* and *पल्लहट्ट* H. C. 4, 200), Skr. *अंकोल*.

#### bb) Reduction.

116. *ख* and *घ* become *ह*; generally when original; as E. H. *मुह* or *मुँह* mouth, Pr. *मुहं* (H. C. 2, 164), Skr. *मुखम्*; E. H. *मेह* or *मेँह* rain, Mg. *मेहे* (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. *मेघः*, etc.; sometimes when initial in a compound; as E. H. *पोहरू* father's family, Pr. *पिउहरं* (H. C. 1, 134) for \**पिउघरं*, Skr. *पितृगृहम्*; E. H. *नैहरू* wife's mother's family; E. H. *देहरू* idol temple, Pr. \**देअघरं*, Skr. *देवगृहम्*; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. *रहै* he lasts, stays for \**रखे*, Mg. *लखखड्ड*, Skr. *उच्यते* (pass.); E. H. *पाही* by the side of for \**पाखी*, see § 74. exc.; O. E. H. *कहूँ* or *काहूँ* by the side of for \**कखूँ* or \**काखूँ*, Ap. \**कक्खहूँ*, Skr. *कक्षे* (cf. § 378, 3).

Exceptions. Sometimes *ख* remains unchanged; probably either to avoid confusion, as in E. H. *लिखल्* written, not \**लिहल्*, Mg. *लिहिदे* (cf. H. C. 1, 187 *लिहड्ड*), to distinguish from E. H. *लिहल्* taken for \**लहल्*, Mg. *लहिदे*; or to suit analogy, as in E. H.

सुख *pleasure* (Pr. सुहं H. C. 1, 187) like दुख *pain*, Pr. दुक्खं (H. C. 2, 72); but generally words with ख् are tats.; as E. H. सखी *friend*, etc.

*Note:* The change of original ख् and घ् to ह् is Pr. (H. C. 1, 187), there are also examples of ह् for resultant ख् and घ्: as Pr. दाहिणो or दक्खिणो (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दक्षिणः, E. H. दाहिन् *right*, but दखिन् or दद्धिन् *south*; Pr. दुहं or दुक्खं (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दुःखम्, E. H. only दुख *pain*: Pr. दीहो or दिग्घो (H. C. 2, 91), Skr. दीर्घः *long*, E. H. *deest*.

117. क् becomes ह्: *very rarely*; only resultant, E. H. नांही<sup>०</sup> or माही<sup>०</sup> *amidst* for <sup>०</sup>माको, Ap. Pr. मत्तकहिं, Skr. मध्ये.

*Note* Probably ह् represents the Mg. semiconsonant घ् = न्, as in Pr. झाहा for Skr. झया (Vr. 2, 18), see § 18.

118. छ् becomes ह्; *very rarely*; only original, E. H. पहिल् or पहेल् *first*, Ap. Mg. \*पढल्ले, Mg. पढमिल्ले (Wb. Bh 437). Skr. प्रथमः; E. H. पहारू or पहाड़ *mountain-range*, Ap. Mg. \*पढिन्नघडे, Skr. प्रायितकः (*lit. spread out*); E. H. पहारू or पहाड़ *the multiplication table*, Ap. Mg. \*पढिन्नघड्, Skr. पथितकः (with pleon. उक्, see § 217); the ह् is absorbed just as in B., O., H. H. पठ्, *read*, Mg. पढिन्नघ्. W. H. पठ्ठो, Ap. पढिन्नघ.

*Note:* The root पृथ् or पृथ् shows this change in Pr. already: e. g., Pr. पृथ्वी or पृह्वी or पुहुवो (H. C. 1, 216. 88. 131), Skr. पृथिवी or पृथ्वी *earth*, O. H. पुहुनि; Pr. पिहं or पुहं beside पिधं or पुध (H. C. 1, 188), Skr. पृथक्; Pr. पिहुलं, Skr. पूयुलम् *full* (Spt. 313). But perhaps there was an Ap. form पथ<sup>०</sup>. The only other instances of the change of छ् to ह् which I know, are the Pr. पिहडो or पिहरो, Skr. पिठरः *pot* (H. C. 1, 201) and the G. and S. कुहारो *axe*, Pr. कुहारो (H. C. 1, 199), see Bs. I, 270 and § 115. Perhaps also in Pr. काहावणो or कहावणो (H. C. 2, 71) for <sup>०</sup>कडावणो, Skr. कार्पाषणः or कर्पाषणः; cf. Pr. कड्डह् = Skr. कर्षति (H. C. 4, 187). All Gds. have पहेल्<sup>०</sup>, S.-पेहेरो<sup>०</sup>, see § 401.

119. ध् becomes ह्: *always* when original; as E. H. कहै *he speaks*, Mg. कहदि or कधेदि (H. C. 4, 267. 302), Skr. कथयति; E. H. साह् *a title of merchants*, Pr. साहू (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. साधुः; E. H.

बहिर् *deaf*, Mg. बहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिः, E. H. दही *curds*, see § 53; also when initial in a compound; as E. H. गोह् *lizard, aligator*, Pr. गोही, Skr. गोधिः; E. H. गोह् *wheat*, see § 64: 2) very rarely when resultant; as E. H. कंहार or कंहार *porter*, Mg. कंधाले (cf. H. C. 2, 4 or \*कंधाले, cf. H. C. 2, 5), Skr. कंधकाजः.

120. भ् becomes ह्; always when original; as E. H. गुहे *he strings*, Pr. गुह् or गुभ् (H. C. 1, 236), Skr. गुक्तिः; E. H. सोही or सह् *a kind of fish*, A. Mg. सह्लिश्वा (cf. H. C. 1, 236), Skr. प्राणिकाः; E. H. सोहे *it looks well*, Pr. सोह् (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. प्रोमते; E. H. गह् *deep*, Mg. गहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीः; E. H. अहीर् *herdsman*, Mg. आहिले, Skr. अभीः; also when initial in a compound, as E. H. मुत्ताहल् *pearl*, Pr. मुत्ताहल् (H. C. 1, 236) for \*मुत्ताभल्, Skr. मुत्ताफलम्; E. H. कटहल् *jackfruit*, Mg. \*कटअहले, Skr. कपटकफलः; E. H. सुहाम् *good fortune*, Pr. सुहाम् (cf. H. C. 1, 160), Skr. सौभाग्यम्; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. कुहार् or कोहार् *potter*, Mg. कुम्भाल or कुम्भाले (cf. H. C. 1, 8), Skr. कुम्भकाजः; E. H. सम्हाले or सम्भाले *he supports*, Mg. सम्भाले, Skr. सम्भाजति; E. H. सगा *full brother* for \*सगहा or \*सगभा, Mg. सगभर्, Skr. सगर्भकः; also optionally, as E. H. जीह् or जोभ् *tongue*, Pr. जीहा or जिभा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिह्वा.

*Note:* Words with original भ् are tats. or semitats., as E. H. मुभाव् or मुभाउ *disposition*, Skr. सुभावः. Pr. सहावो (H. C. 1, 187).

cc) Vocalisation.

121. य् becomes इ and combines with the adjacent vowels; thus 1) य *ya* to इ, as E. H. ब्रिगत् *individual*, Skr. व्यक्त् (semitats.); 2) अय *aya* to ऐ or ए, as E. H. सै or सै *hundred*, A. Mg. सय, Skr. शतम्; E. H. समे or समे *time*, A. Mg. समये, Skr. समयः; E. H. उदै or उदे *rising*, Skr. उदयः (semitats.); E. H. नेर् or नेर् *town*, Mg. नयलं (cf. H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नगम्, E. H. नेन् or नेन् *eye*, Mg. नयणं (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नयनम्; E. H. रैन् or रेन् *night*, Mg. लयणी (cf. H. C. 4, 401), Skr. जज्ञनीः; E. H. पैता *foot of a bed*, Mg. पायतर् (cf. H. C. 3, 134) or पयतर्, Skr. पादान्तकः or पदान्तकः; 3) इय *iya* to ए, as E. H. पङ्क्त् *backyard*, Ap. Mg. \*पङ्क्यते or पङ्क्यते, Skr. पङ्क्यमान्तः, etc.; cf. § 77.

122. *व्* becomes *उ* and combines with the adjacent vowels; thus 1) *व* *va* to *उ*, as E. H. सिउ or सिव *Sua*, A. Mg. सिवे, Skr. शिवः; E. H. देउ or देव *god*, Mg. देवे (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. देवः; E. H. नेउ or नेव *foundation*, Mg. नेवे, Skr. नेमः; 2) *वि* *vi* to *उ* as E. H. नौई *he will bow* for नउई. Pr. नविहिइ or नमिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति, E. H. हौवो or हौवो *I am* for \*हउवो, Ap. हविषउं, Pr. हविष म्हि, Skr. भूतोऽस्मि; E. H. नौआ or नउआ *barber*, see § 96; E. H. जनउ or \*जनउ *sacrificial thread*, Pr. \*जनोअविअं (see p. 23 and H. C. 1, 101), Skr. यज्ञोपवीतम्; 3) *अव* *ava* optionally to *ओ*; as E. H. ओरू or अउरू *and*, Mg. अवलं, Skr. अपगन्. E. H. कौन् or कउन् or कवन् *who*, see § 106; E. H. कौरी *a kind of shell* (see § 103), E. H. सौती *wife*, Pr. सवत्तिआ (cf. Spt. 78), Skr. सपत्निका; E. H. नीरू *humble-bee*, Ap. भवरूउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. भ्रमरकः; E. H. पठौतो or पठउतो *if I send*, Ap. \*पठुवंतउं. Pr. पठुवंतऽम्हि or पठुवंतऽम्हि (cf. H. C. 4, 37), Skr. प्रस्थापयन्तस्मि, sometimes to *ओ*: as E. H. सोह *oath*, see § 100; E. H. कोठा *a kind of gourd*, see § 114; sometimes to *उ*; as E. H. लून् or लोन् or नून् or नोन् (see § 31) *salt*, Pr. लोपां or लवपां, Skr. लवणम्; E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. \*भवलै or \*भमलेइ, Skr. भ्रमयति; 4) *इव* *va* to *ओ*, as E. H. अहिनीई, see § 49, or to *उ*, as E. H. पडूत् *back-yard*; Ap. पड्डिवंतु, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः; E. H. अगूआ or अगुआ *leader, gunde*, Ap. Mg. \*अगिवंअए, Skr. अग्रिमगकः; 5) *इवा* or *इवे* to *ओ*, as E. H. परोस् *neighbourhood*, see § 104, E. H. परोसै *he distributes*. A. Mg. पलिवेसइ. Skr. पविष्यति; 6) *आव* *ava* optionally to *ओ*, as E. H. महौत् or महाउत् or महावत् *elephant-driver*, Ap. महावन्तु, Skr. महामात्र., etc.; cf. § 34. 78.

*Note.* It will be seen from some of the above examples, that Skr. *प्* is in Pr. *व्* (H. C. 1, 231), in Gd. *उ*; and Skr. *म्* in Ap. Pr. *न्* or *व्* (H. C. 4, 397), in Gd. *उ* or *उ*. Traces of these changes are found in Pr.; as Pr. लोपां or लवपां, Skr. लवणम् (Vr. 1, 7), E. H. लोन् *salt*, Pr. ओत्काओ or उवत्काओ, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. ओका *magician*; Ap. पठउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385) for \*पठविं, Pr. पठमि or पठामि, Skr. पठामि, E. H. पठौ or पठौ *I read*. see § 497. 2.



## dd) Elision.

123. व् before इ (or ई) is elided; as a rule (cf. § 33); only original; thus E. H. ऐकइस् *twenty one* (W. H. एकीस्), A. Mg. एक्कीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 28), Skr. एकविंशतिः; E. H. बाइस् *twenty two*, A. Mg. बावीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or बावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. T. V. 1. 4. 79), Skr. द्वाविंशतिः; E. H. तेइस् *twenty three*, A. Mg. तेवीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or तेवीना (H. C. 1, 165), Skr. त्रयोविंशतिः; E. H. पचोस् *twenty five* for \*पचइस्, A. Mg. \*पंचवीसं or °सा (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चविंशतिः; E. H. सताइन् *twenty seven*, A. Mg. सत्तावीसा (H. C. 1, 4), Skr. सप्तविंशतिः; E. H. अठाइस् *twenty eight*, A. Mg. अट्ठावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टाविंशतिः; E. H. नोनइस् *nineteen* (W. H. उनीन्), A. Mg. उणावीसा or एकूणावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. उनविंशतिः or एकोनविंशतिः; E. H. भइल् *been*, पाइल् *found*, आइल् *come*, see § 109; E. H. पठइवो or पठेवो *I shall send*, Ap. \*पट्ठविवुडं or \*पट्ठाविवुडं, Pr. पट्ठाविन्नवुडं, Skr. प्रस्थापितव्योऽस्मि; E. H. पठाई *he shall send*, Pr. पट्ठाविहिड, Skr. प्रस्थापयिष्यति; E. H. पठइलो or पठेलो *I have sent*, Mg. पट्ठाविदं, Skr. प्रस्थापितोऽस्मि, etc. The resultant व्, being always hardened (see § 129) is never elided.

*Exception.* A few exceptions, see § 122.

*Note.* In the numerals all Gds. elide व्, exc. M., G. and S.; thus 21 M. एकवीस्, G. एकवीष् (S. एकीह); 22 M. बावीस् or बेवीस्, G. बावीष्, S. बावीह; 23. M. तेवीम्, G. त्रेवीष्, S. ट्रेवीह; 25 M. पंचवीस्, G. पचीष्, S. पंनवीह or पंनीह. etc.

124. र् (= Mg. ल्) before इ is elided; sometimes; only original; thus E. H. कइ *having done* for \*कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. कलिन्न (H. C. 4, 302) or Mh. करिन्न (H. C. 4, 272), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. धइ *having placed* for \*धइ, O. H. धरि, Mg. धलिन्न, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. कै *suffix of genitive* for \*कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. \*कलिन्न or \*कलिर्, Skr. कृतः; E. H. पै *upon*, Ap. Mg. पलि, Mg. पले, Skr. पण्; E. H. पै *however*, Mg. पलि or पले, Skr. पजम्; E. H. धइल् *placed* and कइल् *done*, see § 109; E. H. अइस् or ऐस् *such* (see § 111), Ap. Mg. \*अइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. एलिसं or Mh. एरिसं (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. ईदृषं; E. H. कइस् or कैस् *of what kind*, Ap. Mg. \*कइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. केलिसं or Mh. केरिसं (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. कीदृषं;

E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of this kind*, Ap. Mg. \*तइसिल्ले, A. Mg. तालिसि° or तारिसि° (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. तादृश°; E. H. जइसन् or जैसन् *of which kind*, Ap. Mg. जइसिल्ले, A. Mg. जालिसि° or जारिसि° (Wb. Bh 422), Skr. यादृशः; E. H. सा *like*, A. Mg. सलिअए or सरिअए, Skr. सदृशकः (see § 292).

*Note:* Pr. has an instance of the elision of ल् before इ in बड्लो *bull* (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. बलिबर्दः.

125. ल् after उ is elided; rarely; only original; thus E. H. पुआल् *straw*, Pr. \*पुलाली, Skr. पलाली (cf. Skr. पुलाक); but perhaps for पवाल् or पावाल् = Pr. पाआवाली, Skr. पादपाली *litter, bed of straw*; E. H. केचुवा or केचन्वा *earth-worm*. Mg. किंचुलए, Skr. किञ्चुलकः; E. H. कोल्हू *sugar-mill*, see § 115.

126. ह् before or after इ is elided; sometimes; thus in the E. H. suffix of 3. pers. sg. fut. ई (for \*इई), Pr. इहो or इहिइ, Skr. इष्यति; e. g., E. H. होई *he will be*, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. हँसो or हसो (§ 67) *he will laugh*. Pr. हसिहिइ (H. C. 3, 157), Skr. हसिष्यति; E. H. ऐँ (for \*अई) suffix of 3. pers. pl. pres., Ap. Pr. अहिँ, Pr. अंति, Skr. अन्ति; e. g., E. H. करैँ *they do*, Ap. कर्हिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. कर्ंति (H. C. 4, 376), Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. हँसैँ or हसैँ *they laugh*, Ap. हसहिँ, Pr. हसंति (H. C. 3, 142), Skr. हसन्ति; E. H. ऐँ or ऐँ or ईँ suffix of locative (see § 77. exc.), Ap. अहिं (K. I. 12, 27), Skr. ए, e. g., E. H. पाइँ or पाइँ *behind*, Ap. पच्छहिं, Skr. पश्चे; E. H. ए suff. of the obl. form sing. of adj. (see § 386), O. H. अहि, Ap. Pr. अहे, Skr. अस्य; e. g., E. H. मीठे *sweet*, O. H. मोठहि, Ap. मिठहे, Skr. मिष्टस्य, E. H. ईँ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Pr. इम, Skr. आमः (§ 497, 4); e. g., E. H. हसोँ *we laugh*, Pr. हसिम, Skr. हसामः; E. H. ले *he takes*, Pr. लेइ (H. C. 4, 238) for \*लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते; E. H. लेँ *they take*, Pr. लेहिं (H. C. 4, 387) for \*लिहिंति or लहिंति (H. C. 4, 341), Skr. लभन्ते; E. H. बिफे or बिहफे *thursday*, Pr. बिहर्फई (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. बृहस्पतिः, see also § 32. Sometimes otherwise; as E. H. मो (करूँ) *of me*, Ap. Pr. महु (H. C. 4, 379), see § 430, 1.

*Note:* In W. H., ओ or ओ suffix of 2. pers. pl. pres., Ap.

अहु (H. C. 4, 384), Skr. अयः, see § 497, 5; e. g., W. H. माँगे or मेँगे *you ask*, Ap. मगहु (H. C. 4, 387), Skr. मार्गव्यः; also W. Gd. ओँ or ओँ or ओँ or ऐँ suff. of the obl. form pl., Ap. Pr. अहुँ or अह् or अहिं, Skr. आनाम्, see § 365, 7; e. g., Br. नरोँ, H. H. नरोँ, S. नरौँ or नरेँ *men*, Ap. पारहुँ or पारह् or पारहिं, Skr. नराणाम्; S. ऊँ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Ap. अहुँ (H. C. 4, 386), Pr. अमु (H. C. 3, 155), Skr. आमः, see § 497, 4; e. g., S. हलूँ *we go* (Tr. 314), Ap. चलहुँ, Pr. चलम्, Skr. चलायः. About the elision of ह् in Ap. Pr. see Ls. 484; also Pr. सरिआहँ (H. C. 4, 300) for \*सरिहाहँ, Skr. सदृशाणाम्, E. H. सा, see § 124.

127. म् before ह् and before or after उ is optionally elided; often; generally with *anunásika*; thus E. H. गोसाईँ or गोसामो *monk*, Ap. गोसामिउ, Skr. गोस्वामिकः; E. H. साईँ or सामी *master*, Ap. सामिउ (H. C. 4, 409), Skr. स्वामिकः; E. H. कुवँरू or कुवरू or कुवरू *prince*, Ap. Pr. कुवँरू or कुमरू (cf. H. C. 4, 397. 1, 67), Skr. कुमारः; E. H. कुवँरू or कुवारू or कुमारू *youth, prince*, see p. 29; E. H. कुवँरी or कुवारी or कुमारी *virgin, princess*, Ap. कुवँरिआ or कुमारिआ, Skr. कुमारिका; E. H. भूईँ or भूमो, Pr. भूमिआ, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. धूँयँ or धूँया *smoke*, Ap. धूँउ or धूमउ, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. कोईँ or कोई *waterlily or jackfruit*, Pr. कुमुइआ (cf. H. C. 2, 182), Skr. कुमुदिका; E. H. सोहँ or सोहँ in front of, Ap. Pr. समुहहिं (cf. H. C. 1, 29) or समुहहिं (see § 126), Pr. समुहमि, Skr. समुले; E. H. रँ hair of the body. Mg. लोमे, Skr. जेम; E. H. रोवँ or रोवँ hair of the body. Mg. लोमचँ, Skr. जेमकम्. Rarely without *anunásika*; as E. H. गइल् or गैल् *gone*, see § 77.

*Note:* Four instances of the elision of म् before उ are mentioned by H. C. 1, 178 (Vr. 2, 3); Pr. जउँणा, Skr. जमुना *Jamná*; Pr. चाउँडा, Skr. चामुण्डा *Durga*, Pr. काउँओ, Skr. कामुकः *a certain plant*, Pr. अणितँतयं, Skr. अतिमुक्तकम् *a certain shrub*. None of these occur in E. H.; here they are tats. or semitats.; e. g., E. H. जमुना, not tadbh. \*जौन्; perhaps to distinguish from जौन् *foreigner*, Pr. जवणो, Skr. जवनः, as in E. H. जौनपुर *Jaunpur*; Skr. जवनपुरम्. In Pr. म् before ह् might become व् by H. C. 4, 397; and such व् too, would be elided in E. H. by § 123.

128. न् before or after इ or before उ; with or without *anu-nāsika*; very rarely; thus 1) original, as E. H. ठाडँ or ठाउ or ठावँ or ठाव् place residence, Ap. ठाउ (H. C. 4, 332) or ठाणु (H. C. 4, 362), Pr. ठाणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थानम्; E. H. यौ from for \*याइँ (N. याजि), Ap. याणि, Pr. याणे (cf. H. C. 4, 16). Skr. स्थाने, W. H. also तेँ, तईँ, ताईँ; E. H. वाँसुरी *flute*, Pr. वंसणालिग्रा, Skr. वंशनालिका, 2) resultant, as in the E. H. conjunct ग्य for O. H. गिन, cf. §§ 18, p. 24. 139, note. 141.

*Note:* E. H. has also ठाम्, besides ठावँ, ठाउँ; and this rather points to a Pr. word ठाम्, ठामं (cf. § 127); H. C. has वामं (H. C. 4, 267), perhaps Skr. स्थामन्.

ee) Hardening.

129. व् and ब् become न् and ब्; only resultant; thus E. H. कार्न् work, Pr. \*कारिन्नं (cf. H. C. 2, 67), Skr. कार्यम् (or semitats.?); E. H. अचार्न् teacher, A. Mg. \*आचारिन्ते, Skr. आचार्यः (or semitats.?); E. H. अचार्न् wonderful, Pr. अच्चरिन्नं (H. C. 2, 67), Skr. आश्चर्यम्; E. H. चउबिस् or चौबिस् or चवबिस् twenty four, Pr. चउव्वीसं (cf. H. C. 3, 137. Wb. Bh. 425. 426), Skr. चतुर्विंशतिः; E. H. इबिस् or इब्बिस् twenty six, A. Mg. इव्वीसं (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षट्विंशतिः; E. H. परबत् mountain, Skr. पर्वतः (semitats.); E. H. पुरुब् eastern, Pr. पुरुव्वं (Ls. 183), Skr. पूर्वम्.

ff) Miscellaneous.

130. व् or ङ् become ग् or ङ् or ञ्; in E. H. घटै or गटै he fashions, Pr. घउङ् or गढङ् (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते; E. H. बिगटै or बिगटै it is spoilt, destroyed, Pr. बिगढङ् or बिघउङ्, Skr. बिघटते; also भ् or फ् becomes ब् or प्; as E. H. परसै he touches, Pr. फरिसङ् (H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शयति (denom.); E. H. अबर्क् tale, Skr. अब्रकम् (semitats. cf. § 132).

131. क् or ग्, ट्, प् and ब् become optionally व्, ङ्, फ् and भ् respectively; in E. H. परघट् or परगट् manifest (see § 102); E. H. पहिलौठा or पहिलौठा firstborn, Mg. \*पढमिस्सुउट्टर् (see § 118), Skr. प्रथमपुत्रकः; E. H. फुन् or पुन् again, Ap. पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनर्; E. H. सब् or सम् all, Mg. सब्बे, Skr. सर्वः.

*Note:* In the seventies the aspirate is produced by the

suppression of the neutral vowel; E. H. एवत्तर् seventy one for एकहत्तर, E. H. पवत्तर् seventy five for पचहत्तर; E. H. सवत्तर् seventy seven for सतहत्तर; E. H. अठत्तर् seventy eight for अठहत्तर.

132. *Aspiration is transferred*; in E. H. अवरख् or अवरक् *talc*, Skr. अत्रकन् (semitats.); E. H. हमार् or हमर् our (H. H. हमार्), Ap. Pr. अहार् (H. C. 4, 345), see § 73; E. H. कृन्ना father's sister for \*पिउहा, Pr. पिउच्चा or पिउसिन्ना (H. C. 2, 142), Skr. पितृपुत्रा; also E. H. फुकी; E. H. फुप् flower, Pr. पुफ् (H. C. 2, 53), Skr. पुष्पम्; E. H. उवारै or उवारै he plucks up for \*उकारै, Pr. उक्कड़ (cf. H. C. 4, 187), Skr. उत्कर्षति; E. H. निमाऐ or निमाहै he accomplishes, Pr. निव्वाहेइ, Skr. निवाह्यति; E. H. म्हैस् buffalo, cf. § 177.

*Note:* There are instances in Pr.; as बहिणी or भइणी sister (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी, E. H. बहिनि; Pr. गडइ or घउइ he fashions (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते, E. H. गटै or गाठै or गटै or गाउ (§ 13Q). It is frequent in S.; as पंध्रौ or पदरहं fifteen, also M. पंधरा; S. इको this for \*इतहो, उको that for \*उतहो (§ 438, 4); खौ from for \*कहौ, ले to for \*कहे (§ 375); चाल्कारो forty for \*चालीहारो; पांहु or पान्ह तो own for \*पानह तो (§ 451).

133. *Consonants are transposed*; in E. H. पहिरै he puts on (clothes) for \*परिहै, Mg. \*पलिहइ or \*पलिधइ or \*पलिधइ (cf. Cw. 99, 21), Skr. परिधाति; E. H. चहुँपे and पहुँचै he arrives, Pr. पहुचइ (H. C. 4, 390, 419), Skr. पर्यापत्यते (Mg. पख्यावच्छइ); also कीच् or कीचर् and चौक् or चौकर् mud (Skr. चिक्रिद); नखलौ and लखनौ Lucknow; बिराम् and बिमार् sick (persian بيمار); also W. H. रहन् and हरन् merriment, E. H. हरिस् see § 58; H. H. डूबै, E. H. बूडै he sinks, Pr. बुडइ (H. C. 4, 101), Skr. वृडति (i. e. मज्जति).

*Note:* Also in Pr.; as बाणारनौ (Wb. Bh. 412. H. C. 2, 116), Skr. वाराणसी, E. H. बनार्न् Benares; Pr. अलचपुर् (H. C. 2, 118), Skr. अलचपुरन्, E. H. अलवर् (for \*अलअउर्) Alwar; Pr. मरहइ (H. C. 2, 119), Skr. महाराष्ट्रन्, E. H. मरहइ or मरार् Mardīhā, see § 32; Pr. दहो (H. C. 2, 120), Skr. ऋदः, E. H. दह deep water; Pr. हलिआरो or हरिआलो (H. C. 2, 121), Skr. हरितालः; E. H. हरिवार् green; Pr. हलुअं (for हलुकं) or लहुअं (H. C. 2, 122), Skr. लघुकम्, E. H. हलुक, H. H. हलका light.

134. *Consonants are interchanged*; viz. 1) व् and न्, in E. H. निनानवे *ninety nine*, Pr. \*नवाणवृद्, Skr. नवनवतिः; 2) व् and म्, in E. H. चिकनावट् *clayey soil*, Pr. चिक्कपाअमट्टी, Skr. चिक्कपाअमट्टिः, and vice versa in E. H. पुहुमि *earth*, Pr. पुहुवी (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. पृथ्वी; E. H. पिर्यमो *earth*, Skr. पृथिवी (semitats.); 3) स् and ह्, in E. H. केहरी or केसरी *lion*, A. Mg. केसलिए (cf. H. C. 4, 335. Wb. Bh. 255), Skr. केशरिकः.

*Note*. The latter in Pr. optionally, in दह or दस *ten* (H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश, E. H. दस or दहै, Pr. दिवहो or दिवसो *day* (H. C. 1, 263. Wb. Bh. 378), Skr. दिवसः, E. H. दिवा or दिवस् (see § 32), Pr. °दहं (H. C. 2, 157) or °रिस् (H. C. 1, 142. Wb. Bh. 422) or रिश् (for रिहं cf. H. C. 4, 300 and § 126, note), Skr. दृशं *like*, E. H. °इस् (in तइस्न् § 124); Pr. °हन्नरि (Wb. Bh. 426) *seventy*°. Skr. °सप्ततिः, E. H. °हन्नरू. The change of व् to म् is not uncommon in B., O. and G.; e. g., O. करिवि or करिमि *I shall do* (Sn. 28), O. केमन् *how* for \*केवन्; B. केमन् *how* = Ap. Pr. केवटु; G. सुमालीश् *forty four* = E. H. चौवालिस; W. H. समा *one and a quarter* = E. H. सवा (§ 416). For examples in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 401. 396 and § 122, note.

135. *Consonants are interpolated*; viz. दू in E. H. पन्दरह् *fifteen*, Pr. पणरह् (H. C. 2, 43) or पनरस् (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), Skr. पञ्चदशः; again र् in E. H. करोरु or करोरु *ten millions*, Ap. क्रोडि (cf. H. C. 4, 399), Mg. कोडो (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. कोटिः; E. H. सराप् *curse*, Ap. Pr. \*सापु (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. सापः (semitats.); again य् in E. H. ऐयारह्, Pr. °एगारह् or एक्कारस् (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकादश; E. H. ऐक्यावन् *fifty one*, Pr. \*एक्कावसं, Skr. एकपञ्चाशत्; E. H. ऐक्यासी *eighty one*, Pr. \*एक्कासीर्दि (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. एकाशीतिः; E. H. ऐक्यानवे *ninety one*. Pr. \*एक्काणवृद्, Skr. एकनवतिः; E. H. निन्यानवे or निनानवे *ninety nine*, see § 134.

*Note*. E. H. has a word कोरी or कोडो, but it means *score*, *twenty* (see § 405). — Perhaps E. H. ऐय् and ऐक्व stand for ऐगय and ऐक्कय, Skr. एकक°. — Occasionally र् is interpolated in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 399; as वासु or वासु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyāsa*.

### ४) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

136. Medial conjunct consonants in E. H. are of two kinds, original and resultant. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. from the Pr., as in the *tadbh.* पक्का *ripe*, A. Mg. पक्कए, Skr. पक्कः; E. H. पत्यरू *stone*, A. Mg. पत्यले, Skr. प्रस्तः; E. H. सत्ररू *seventy*, A. Mg. सत्ररि, Skr. सप्तति; E. H. निकम्मा *worthless*, A. Mg. निक्कम्मए, Skr. निःकर्मकः; E. H. कान्हू *krishna*, Mg. कपहे, Skr. कृष्णः; or from the Skr., as in the *semitats.* विस्वास् *belief*, Skr. विश्वास्तः, E. H. ग्रिहस्तू *householder*, Skr. गृहस्थः. The latter are those which have resulted either a) from the contraction of contiguous vowels, as in the *tadbh.* चल्यो *I walked*, Ap. \*चलिञ्चडं, Pr. चलिञ्चडिहि, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि, or in the *semitats.* आग्या *order*, P. आगिआ, O. H. आगिना, Skr. आज्ञा; or b) from the suppression of an intermediate vowel, as in the *tadbh.* चिन्ती *petition* for चिनती, Pr. चिस्त्रिआ, Skr. चिन्तापिका; E. H. दुलहा *bridegroom* for दुलहा, Mg. दुल्लहए, Skr. दुर्लभकः; E. H. चिस्त्रा *a measure of land* (the 20. part.), Ap. Mg. वोसवए or वोनवए, Skr. चिन्नमकः; E. H. गधा *ass* for गदहा, Mg. गदूहए, Skr. गर्दभकः; E. H. बरेला *hog* for वरेहेला, Ap. Mg. \*वराहिल्लए, Skr. वराहः, etc. These latter are not uncommon in the *kharī* E. H., though very rare in the *theth* (e. g., in the numerals ऐवत्ररू *seventy one*, सयत्ररू *seventy seven*, etc., see § 131, note); in H. H. they are the rule (see § 6, note). Of the resultant conjuncts, those arising from the suppression of a vowel may be of any kind, strong, mixed or weak<sup>1)</sup>, homogeneous or heterogeneous, but those arising from the contraction of vowels must be heterogenous and either mixed or weak. Neither kind of resultant suffers any further change in E. H. As to the original conjuncts, the tatsamas may be of any kind, but the *tadbhavas* can only be either homogeneous (as क्क, त्त, त्त्य, म्म, etc.) or such as consist of a consonant proper preceded by a nasal (as क्क, त्त, त्त, etc.) or of ह् following a nasal or semivowel (as

1) These useful terms of classification I have adopted from Beames I, 281.

ह्, ष्ह्, त्ह्, ह्र्, ढ्ह् = ङ्ह्); for these are the only conjuncts tolerated in Pr. (see § 137). Both original classes, the tadbh. and tats., are, as a rule, liable to further change in E. H. This may take place in three ways: 1) they may be *dissolved* by the interpolation of a vowel (अ, इ or उ, §§ 138—142); or 2) they may be *simplified* by eliding one consonant (see §§ 143—150); or 3) they may be *elided* altogether (see §§ 151—157). There are, also, isolated changes of a miscellaneous kind (see §§ 158—166).

137. *Affinities.* These three kinds of changes exist in Pr. also; thus the conj. is *dissolved* in Pr. सत्ताहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघा, E. H. सराह् *praise*; Pr. सिरि (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. श्री, E. H. सिरि *prosperity*; Pr. दुवारं (H. C. 2, 112), Skr. द्वारम्; E. H. दुवार *door*. Other examples see § 142. The conjunct is *simplified* in Pr. ईसरि or ईस्सरि (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईसर *lord*; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105) for \*वस्ता, Skr. वर्षा, E. H. °वास् *rain* (cf. § 283); see also § 150. The conj. is *elided*, either undissolved, as in Pr. राई or रज्ञी (H. C. 2, 88), Skr. रात्रिः, E. H. राति *night*; or after dissolution, as in Pr. रत्तपं (Vr. 3, 60) for रत्तपं, Skr. रत्नम्, E. H. रत्न *gem*; see also § 157. The former kind of elision is not uncommon in E. H. (see § 151—156); the latter is exceptional, both in Pr. and E. H. (see §§ 141. 142). — Generally speaking, however, the treatment of conjuncts is this, that while Skr. admits almost any kind of them, homogeneous or heterogeneous, Pr. makes them, as a rule, homogeneous, and E. H. further reduces them to single consonants either by dissolution or by the elision of one. The only heterogeneous conjuncts, tolerated by Pr., are those consisting of a nasal or anusvāra preceding a consonant proper (see H. C. 2, 92. 1, 30; e. g., संका or सङ्का, Skr. सन्ध्या, E. H. सॉक् *evening*), or of ह् following a nasal (see H. C. 2, 74. 75; e. g., Pr. कण्हो, Skr. कृष्णः, E. H. कान् *krishna*; Pr. ब्रह्मणो, Skr. ब्राह्मणः, E. H. ब्रामन् *brāhman*) or ल् (see H. C. 4, 26. 200. 2, 76; e. g., पल्लह्यङ् (cf. Wb. Bh. 409), Skr. \*पर्वस्तयति, E. H. पल्लयै *he turns over*). In the Ap. Pr. also the conjunct of a cons. proper with a following र् may occur (see H. C. 4, 398. 399;



e. g., Ap. प्रिय or पिय, Skr. प्रियः *beloved*; Ap. व्रासु or वासु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyāsa*), in E. H., however, this kind of conj. is as a rule dissolved; see § 138. 185. 186.

aa) Dissolution.

138. अ is interpolated; often; E. H. इमली *tamarind*. Mg. अमलित्रा (cf. Wb. Bh. 377) for Pr. \*अमलित्रा (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. अम्लिका; E. H. सुदर्शन *beautiful*, A. Mg. सुदर्शिणे (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. सुदर्शनः; E. H. दर्शन *interview, visit at a shrine*, Pr. दर्शित्वा, Skr. दर्शनम्; E. H. बरही *peacock*, A. Mg. बरहिहिए (cf. H. C. 2, 104 but cf. Ls. 142), Skr. बरहिहिकः; E. H. परामर्स् *consideration*, A. Mg. परामर्शिसे (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. परामर्शः; E. H. सुकरू or सुकल् *white*, Pr. सुकिलं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्लम् (or शुक्रम्); E. H. अमरा *mango*, Pr. अमिर्त्रं (cf. H. C. 2, 56), Skr. आम्रकम्; E. H. अमल् *sour*, Pr. अमिलं (H. C. 2, 106. Wb. Bh. 415), Skr. अम्लम्; E. H. मुरख *stupid*, A. Mg. मुरुक्खे (cf. H. C. 2, 112), Skr. मूर्खः; E. H. मुरडा *swoon*. Skr. मूर्छा (semitats.); E. H. अचरन् *wonderful*. कारन् *work*. अचारन् *teacher*, see § 129; E. H. बरहई or बर्हई or बरुई *carpenter* (see § 114); E. H. ब्रमहन् or ब्रामन् *brāhman*, Mg. ब्रम्हणे (H. C. 2, 74), Skr. ब्राह्मणः; E. H. कन्हैया or कन्हैया *Krishna*, Mg. कणहए (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. कृष्णकः; E. H. सहस्र *thousand*, Ap. Pr. सहस्रं, Skr. सहस्रम्; E. H. चकरू *wheel*, बकरी *she-goat*, see § 102, etc. Very commonly in semitats., as E. H. पर्वत् *mountain* (§ 129), Skr. पर्वतः; E. H. किरपा *mercy*, Skr. कृपा; E. H. किरति *praise*, Skr. कीर्तिः; E. H. जन्म् *birth*, Skr. जन्म; E. H. रत्न *gem*, Skr. रत्नम्; E. H. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्नः; E. H. बिगत् *individual*, रग्त् *blood* (cf. H. C. 2, 10 रग्त्), भगत् *devotee*, भगति *faith*, भगताई *devotedness*, मुगति *salvation*, see § 102; E. H. बर्कि *but*, Pers. बल्कि (بلكی).

139. इ is interpolated, sometimes; thus E. H. अग्नि or अगनि *fire*, Pr. अग्निणी (Ls. 244) or अगणो (H. C. 1, 102) or अगो (Vr. 5, 18), Skr. अग्निः; E. H. मिसिरू or मिस्र *a brāhman family-name*, A. Mg. \*मिसिरे (but नीसे *mixed* Wb. Bh. 173. H. C. 2, 170), Skr. मिश्रः; E. H. आइल् or आवल् *come*, पाइल् or पावल् *attained*, see § 109; E. H. बिरिडू *tree*, Skr. वृक्षः; E. H. सड्न् *sign*, see § 141.

*Note.* The E. H. conjunct ग्य *gya*, O. H. गिन *gina* is to be explained by this rule; e. g., E. H. राग्यी, O. H. रागिनी, Skr. रागिनी; see § 18, pp. 23. 24.

140. उ is interpolated: rarely; thus E. H. पुरुष, W. H. पुरुष, Pr. पुरुष (Ls. 183) or पुरुष (H. C. 4, 323 or पुरुष?), Skr. पूर्वम्; E. H. चुग्न top, point, but सोग्न horn and सोग्न spear, Pr. सिंगं or संगं (H. C. 1, 130), Skr. ऋङ्गम्; see also § 187.

141. Dissolved consonants are treated like original single ones; thus क becomes ग (cf. § 102); e. g., in E. H. बिगत्, रगत्, भगत्, etc.; see § 138; ज्ञ is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. सङ्ग or सैग्न sign, Pr. \*सङ्गा or \*सङ्गिणा, Skr. सङ्गा, cf. Pr. राङ्गा (H. C. 3, 51) for \*राङ्गिणा, Ps. Pr. राङ्गिआ (H. C. 4, 304), Skr. राङ्गा; द् becomes ल् (cf. § 109) or is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. अङ्गो or आङ्गो I came, Mg. आविद्गम्हि or आविङ्गम्हि, Skr. आपोऽस्मि, etc.; व् is elided (cf. § 123); e. g., in E. H. पङ्गो or पाङ्गो I obtained, Mg. पाविद्गम्हि or पाविङ्गम्हि, Skr. प्रापोऽस्मि. न् is elided (cf. § 128); e. g., in the E. H. conjunct ँय for O. H. ँगिन, see § 139. note.

*Note.* The participial examples, as अङ्गो, पाङ्गो, etc. and Pr. तङ्गिओ (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. तङ्गः, are scarcely quite apposite, as their इ is a connecting (suff. इ + त), not a dissolving vowel

142. Affinitives. Examples of dissolutions are not uncommon in Pr. Probably many of the above instances, though not recorded by Pr. Gramm., existed in Pr. already. In some cases the dissolving vowel has been changed in E. H.; as in E. H. दर्सन् for Pr. दर्सिषां; other examples see in §§ 138—140. Other examples, in which E. H. has preserved the Pr. dissolving vowel, are: Pr. सार्गं (H. C. 2, 100), Skr. सार्ङ्गम्, E. H. सार्ग bow, Pr. वरिंस, हरिंसो, फरिंसो, see § 58, note. Some more Pr. examples, see in H. C. 2, 101—114 Vr. 3, 60—66; most of them do not seem to have survived in E. H. In one case, apparently, E. H. does not dissolve, but simplify; Pr. गरिहा (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. गर्हा, but E. H. गारी or गाली abuse = A. Mg. \*गलिह्वा or \*गर्हिआ, Skr. गर्हिका; but it dissolves in गरियावै or गलियावै he abuses for \*गरिहावै, A. Mg. \*गलिहावइ or Pr. \*गरिहावइ, Skr. गर्हयति (or den. गर्हयति). Pr. examples of

the treatment of dissolved cons. are: 1) *elision* of cons. proper in रवणं or रघ्णं *gem* (Vr. 3, 60 H. C. 2, 101) for \*रतणं, Skr. रत्नम्, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from E. H. रयन् or रैन् *night*; Pr. वरुं *thunderbolt* (H. C. 2, 105) for \*वज्रिं, Skr. वज्रम्, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from वैर् *enmity*, Pr. वरुं (H. C. 1, 152), Skr. वैरम्; but E. H. वज्र (semitats.); Pr. सुड्लं *white* (H. C. 2, 166 or सुक्लि), Skr. शुक्लम्, E. H. *deest*; Pr. तविओ *hot* (H. C. 2, 105) for \*तविदो, Skr. तपः, E. H. *deest*, but it has तात् = Pr. ततो; Pr. पडमं *lotus* (Vr. 3, 65) for \*पदुमं, Skr. पद्मम्; E. H. *deest*; Pr. राङ्गा *by a king* for \*राणिगा (see § 141), etc.; 2) *retention* in अगणो *fire* by H. C. 1, 177; 3) *doubling* in सुक्लिं *white* (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्लम्, E. H. सुक्ल; Pr. पुरव्वं *forward* (Ls. 183) or पुरव्वं (H. C. 4, 323), Skr. पूर्वम्, E. H. पुरब् or पुरब्<sup>1</sup>); 4) *reduction* of aspirate in सुहम् (H. C. 2, 101) or सुहुम् (H. C. 2, 113. 1, 118. Wb. Bh. 406. 410) for \*सुबुम्, Skr. सूक्ष्मम्.

bb) Simplification.

143. *The first consonant is elided*; as a rule; thus क् in E. H. सकै *he can*, Pr. सक्कइ (H. C. 4, 86), Skr. शक्नोति; E. H. सूखा *dry*, A. Mg. सुक्खए or सुक्कए (cf. H. C. 2, 5. Wb. Bh. 289—291); ग् in E. H. माग् *road* (see § 45); E. H. चाग् *tiger*, Mg. जग्गे (cf. H. C. 2, 90), Skr. व्याघ्रः; च् in E. H. पचै *it is digested*, Pr. पच्चइ, Skr. पच्यते; E. H. माहो *fly*, Pr. मच्छिआ (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. मक्षिकाः; न् in E. H. आज् *to-day*, Pr. अज्ज (H. C. 1, 33), Skr. अद्य; E. H. बूकं *he understands*, Pr. बुक्कइ (H. C. 4, 217), Skr. बुध्यते; ट् in E. H. तूटै *it breaks*, Pr. तुट्टइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. तुट्यति; E. H. पेठि *back*, Pr. पिट्ठी (H. C. 1, 35), Skr. पृष्ठम् or Ved. पृष्टिः; ड् in E. H. कौडो or कौटो, see § 104; E. H. ब्रै *it grows*, see § 114; त् in E. H. बात् *event, word*, Pr. वत्ता (H. C. 2, 30), Skr. वार्ता; E. H. हाय् *hand*, A. Mg. हत्थे, Skr. हस्तः; द् in E. H. गद्धा *ass*, see § 136; E. H. दूय् *milk*, Pr. दुडं (H. C. 2, 89), Skr. दुग्धम्; प् in E. H. इप्पय् or इप्पे *a kind of verse*, Mg. इप्पये (cf. H. C. 2, 77), Skr. पदपदः; E. H. वाफ् *steam*, Mg. वप्फे (cf. H. C. 2, 70), Skr. वाष्पः; ख् or ख् in E. H.

1) सुक्लिं and पुरव्वं seem to be correct readings; as shown by the E. H., which has व् for व्, not for व् (cf. § 129).

सञ्च *all*, A. Mg. सञ्चे (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. तर्जः; E. H. जीम् *tongue*, Pr. जिम्मा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिह्वा, इ in E. H. पालकी *a palanquin*, Pr. पल्लंकिन्ना (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्गिका or पल्यङ्गिका; ज् in E. H. पचास् *fifty*, Pr. \*पंचासं (see § 397), Skr. पञ्चाशत्; ण् in E. H. सान् *sign*, Pr. सणा (H. C. 2, 83), Skr. नञ्जा; E. H. कटहल् *jackfruit*, see § 120; न् in E. H. आन् *other*, Mg. अन्ने (H. C. 3, 58. Wb. Bh. 403), Skr. अन्यः; E. H. हसत् *laughing*, A. Mg. हसंते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. हसन्; म् in E. H. काम् *work*, see § 45; ल् in E. H. पलटै *he turns over*, Pr. पल्लट्टइ (H. C. 4, 200), Skr. पर्यस्तयति (den.); स् in E. H. पूस् *the month Decembér-January*, A. Mg. पुस्ते or पूसे (cf. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. पुष्यः. Sometimes in foreign words; as E. H. बाकि *but for बलिक*, Pers. باكي; E. H. बाटे *for the sake of* for वास्ते, Ar. واسطى (°).

*Exception.* Rarely both cons. are retained; as E. H. पक्का or पका *ripe, thorough*, पत्यर् or पायर् *stone*, निकम्मा *useless*, see § 136; E. H. चक्का or चका or चाका *wheel*, Pr. चक्कञ्चं (H. C. 2, 79), Skr. चक्रकम्; E. H. सच् or सच् or साच् or सौच् *true*, उच्च or ऊच्च *high*, see § 149, 2; E. H. बच्चा or बच्चा (§ 145, exc. 2) or बच्चा or बचा *young*, Mg. बच्छर् (cf. Vr. 3, 40), Skr. वत्सकः; E. H. पट्टा or पटा *title-deed*, Mg. पट्टर्, Skr. पट्टकः; E. H. सत्तर *seventy*, see § 108; E. H. गिह् or गीध् *vulture*, see § 63; E. H. कम्मल् *blanket*, see p. 20; As a rule, when the first is a nasal; thus E. H. पक् (i. e. पङ्क § 13) or पक्क् *mud*, and other examples, see p. 29; cf. also § 149.

144. *The second consonant is elided*; only य्, व् and optionally ह्; thus य् in E. H. पाथा *teacher* (cf. § 173), Skr. उपाध्यायः; E. H. अयध् *Oudh* (cf. § 78), Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. मधि *within*, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पराग् *Allahabad* for \*पर्याग्, Skr. प्रयागः; E. H. परोजन् *necessity for* \*पर्योजन्, Skr. प्रयोजनम्; E. H. पराचित् *penance for* \*पर्याचित्, Skr. प्रायश्चित्तम् (all semitats.). Again व् in E. H. चूम् *he kisses*, Mg. चुम्बइ (cf. H. C. 4, 239), Skr. चुम्बति; E. H. अमरा *mango*, अमला *sour*, see § 138; H. H. जामुन् *rose-apple*, see § 111; E. H. लाम् *long*, Mg. लम्बे, Skr. लम्बः; E. H. समुक्कै *he understands*, Mg. सम्मुक्कइ, Skr. सम्बुध्यते, and others, see § 18, p. 20; E. H. विर्यो *earth* (also विर्यमी see § 132), Skr. पृथ्वी (semitats.). Again ह् in बाम् or

ब्रह्मन् or ब्रमहन् *Brāhmaṇ*. कान् or कान्ह् *krishna* (e. g. in कान्पुर *Cawnpore*), see § 136; E. H. सूनू *daughter-in-law* for \*सुन्ह्, Pr. \*सुपहुआ or \*सोपहुआ (cf. Vr. 2, 47. H. C. 1, 261), Skr. सृषा (or \*सृषुका; cf. Pr. माउआ for माता, § 52); E. H. समालै or सम्हालै or नम्भालै *he supports*, see § 120; E. H. पलथै *he turns over*, see § 137; E. H. कालू or कोरूहू *sugar-mill*, see § 115; E. H. गाली *abuse* for \*गालही, see § 142.

*Exception.* Rarely न् is elided before ह्; as E. H. जोह् *he regards, looks*, Pr. जोपह् (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. \*ज्योत्स्नयति (denom. R.).

145. *The remaining consonant is treated like an original single one*; thus ट् as a rule becomes ठ् or ढ्; e g., in E. H. कौरी or कौड़ी *cowrie*, see § 104; ल् as a rule becomes र् (§ 110) as in E. H. गारी or गाली *abuse*, see § 142; ल् sometimes becomes न्, as in E. H. आपन् *own*, see § 111; प् always becomes न् (§ 112), as in E. H. कान् *ear*, Mg. कण्, Skr. कर्णः; E. H. सान्, आन् see § 143; कान्, सूनू see § 144; ह् as a rule becomes ङ् or ह्. as in E. H. बढै *he grows*, see § 114; व् always becomes ब् (§ 129), as in E. H. सख् *all*, see § 143; for a few rare cases, see §§ 103. 107. 113. 116. 117. 119. 120. Otherwise it remains unchanged; as E. H. चैको or चङ्को *wheel*, Pr. चङ्किआ, Skr. चक्रिका; E. H. लात् *shame*, Pr. लङ्गा, Skr. लङ्गा; E. H. साठि *seventy*, Pr. नट्टो, Skr. षट्तिः; E. H. रात् *night*, see p. 14; E. H. हायो *elephant*, A. Mg. ह्यियर्, Skr. हस्तिकः; E. H. आधा *half*, Mg. अडर् (cf. H. C. 2, 41), Skr. अर्धकः; E. H. बाप् *father*, Pr. बप्पा (Mchh. 119, 5), Skr. बप्पा; E. H. घाम् *heat*, Mg. घम्म, Skr. घर्मः (cf. H. C. 4, 327): and other examples in §§ 143. 144. 146. 147. 148.

*Exception 1* Sometimes ट् and ह् preceded by a nasalized vowel remain unchanged; as E. H. मूँडे *he shaves*, मोँठा *stool*, see § 149.

*Exception 2.* Sometimes aspirates are disaspirated; thus ख् in E. H. पर्के or पर्ले *he tests*, see § 58; घ् in E. H. महंग् *high-priced*, M. महंग् (Spt. 169), Skr. महार्घः; ध् in E. H. खाँदा or काथा *shoulder*, A. Mg. खंधर् (cf. H. C. 2, 4), Skr. स्कन्धकः; झ् in E. H. अचर्न् *wonderful* for \*अझर्न्, see § 129; E. H. बचा or बहा *young*, see § 143. exc.;

E. H. पचतावे or पङ्गतावे *he repents*. Pr. पच्छन्तावइ, Skr. पञ्चान्तापयति (denom.); E. H. मूच् or मूङ् beard, see § 56; E. H. चाहै or ङाहै *he desires*, Pr. उच्छाहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 21), Skr. उत्साहयति (denom.); ६ in E. H. अरतिन् or अउतिन् or अरुतिस् *thirty eight*, see § 113, E. H. अरतालिस् or अउतालिस् or अरुतालिस् *forty eight*, Pr. अरुअन्तालीन (or अउयाले Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. अउसठि or अरसठि *sixty eight*, Pr. अरुसठो, Skr. अष्टषष्टिः, ६ in E. H. अउ great for \*अरु, Mg. वडुए (or वड<sup>०</sup> Vr. 1, 27), Skr. वृढकः; E. H. बेरु *enclosure* for \*वेरु, Mg. वेरु (cf. Vr. 8, 40), Skr. वेष्टः; E. H. गरै or गउै or गठै *he fashions*, बिगरै or बिगउै *it is spallt*, see § 130.

*Note* There are traces of this disaspiration in Pr., as सुक्कं or सुक्कवं *dry* (H. C. 2, 5), see § 143; Pr. पल्लदृइ (H. C. 4, 200 for \*पल्लदृइ) or पल्लदृइ *he turns over*, see §§ 137. 143; Pr. विंचुओ (H. C. 2, 16) or विंचुओ (Vr. 3, 41), E. H. बिचू or बीछू, M. बिंचू (Man. 36); Pr. उटो (cf. H. C. 2, 34), see § 149, 2; it is quite the general rule in M., and less so in B. and O., thus M. हात् *hand*, B., O., E. H. हाप् (§ 143); M. हाती *elephant*, B., O., E. H. हायी (§ 145), M. सौत् *evening*, B., O., E. H. साक् (§ 149, 1); M. सौदु *hole in a wall*, E. H. सेधु, see § 57; M., B., O. सीडी *ladder*, E. H. सीडी, Pr. \*सिडो, Skr. ओधी (?); M., B. साउ 2½; M. दोउ, B. देरु 1½; B. आटत्रिण्, M. अउतीस् or अउतीस् 38; B. आटचलिण् 48; M. अउ great, वेउ *enclosure*, etc. (see Bs. I, 273). It is worth noting also, that the old Mg. has ष्ट, स्त, अ for ह्, स्, and च्छ (see H. C. 4, 290. 291. 295); e. g., Mg. कोस्टागालं. Skr. कोटगारम्; Mg. उवस्तिदे, Skr. उपस्थितः; Mg. पुअदि, Skr. पृच्छति, etc.

. 146. *The preceding vowel remains short; sometimes; thus always in E. H. अन् suffix of part. pres., Mg. अंते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. अन् (अन्त<sup>०</sup>); e. g., E. H. होन् being, Mg. होंते (cf. H. C. 3, 180). Skr. भवन्, E. H. कर्त् doing, Mg. केलंते (cf. H. C. 4, 431) or कलेंते, Skr. कुर्वन्, etc.; always E. H. पच् five, Pr. पंच, Skr. पञ्च in composition; e. g., E. H. पचीस् twenty five, see § 123; E. H. पचपन् fifty five, Pr. \*पंचपन्, Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाशत्; sometimes otherwise; as E. H. दुल् pain, see § 116, note; E. H. गभिन् pregnant, Pr. गब्धिणा (cf. H. C. 1, 208), Skr. गर्भिता; E. H. सकै, पचै, इपय्, सअ्, पालकी,*

पलटै, सच्, see § 143; E. H. समुक्, पल्यै, see § 144; E. H. ब्रंठ, see § 114; always in the *antepenultimate* (cf. § 25) thus E. H. अमन्, but अमरं *mango*, see § 138; E. H. दूवर, but दुवरा *weak, thin*, see § 22; E. H. उतरै *he descends*, Mg. उन्नलड्, Skr. उन्नति, E. H. गद्हा, पलटै, see § 143; E. H. अमला. पल्यै, see § 144: and others.

*Note.* Similarly M. has अत् suff. of 3. pers. pl.. Pr. अंति, Skr. अन्ति (§ 497, 2 f.); as M. चलत् *they were in the habit of going*. Pr. चलति, Skr. चलन्ति, both M. and B. have the part. suff. अत् or इत्, but पंच् in comp.; e. g., M. पचवोन्, B. पंचिन्, E. H. पचोन्.

\* 147. *The preceding vowel becomes long; as a rule; thus अ* in E. H. आठ *eight*, Pr. अट्, Skr. अष्ट; E. H. रानी *queen*, see p. 23; E. H. साथ् *with*, Pr. सत्वं, Skr. संन्यम्, etc.: इ in E. H. भोव् or भोइ *alms*, Pr. भिक्खा (cf. Wb. Bh. 197. Spt. 312) or भिच्छा (Spt. 163. cf. H. C. 2, 17. 19), Skr. भिक्षा, E. H. रीइ or रीव् *bear*, Pr. रिच्छो or रिक्खो (H. C. 2, 19), Skr. ऋक्ष.; E. H. दोढि *sight*, see § 43; E. H. सीव् *boiled rice, indigo*, Pr. तित्वं (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. शिक्यम्. E. H. तीनि or तीन् *three*, Pr. तिषि (H. C. 3, 121), Skr. त्रीणि, etc.: उ in E. H. सूत् *thread*, Pr. सुवं (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. सूत्रम्; E. H. उन् *wool*, Pr. उष्वा, Skr. उर्णा; E. H. मूठ् *list*, Pr. मुट्ठो (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. मुट्ठि; E. H. पूत् *son*, Mg. पुत्ते, Skr. पुत्रः, etc.: ऐ in E. H. सेव् *bedding*, Pr. सेज्जा (see § 6), Skr. शय्या; E. H. पेइ *lump*, Pr. पेण्डे (Vr 1, 12), Skr. पिण्डम्; E. H. ऐँचा *crooked*, Pr. ऐँचअ, Skr. अक्षितकम्; E. H. एक् *one*, Pr. ऐँकं (cf. H. C. 2, 99), Skr. एकम्, etc.: ओ in E. H. पोइ *hip*, Mg. \*पोट्टे. Skr. प्रोवः; E. H. बोले *he, says*, Pr. बोल्लइ (H. C. 4, 2), Skr. वदति; E. H. पोयो *book*, Pr. पोत्थिआ (cf. Vr. 1, 20), Skr. पुस्तिका, etc. See other examples in §§ 143—146.

148 *The preceding vowel becomes ए or ओ, rarely; thus अ* in E. H. लेवुर or लेवुरो *cord*, see § 110. exc.. सेव् *hole in a wall*, see § 57; E. H. पेइ *tree*, see § 103; E. H. अँगन् *egg-plant*, Mg. वंगणे. Skr. वज्रनः; E. H. एरी or एडी *heel*, Pr.?, Skr. अङ्घ्रिः; E. H. ऐँचा *crooked*, see § 147; E. H. केकरा or केकडा *crab*, Mg. कक्कडए, Skr. कर्कटकः; E. H. केँचुरो or केँचुली *skin of a snake*, Pr. कंचुलिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 25), Skr. कञ्चुलिका; again E. H. मोँइ or मूँइ *moustache*,

चोच् *bill*, see § 57. Again इ in E. H. मफेला *middle*, A. Mg. मन्किल्लर् (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. मध्यः, E. H. कौच्वा *earth-worm*, see § 125; E. H. हेद् *hole*, Pr. हिद् (Wb. Bh. 174. Spt 146), Skr. हिद्म्; E. H. नेम् *bean*, Pr. सिम्बा, Skr. शिम्बा. Again उ in E. H. कोपे *he is angry*, Pr. कुप्पइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. कुप्यति; E. H. कोद् *leprosy*, see § 113; E. H. कोष् *belly*, Pr. कुक्खो, Skr. कुक्षिः; E. H. सोठ *ginger*, Pr. सुठो, Skr. सुपिठः.

*Note.* The change of अ to ए or ओ is probably to be explained by a transfer of the succeeding vowel इ or उ into the preceding syllable. Similarly the ए in the E. H. मेहर् *woman* (see § 57) and in the Bs अहेस् *thou art*, O. H. अहसि is formed.

149. *The preceding vowel is nasalized*; 1) as a rule after the elision of a nasal, thus आ in E. H. जौल् *leg*, Pr. जंवा, Skr. जङ्घा, E. H. बौक् *barren woman*, Pr. वका, Skr. बन्धा; E. H. सौक् *evening*, Pr. संका (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. सन्धा, E. H. चौद् *moon*, see p. 29; E. H. डौजे *footpath*, Pr. डंडिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 217), Skr. दण्डिका; E. H. भौडा *pot*, Mg. भडर् (cf. H. C. 4, 422. 12), Skr. भाण्डक, E. H. काँपे *he trembles*, see p. 29; etc. Again ई in E. H. मौत्ते *he rubs*, Pr. मिंजइ, Skr. मृञ्जति; E. H. सौचै *he irrigates*, Pr. सिंचइ (H. C. 4, 239), Skr. सिञ्चति, etc. Again उ in E. H. सौड *elephant's trunk*, Pr. सुंडा, Skr. शुण्डा; E. H. सूडे *he shaves*, Pr. सुंडड (H. C. 4, 115), Skr. सुण्डति. Again ए and ओ in E. H. सेध्, ऐचा, बेगन्, etc., and चोच्, मोह्, see § 148. 2) Sometimes otherwise; thus आ in E. H. आँखि *eye*, see § 43; E. H. माँजे *he requests*, Pr. मगइ (H. C. 4, 230. Spt 71), Skr. मार्गवति; E. H. आँच् *flame* (fem.), Pr. \*अञ्जो, Skr. अर्चिः, E. H. सौच् *true*, Pr. सच्चं (cf. H. C. 2, 13), Skr. सत्यम्; E. H. सौप् *serpent*, A. Mg. सप्पे, Skr. सर्पः, etc. Again ई in E. H. ईख् or ईख् *sugarcane*, Pr. इक्खू (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. ईट् or ईट् *brick*, Pr. इट्टा (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. इष्टा; E. H. भौत् or भौत् *wall*, Pr. भिन्नी, Skr. भित्तिः; E. H. नौद् or नौद् *sleep*, see § 42. Again उ in E. H. उँख् or उँख् *sugarcane*, Pr. \*उक्खू or उक्खू (H. C. 2, 17. Vr. 1, 15), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. मूँग् *a kind of pulse* (fem.), Mg. मुग्गे (cf. Vr. 3, 1), Skr. मूद् (masc.), E. H. उँच् *high*, Pr. उच्चं (cf. H. C. 1, 154), Skr. उच्चन्; E. H. उँद् *camel*, Pr. उट्टो (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. उट्टः. Again ए



in E. H. केकरा or केकरा *crab*, see § 148. Again ओ in E. H. होह् or होह् *lip*, A. Mg. ओह् (cf. Spt. 22). Skr. ओहः.

150. *Affinities.* 1) The general law of the treatment of conjuncts may be stated thus: Pr. elides the first of the (Skr.) conj. and doubles the second; Gd. (exc. S. and P.) elides the first of the (Pr.) conj. and doubles (i. e. lengthens) the preceding vowel; e. g., Skr. भक्षम् *boiled rice*, Pr. भन्न (H. C. 4, 60. Wb. Bh. 214), E. H., W. H., B., O., M., G. भात्, S. भतुः Skr. नप्प *seven*, Pr. सन्न (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. सात्, S. सत, P. नन्नः Skr. अट *eight*, Pr. अट्ट (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. आह्, S. अन्न. P. अट्टः Skr. रात्रि *night*. Pr. रत्तो (H. C. 2, 79), E. H., etc. राति or रात्, P. रत्त. S. रति. S. usually preserves the short vowel, and P. the conjunct. 2) Sometimes Pr. exhibits the Gd. process: especially when one of the conj. is त् (or त् or त्); e. g., Pr. लान् (H. C. 2, 92) for \*लत्स् (cf. H. C. 1, 84), Skr. लास्यम्, E. H. लान् *dance*; Pr. ईसरो (H. C. 2, 92) or इस्सरो (Vr. 3, 58). Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईसर् *lord*; Pr. वीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or वीसर (Ls. 320), Skr. विप्रात् or विप्रतिः, E. H. वीस् *twenty*; Pr. नीस (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. शीर्षम्, E. H. नीम् *head*; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. वषा, E. H. \*वास् *rain* (in कपान् *violent burst of rain*, see § 283), etc.; also otherwise. as Pr. आणा *command* for \*असा, see p 23; Pr. दीहो or दिग्यो *long*, see § 116. note, etc.; see Ls. 274. 3) Sometimes in Pr. the preceding vowel optionally becomes ए or ओ; see H. C. 1, 85. 116. Vr. 1. 12. 20. e. g., Pr. वेल्लं or विल्लं, Skr. विल्वम्, E. H. वेल्ल *wood-apple*; Pr. पोखरो, Skr. पुष्करः, E. H. पोखर् *pond*; Pr. पोख्यो. Skr. पुस्तकः, E. H. पोया, Pr. नोगर्, Skr. मुद्गरः, E. H. नोगर् *mallet*, etc. 4) Sometimes in Pr. the first of the conj. becomes a nasal. analogous to the nasalization of the preceding vowel in Gd.; see § 158, note. 5) Sometimes in Pr. the second of the conj. is disaspirated. see § 145. exc.

cc) Elision.

151. क्क is elided; very rarely; in E. H. चौधरो *headman, chief* for \*चक्क (§ 69), \*चक्क°, A. Mg. चक्कथरिह्, Skr. चक्रथरिकः (lit. *discus-holder*; from °रिन् + क).

152. *च* is elided; rarely; in E. H. चौवालिस् or चउआलिस् *forty four* (B. चौयालिश्), A. Mg. चोयालीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), for Pr. \*चउच्चत्तालीसा (cf. Ls. 259 on च = छ), Skr. चतुश्चत्वाजिंशत्, E. H. छियालिस् *forty six* (cf. § 55), Pr. ˆछच्चत्तालीसा, Skr. षट्चत्वाजिंशत्; E. H. तेँतालिस् (O. तेयालिश्), A. Mg. तेआलीसा (H. C. 2, 174 or तिंयाले Wb. Bh. 425) for ˆतेच्चत्तालीसा, Skr. त्रयश्चत्वाजिंशत्.

*Note* In composition the र् of चतुर and ष् (or ट्) of षष् (or षट्) are, as a rule, assimilated, but sometimes elided; thus ass. in चउट्टह (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + दश) or चउव्वारो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + वार), again इप्पओ (H. C. 2, 77 for षट् + पद) or इम्मुहो or हंमु (Vr. 2, 40 H. C. 1, 25. 30 for षट् + मुख), इग्गुणो (Ls. 240 for पट् + गुण). But el. in चउगुणो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + गुण) or चउवीसं (H. C. 3, 137 for चतुर + विंशति), चउमुहु (H. C. 4, 331 for चतुर + मुख); again इहत्तरि (इ + हत्तरि for षट् + सप्ति) or इहिसिं (Wb. Bh. 426. 234 for षट् + दिशी). Hence the above mentioned num. may be derived from the Pr. forms: चउचत्त° or (eliding च, see § 101) चउच्चत्त°; इच्चत्त° or इच्चत्त°, and similarly तिचत्त° or तिच्चत्त° (Skr. त्रिचत्वाजिंशत्).

153. *त्* is elided; sometimes; in E. H. आउ and आन् *suff.* of abstract nouns for Ap. Pr. अउउ or अउणु, Pr. अउअं or अउणं or अउत्तं or अउत्तां, Skr. त्वम् or त्वनम्, see § 227; E. H. चारि *four* for \*चआरि, A. Mg. चत्तारि (Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 3, 122), Skr. चत्वारि, E. H. चालिस् *forty*, see § 110. exc.; E. H. चयालिन् *forty two*, A. Mg. वायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 426) for \*वाअत्तालीसं, Skr. द्वाचत्वाजिंशत्; E. H. चआलिस् or चौआलिस् or चउआलिन् *forty four* (cf. § 26) and E. H. छियालिन् *forty six*, see § 152; E. H. सैँतिस् *thirty seven* (O. सईतिश्) for सयँ° or सअँ°, A. Mg. सत्ततीसं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तत्रिंशत्; E. H. सैँतालिन् *forty seven* for सयँ° or सअँ°, A. Mg. \*सत्तअत्तालीसं, Skr. सप्तचत्वाजिंशत्, E. H. रोअब्ब or रोइब्ब *to weep*, Pr. रोअब्बं (H. C. 4, 212. Vr. 8. 55 or रोइअब्बं Spt. 258 or Ap. Pr. रोइब्बं), Skr. रोदितव्यम्; E. H. मियँ *friend* (a respectful address), Mg. मिअए or मित्रए (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. मित्रक.; or after simplification, in E. H. धाई *wet-nurse*, Pr. धाईआ or \*धातिआ or धत्तिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 81), Skr. धात्रिका; E. H. दाई *foster-mother, wet-nurse*, Pr. \*दातिआ or दत्तिआ, Skr. दात्रिका (lit. giver, scl. of nourishment); E. H. दाउ

*appellation of a father or elder brother* (lit. giver of sustenance), Mg. \*दातृ or \*दत्तृ (cf. H. C. 3, 44), Skr. दातृकः. E. H. भाई *brother*. Mg. 'मातिर or \*मतिर, and E. H. माई *mother*, Pr. \*मातिश्च or \*मतिश्च, see § 63; E. H. वाय् *he is* for \*वाइ, Pr. वन्नइ, Skr. वर्तते.

154. ए is elided; *very rarely*; in E. H. चउआ or चउपा *fourfooted*. Mg. चउपाए or चउप्पाए (see § 152, note). Skr. चतुष्पादः. E. H. चौमन or चउमन् *fifty four* (M. चौपन्), Mg. \*चउपन् or \*चउप्पन् (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुष्टयान्.

155. वृ is elided; *rarely*; optionally in E. H. ऐ suffix of the oblique infinitive, for \*अए or \*इए for \*अवे or \*इवे, Ap. \*इवुहे (see §§ 308. 365, 6). Pr. इअवृत्त, Skr. इतव्यम्. e. g., E. H. चले or चलवे (cf. § 129) *to go*. Ap. चलिवृहे, Pr. चलिवृत्त, Skr. चलितव्यः. E. H. खाय (for \*खाइए) or खाइव or खावे *to eat*. Ap. खाइवुहे, Pr. खाइवृत्त, Skr. खादितव्यः.

156. नृ is elided; *rarely*: in E. H. पैँतिस् *thirty five* (O. पँतिश्च, B. पँतिश्च for पँत्ति), A. Mg. पन्नतीस or पणतीस (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत्; E. H. पैँतालिस *forty five* for पन्नश्चत्, A. Mg. पन्नचत्तालीसा (Wb. Bh. 425 or पणयालीस), Skr. पञ्चचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. पैँसठि *sixty five*, A. Mg. \*पन्नसठ्ठी, Skr. पञ्चषष्टिः.

157. *Affinities*. In Pr. also, there are a few examples of the elision of a conj.: thus some instances of झ see in § 152. and of न् in § 153; others of ञ are, Pr. राई or रन्नी *night*, Skr. रात्रिः (H. C. 2, 88. Vr. 3, 58), but E. H. राति; Pr. काउण *having done* (Vr. 4, 23) for \*कातूण or \*कतूण (cf. Vr. 10, 13), Skr. क्त्वा (or \*कृत्वा), E. H. *deest*. Pr. काअवृ (Spt. 229) *what is to be done*. Mg. काववृ (Wb. Bh. 398) or कादवृ (Vk. 67) *to be done* for \*कातवृ or \*कतवृ, Skr. कर्तव्यम्, E. H. *deest* (it forms करवृ); Pr. अअस्तअश्च (Spt. A 53) *companionship*, Skr. वयस्यकत्वम्. An instance of कृ is Pr. तेलोअ or तेलोक्क *the three worlds* (Vr. 3 58), Skr. त्रैलोक्यम्. E. H. *deest*; and of ग्, Mg. नियये *devotee* (Wb. Bh. 397) or निगये, Skr. निर्यत्यः, E. H. *deest*. See also Wb. Bh. 398. Ls. 273. 274.

dd) Miscellaneous.

158. क्, ग्, ग्व, क्व, च् become क्, ग्, व्, क्, च् respectively: thus क् in E. H. ककर *limestone*, Pr. \*कक्करो, Skr. ककरम्; E. H. ककरोल्

a kind of gourd, Ap. Pr. कक्कुडुल्लु (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. कर्कटः<sup>1</sup>); again ग्ग in E. H. नंग् naked. A. Mg. नग्गे (cf. Wb. Bh. 185. H. C. 2, 78), Skr. नग्गः, and in its derivatives as नंगा, नंगी naked, नंगाई nakedness, etc.; again क्क् in E. H. पक्क् ung, A. Mg. पक्खे (cf. Wb. Bh. 427. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. पक्क, and in its derivatives पक्का, पंखी fan, पंखरी or पंखडे flower-leaf (Ap. पक्खडिआ), पंखी bird (from Skr. पक्षिन्)<sup>2</sup>), again ङ्घ in E. H. महंग् high-priced, see § 145. exc. 2; again च्च् in E. H. पंढी bird, Pr. पच्छिओ, Skr. पक्षिकः (from पक्षिन् + क), and in its cognates पंढाला tail of a paper-kite (Ap \*पच्छिउउ) from Skr. पत्त tail<sup>3</sup>).

Note There are instances of this change in Pr.; as Pr. वंक्, Skr. वक्रन्, E. H. ब्रॉक् crooked; Pr. खंन्, Skr. अश्रु, E. H. अँस् tear, Pr. मस्, see § 56, Pr. पुंङ्, Skr. पुच्छम्, E. H. पूँङ् tail; Pr. पंन्, see § 44; Pr. संतारो, Skr. मार्तारः, E. H. संतार cat, etc., see H. C. 1, 26. Vr. 4, 15; but E. H. बिच्छू or बीहू scorpion (M. बिंचू) for Pr. बिंङ्गिओ or बिचुओ (H. C. 2, 16), Skr. वृश्चिक.

159. 'च् and 'ह become न्न् and ङ्ङ; always; thus 'च् in E. H. हन्न् or हाँस् goose, see p. 29; E. H. मन्न् or माँस् or मास् flesh, see p. 30, E. H. हिन्ता slaughter, see § 39, etc.; again 'ह in E. H. सिंघ् or सीँघ् lion, see p. 29; E. H. संघार collection, Pr. संघारो or संहारो (H. C. 1. 264). Skr. संहारः. etc.

Note The change of 'ह to ङ्ङ is optional in Pr. already, see H. C. 1, 264. As to the spelling of 'ह and 'च्, see §§ 38. 39; and of 'घ see § 13.

160. ङ्ङ and च्च् become ङ्ङ् and च्च; rarely; thus ङ्ङ् in E. H. कंगाल् (i. e., कङ्गाल्, see § 13<sup>1</sup>) destitute Mg. \*कंकाले (i. e., कङ्काले, see H. C. 1, 30), Skr. कङ्काल. (lit. skeleton, see Bs. I, 98); E. H. कंगन् bracelet. Pr. कंकणं (Spt. 68), Skr. कङ्कणम्; E. H. पेलग bed, Mg. पल्लंके (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्कः; E. H. पलंगरी or पलंगडे small bedstead, Ap. पल्लंकडिआ, Skr. पर्यङ्किआ; E. H. पाँग् or पाँक् mud, see p. 29; E. H.

1) But E. H. ककरी or ककडी cucumber, Pr. कक्कडिआ, Skr. कर्कटिका.

2) Also regularly पाँस्, पाँला, पाँलो, cf. § 149

3) पंढी and पंढाला might be corruptions for पुंढी, पुंढाला, from Pr. पुंङ्, see note.

पाँगा salt (obtained from sea-mud). Mg. पंकर्, Skr. पङ्कतः. E. H. पंगति row (cf. §§ 102, 2. 138, usually पाँति p. 30). Skr. पङ्क्तिः. E. H. पाँगर high ground, Ap. वंकडं, Skr. वक्रम् (lit. curved); again च् in E. H. कुंती key, Pr. कुचिआ, Skr. कुञ्चिका.

161. ल् and न् become ल्ह् and न्ह्: optionally; thus ल् in E. H. काल् or काल्ह् yesterday or to-morrow, Pr. कल्लं (H. C. 2, 186. Spt. 46), Skr. कल्यम्; E. H. चील् or चील्ह् lute, Mg. चिल्ल, Skr. चिल्लः; E. H. चीलर् or चील्हर् louse, Ap. चिल्लुडु, Skr. चिल्लः; E. H. पेल् or पेल्हर् testicle, Ap. पेल्डं (cf. H. C. 4, 143 पेल्डं), Skr. पेल्म्, etc. Again न् in Bs. दीन् or दीन्ह given, A. Mg. दिन्ने (cf. Wb. Bh. 402) or दिष्से (H. C. 4. 302), Skr. दत्तः; Bs. कीन् or कीन्ह done. (Ap. Pr. किन्नुड H. C. 4, 329 ?), Skr. कृतः; Bs. लीन् or लीन्ह taken for \*लिन्, Skr. लब्धः; E. H. इन् or ऐन् or O. H. ऐन्हि suffix of 3. pers. pl. for \*एन्ति or \*इञ्चन्ति, Pr. इञ्चति, Skr. इतन्ति (see §§ 497, 6. 503); e. g., E. H. पछिन् or पछेन् or O. H. पछेन्हि they read for \*पछिञ्चन्ति, Pr. पछिञ्चति, Skr. \*पछितन्ति (denom.); E. H. चरेन् or O. H. चलेन्हि they walked for \*चलिञ्चन्ति, Pr. चलिञ्चति (Skr. चलिता भवन्ति), etc.

Note. In Pr. पल्लव्य (H. C. 2, 68) and पल्लव्यं (H. C. 4, 258), Skr. पर्यस्तम्; Pr. एण्हिं (Vr. 4, 33) for एण्हिं (Ls. 129), Skr. इदानीम्.

162. स्त् becomes स्त्; rarely; as E. H. ग्रिहस्त् husbandman, householder, Mg. ०हस्ते (cf. H. C. 4, 291), Skr. गृहस्थः (semitats.), and its derivative ग्रिहस्ती husbandry.

163. पड् becomes न्द् or न्त्; rarely; E. H. गन्ना or गन्दा or गण्डा sugarcane (lit. having joints), Mg. गंडर्, Skr. गण्डकः; E. H. गंदेरी or गंडरो joint of sugarcane. Ap. गण्डरुलिआ, Skr. गण्डकः.

164. क् becomes क्त्; very rarely. E. H. कुत्ता dog (G. कुतर), Ap. कुक्कुल, Skr. कुक्कुरः (usually E. H. कूकर् or कुक्कर): and its derivative E. H. कुतर puppy

165. त् and ध् become त्त् or त् and ड् or ध् respectively; very rarely; thus E. H. नित्त् or नित्, A. Mg. निन्ने (cf. Wb. Bh. 414), Skr. नित्यः; E. H. मधि, O. H. मडि, Skr. मध्ये; but see § 144.

166. च् and च् become छ् and च्. always in semitats.; see §§ 36. 37.

## c) CHANGES OF INITIAL SOUNDS.

## a) VOWELS.

167. अ becomes इ; rarely; E. H. इमली or अमली *tamarind* (cf. § 138), Mg. अमलिआ (cf. Wb. Bh. 377), Skr. अम्लिका.

168. आ becomes अ; sometimes, thus E. H. अचारू *teacher*. Skr. आचार्यः (§ 129); E. H. अचार or आचार *conduct*, Skr. आचारः; E. H. अया or आया *command*, Skr. आज्ञा (all semitats.).

169. ए becomes अ, rarely; E. H. अकेला *solitary*, A. Mg. एक्कलए (cf. H. C. 2, 165) or \*एक्किल्लए, Skr. एकलकः.

170. ए becomes इ; sometimes; as E. H. इग्यारह् or ऐग्यारह् *eleven*; इक्वावन् or ऐक्वावन् *fifty one*, see § 135; and other compounds of एक.

171. ए and ओ become व and व respectively, sometimes; thus ए in E. H. एक or ऐक or एक् *one*, Mg. एक्के (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकः; E. H. एह् or ऐह् (or ई) *he, thus*, Ap. एह or एहु (H. C. 4, 362), Skr. ईदृशः, again ओ in E. H. वह् or ओह् (or ऊ) *he, that*, Ap. \*एवेह् or \*एवेहु (see § 438, 1. 5), Skr. \*एवादृशः (= एवंविधः), E. H. वनइस् or ओनइस् *nineteen*, see § 123; and other compounds of उन; cf. § 98.

172. अ is elided; sometimes; thus E. H. भीतर *within*, A. Mg. अभितर् (Wb. Bh. 206), Skr. अभ्यन्तर्; E. H. भीतै *he is afflicted with grief*, Pr. \*अभिस्तइ, Skr. अभ्यर्चते (pass. of अर्च्); E. H. भीतै *he is wet*, Pr. \*अभिस्तइ, Skr. अभ्यादूयते (denom. of आर्द् *wet*); E. H. काँट *he sweeps*, Pr. \*अस्तकट्टइ, Skr. अथ्यदयति (caus. of अर्द्) or Skr. अथ्याटयति (caus. of अट् *roam*, cf. Pr. काँटइ H. C. 4, 161); E. H. कंग *upper garment*. A. Mg. अस्तकंगए. Skr. अथ्यङ्कः; E. H. कंगिया *child's vest*, Pr. अस्तकंगिआ, Skr. अथ्यङ्किका; E. H. रहट् or अरहट् *water-wheel*; E. H. तीसो *flax*, see §§ 55. 109, note.

Note: Such elisions occur especially in A. Mg.; see Wb. Bh. 405, as रयणी, Skr. अरतिः, etc.

173. उ is elided; sometimes; thus E. H. चाहै *he desires*, see § 145, exc. 2; E. H. बैठै or अइठै *he sits*, Pr. उवविट्टइ, Skr. \*उपविष्टति

(denom. of उपविद्, cf. Ap. Pr. वड्डुड H. C. 4, 444, see § 352): E. H. पे upon. see § 124: E. H. पाथा teacher, see § 144.

*Note* For such elisions in Ap. Mg. see Wb. Bh. 406; e. g., पंगसह, Skr. उपवसय, etc.

### ॢ) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

174. त् and द् become ट् and ड्, rarely; thus त् in E. H. टूटे or तूटे it breaks, Pr. तुट्टुड (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. वृट्यति; E. H. टट्टु or तट्टु pony, Mg. \*तट्टु (cf. H. C. 3, 44. 1. 131), Skr. तर्तुकः (of R. तृ; cf. तुग्ग horse); E. H. टीक् or टीका (fem.) sectarian mark on the forehead, Skr. तिलकः (masc.), cf. § 125; E. H. होट्टु or होट्टु beak for \*टोत्, Pr. तोड्डे (Vr. 1, 20), Skr. तुपडम्. Again द् in E. H. डीट्टु or दोट्टु or दीठि sight, see § 43; E. H. डाट्टी or दाट्टी beard. Pr. दाढिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रिका (also दाढिका); E. H. डाट्टु or दाट्टु ttooth, tusk, Pr. दाढा (H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रा; E. H. डाट्टु or डाट्टु branch (fem.), A. Mg. दाली, Skr. दागी, E. H. डाट्टु or डाट्टु branch, A. Mg. \*दालट्टु or \*डाट्टु (cf. H. C. 4, 445. Ap. डाट्टु), Skr. दाजिका; E. H. डाट्टी or डाट्टी branch, A. Mg. दालिआ, Skr. दाजिका; E. H. डेरु or देरु or डेरु or देरु one and a half. see § 114.

*Note:* Instances in Pr. are; Pr. डोला or दोला, Skr. दोला, E. H. डोरु or दोरु cord, whence E. H. डोला or दोला, डोली or दोली a swing, a dooly, Pr. डोलओ or डोलिआ or द°. Skr. दोलकः or दोलिका; Pr. डट्टो or दट्टो, Skr. दग्ध, E. H. डाट्टा burnt. fire (Skr. दग्धकः?); Pr. डट्टो or दट्टो, Skr. दग्. E. H. डरु or दरु few: Pr. डाहो or दाहो, Skr. दाहः, E. H. डाह् malice, jealousy and दाह् burning; Pr. डड्डो or दड्डो (Wb. Bh. 293), Skr. दर्भः, E. H. डाम् kusa-grass; Pr. डड्डु, Skr. दग्नि he bites, E. H. डनः Pr. डट्टो or दट्टो, Skr. दट्टः bitten, oppressed, whence perhaps E. H. डाट्ट threat, डाट्टे or डाट्टे he threatens; see H. C. 1, 217. 218, but E. H. दहै it burns, Mg. दहट्ट (cf. Wb. Bh. 155), Pr. डहट्ट (H. C. 1, 218). Skr. दहति; E. H. डम् arrogance. Pr. डड्डो or दड्डो, Skr. दग्धः.

175. क्, ट्, ड् become ख्, छ्, ङ्, respectively; very rarely; thus क् in E. H. खँतो cough, Pr. कासिआ (or खासिआ? cf. H. C. 1, 181),

Skr. कासिका; E. H. ढोर *beak* for 'ढोर, see § 174; E. H. ठेकुना *bug*, Pr. उंकुणान्नो (S. C. 1, 3. 130), Skr. मत्कुपाकः.

*Note:* Pr. examples are खप्परं (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कर्परम्, E. H. खप्पर *skull, tile*; Pr. खोलन्नो (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कीलकः, but E. H. कीला *nail*; again Pr. हुच्छं or चुच्छं or तुच्छं (H. C. 1. 204), Skr. तुच्छम्, E. H. हूछ *mean*, again Pr. कडिलो or तडिलो (H. C. 1, 194), Skr. तटिलः, E. H. *deest*.

176. भ् becomes ह्, rarely; E. H. हौड् or भौड् *pot*, A. Mg. भंटे (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. भाण्डः.

*Note* In Pr. होइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति, E. H. होय् *he is*.

177. *Aspiration is transferred*; E. H. म्हैस् or भैस् or महिस् or बहिस् *buffalo*, A. Mg. महिसे, Skr. महिषः, see § 178; E. H. भूखा *hungry* for 'बुहुखा, Mg. बुभुक्खिण् (or भुक्खे Wb Bh 290?), Skr. बुभुक्षितः; E. H. भवूति or भभूति *ashes of cowdung*, Skr. विभूतिः (semitats.); E. H. भाप् or भाक् or बाक् *steam*, see § 143, E. H. फूप् or फूक् *flower*, see § 132.

178. म् becomes व्; very rarely; in E. H. बहिस् or महिस् *buffalo*, see § 177. 134.

*Note* In Pr. वम्महो (Vr. 2, 39), Skr. वम्भयः, E. H. *deest*.

179. ल् becomes न्; very rarely; E. H. नोन् or लोन् *salt*, Pr. लोणं (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, see also §§ 31. 111.

*Note* In Pr. पाहलो, Skr. लाहलः, E. H. नाहर् *tiger*; Pr. पांगलं *plough*, पांगूलं *tail*, Skr. लाङ्गलम्, लाङ्गूलम्, but E. H. लांगल and लाँगूल, see H. C. 1, 256.

180. न् becomes ल्; very rarely; E. H. लील् or नील् *dark-blue* (§ 31), A. Mg. नीले (Wb. Bh. 160. H. C. 3, 32), Skr. नीलः; E. H. लूरी or नूरी *a kind of parrot*; E. H. लीमू or नीमू *lime-tree* (S. लिम्बु or निम्बु), see p. 20.

*Note* In Pr. लिम्बो or निम्बो (H. C. 1, 239), Skr. निम्बः; but E. H. नीम् *Nimb-tree*.

181. य् and व् become न् and व् respectively; always; thus य् in E. H. त्तन् *effort*, Skr. यत्न (semitats); E. H. त्तोम् *worthy*, Mg. योगे (cf. Vr. 3, 2), Skr. योगयः; E. H. त्तानै *he knows*, Mg. यापाड् (cf. Wb. Bh. 394, note) or यापादि (H. C. 4, 292), Skr. जानाति (see



pg. 22); etc.; again E. H. बात्, see § 143; E. H. बाँ or बाँ it is sounded, Pr. वज्जइ (H. C. 4, 406), Skr. वज्जे, etc., also as initial of the second of a compound; as E. H. पुरवासी citizen, Skr. पुरवान्नी (semitats); see § 17.

182. न् becomes ह्; very rarely; E. H. कीचै or तीचै he sprinkles, see § 149.

Note. In Pr. इत्तवसो (Vr. 2, 41), Skr. सप्तपर्णः; E. H. deest.

183. ह् is prefixed, very rarely; E. H. होह् lip, see § 149.

Note. Frequently in S.; as एडो or हंडो so large, ओडो or होडो so large, एतिरो or हेतिरो, so many (Tr. 224), एकु or हंकु one (Tr. 157), इति or हिति here (§ 468, a). Sometimes in B. and M., as B. एया or हेया here, ओया or होया there (§ 468, a); M. इकडे or हिकडे hither (§ 468, b).

184. Consonants are elided, only in alliterative phrases; thus रू in रोटी ओटी meal (lit. bread, etc.): or ख् in खाना आना dinner; very commonly प्, as पानी आनी water; आस् पान् close by; उत्तर पुलट् topsy-turvy; अइतावे पइतावे he repents deeply; etc.

#### γ) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

185. अ is interpolated; often; thus E. H. नहान् bathing, Ap. Pr. पहाणु (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. नहाय् he bathes, Pr. पहाइ (H. C. 4, 14), Skr. स्नाति; E. H. नहादै he flees, Pr. \*पहट्टइ, Skr. \*स्नस्तवति (denom. of part. स्नस्त); E. H. परोहन् carriage, Ap. प्रवहणं (cf. H. C. 4, 398) or Pr. पवहणं (Mchh. 109, 18), Skr. प्रवहणम्; E. H. परघट् or परगट् manifest, see § 102; E. H. परगस् clearness, Ap. Pr. प्रगाम् (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. प्रकाशः; E. H. परगसे he displays, Ap. Pr. प्रगासइ or प्रगासइ, Skr. प्रकाशयति; E. H. परसन् pleased, Ap. Pr. प्रससु, Skr. प्रसन्नः; E. H. परोहा leathern waterbucket, Ap. Pr. प्रवहउ or प्रवाहउ (cf. H. C. 1, 68), Skr. प्रवहकः or प्रवाहकः; E. H. सराहै he praises, Pr. सलाहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघते; E. H. सराहन् praise, Pr. सलाहणं, Skr. श्लाघनम्; E. H. सरैस् glue (lit. adhesion), A. Mg. सिलेसे (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. श्लेषः (or Pers. سیریش sirish?); E. H. मलान् faded, Pr. विलाणं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. म्लानम्; and in semitats; as E. H. सलोक् verse, Skr. श्लोकः (Pr. सिलोओ H. C. 2, 106).

Łs. 183); E. H. परोत्तन् *necessity*, पराग्न Allahabad, पराचित् *penance*, see § 144.

*Note:* In Pr. सलाहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघा, E. H. सराह् *praise*

186. इ *is interpolated; sometimes*; thus E. H. तिरपन् *fifty three*, Ap. Pr. \*त्रिपक्षं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपक्षाशतः; E. H. तिरसठि *sixty three*, Ap. Pr. \*त्रिसट्ठी, Skr. त्रिषष्टिः; E. H. तिरिका or त्रिका *triad*, see § 408; E. H. गिरहन् *eclipse*, Ap. Pr. ग्रहणं, Skr. ग्रहणम्; E. H. पिलहो *spleen*; Pr. \*पिलहिन्ना, Skr. प्लीहिका, E. H. गिलानि *fatigue*, Pr. \*गिलोणो (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. ग्लानिः; E. H. तिरिया *woman*, Ap. Pr. \*त्रिन्ना, Skr. स्त्रिका.

*Note.* In Pr. निणेहो (Wb. Bh. 405. Łs. 182) or सपोहो or नेहो (H. C. 2, 102), Skr. स्नेहः, E. H. सिनेह् or सनेह् or नेह् *love*, Pr. तिरि (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. ओ, E. H. तिरि ' , ' , ' , Pr. किरिन्ना (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. क्रिया, E. H. किरिया *oath*; Pr. किलेसो. (H. C. 2, 106) *trouble*, see § 58, note.

187. उ *is interpolated, rarely*; thus E. H. सुमिरन् or सुमरन् *recollection*, Ap. Pr. सुमरण् (H. C. 4, 426 cf. 4, 74), Skr. स्मरणम्.

188. *The first consonant is elided; always*; thus E. H. भीतरू *within* for भीतर्, A. Mg. अन्भिन्तर् (§ 172), Skr. अन्वन्तर्म्; E. H. भीत्रै, काढै, कंगा, कंगिया, for भीत्रै, काढै, कंगा. कंगिया, see § 172; E. H. इमा *forgiveness* for \*च्छमा. Skr. क्षमा, see §§ 36. 191; E. H. इहै *he desires* for \*च्छहै, see § 173.

*Exception* ग्न् remains, as E. H. ग्ग्यन् *knowledge*, Skr. ज्ञानम्, see § 191; in the *khari bhāshā* optionally also र्न् following a cons., as प्रगद् or परगद् *manifest*. § 185.

*Note:* In Pr. also; as a rule, see H. C. 2, 89. Vr. 3, 50; thus Pr. काणं (H. C. 2, 26), Skr. ध्यानम्; Pr. काञ्चो or धाञ्चो for \*क्काञ्चो or डाञ्चो (H. C. 2, 27), Skr. ध्वजः; Pr. इमा or खमा for \*च्छमा or \*क्खमा (H. C. 2, 18 gives इमा in the sense of *earth* and खमा as *patience* or *forgiveness*; but in E. H., the latter does not exist, and the former means *forgiveness* or *patience*), Skr. क्षमा; Pr. ठपां or यापां for \*ट्टपां or \*त्वापां (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्वानम्; etc.; but A. Mg. apparently has occasionally क्क्; as क्काण° (Wb. Bh. 315. 319),

Skr. धान°; or झूसिन्ना (Wb. Bh. 295), Skr. ग्रथूषित्वा, etc.: see Wb. Bh. 389. 390.

189. *The second consonant is elided: only ह्; thus E. H. नाड barber, A. Mg. पहाबिर् or नाबिर् (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नापितः (or न्नापिकः).*

*Note:* In Pr. नेहो (H. C. 2, 102) for पहेहो (not for नेहो as in H. C. 2, 77), Skr. नेहः, E. H. नेह् love, oil, Pr. निठे (H. C. 2, 109) for \*पिठे, Skr. सिग्धम्, E. H. deest.

190. अ or इ is prefixed to च् preceding any consonant; only in semitats; thus E. H. अस्तुति or इस्तुति praise, Skr. स्तुतिः; E. H. अस्नान् bathing, Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. अस्नेह् love, Skr. स्नेहः; E. H. इस्तरी woman, Skr. स्त्री; or in foreign words, as E. H. अस्कूल् or इस्कूल् school; E. H. इस्पन् sponge; etc.

*Note.* A curiosity is the E. H. अचपल् restless for Skr. चपलः.

191. च् and ज् become ह् and ग्; only in semitats; see §§ 36. 37. In tadbh. च् becomes ज्; e. g., E. H. ज्ञानी or ज्ञान् sage, Pr. ज्ञाणी (H. C. 2, 83. Vr. 3, 5), Skr. ज्ञानी; but as a semitats. it is E. H. ग्यानी.

## SECOND SECTION. ON SUFFIXES AND ROOTS.

### FIRST CHAPTER. SUFFIXES.

192. The E. H. suffixes may be divided into two great classes, which I shall call the *placative* and the *derivative*. The former are those, by the addition of which the meaning of a noun is not changed, thus पट् and पटा board, अग्नि and अग्निया fire, चाम् and चमरा leather, मीट् and मिठका sweet, etc. The latter are those which change the meaning of a noun. These may be subdivided into two classes; the *primary* and *secondary*. The former are those which are added to (verbal) roots and form primary bases; e. g., R. खा eat, खाड or खानिहारू eater, glutton; हँत् laugh, हँती laughter; ब्रू grow, ब्रूती growth, etc. The latter are added to the bases

of nouns and form secondary bases; as बूढ़ा *old*, बूढ़ापन् *old age*; हलुक् *light*, हलुक्क् *lightness*; बंगाल् *Bengal*, बंगाली *a man of Bengal*, भेड़ *ram*, भेड़ी *ewe*; etc.

*Note* The pleon. suff. are called by Pr gramm. स्वार्थे or स्वार्थिक (cf. H. C. 2, 164. 429), and the deriv. suff., भवे (cf. H. C. 2, 163).

— In Skr., the primary suffixes are called *krt* and the secondary *taddhita*. The pleon. suff., as being added to nouns only, would belong to the *taddhita* class

193. *Affinities*. In Pr. it had already become customary, and is now almost the rule in E. H. (and Gd. generally) to augment verbal roots (called *dhātus* in Skr.) by the denominative suffix ञापि (Pr. ञावि or ञाव, E. H. ञव् or ञा) and nominal bases (called *prātipādikas* in Skr.) by the pleonastic suffix क (Pr. and E. H. ञ). It is the coalescence of the original (Skr.) *krit* or *taddhita* suffixes with this radical or basic increment, that — besides the usual effect of phonetic decay — accounts for the difference, which, in many cases, appears between them and their modern representatives; thus Skr. वृद्धि *growth* from R. वृध् and suff. ति, but E. H. ब्रद्धि of R. बर्धाप् and suff. ति (cf. § 325); or Skr. उच्चता *height* from base उच्च and suff. ता, E. H. उच्चाई from base उच्च and suff. द्वा (= उच्चक-तिका cf. § 223). — Many of the Skr. suffixes, however, have been long since disused both in Pr. and E. H. as *suffixes*; though, of course, they may be met with in E. H. words (especially in *tatsamas*) as *nominal terminations* and variously modified by the effect of phonetic laws; thus the Skr. suff. नि, in E. H. मुनि *sage*, Skr. मुनि; suff. मन् in E. H. कर्म (tats) or काम् (tadbh) for Skr. कर्मन्; suff. त्रि, in E. H. धरती *earth* for Skr. धरित्री; or in E. H. रात् *night*, Skr. रात्रि; etc. These will not be noticed in the following lists. Most of the other Skr. suff., which are still used as such in E. H., are expressly mentioned also by Pr grammarians.

### 1) PLEONASTIC SUFFIXES.

194. The E. H. pleonastic suff. may be divided into two groups, the elementary forms of which are: 1) क or ञ and 2) उ

or र or ल or न. Their other forms are reduplications or combinations of these.

*First Group.*

195. Set.

Masculine.

1. अ, ई, ऊ; or इउं.
2. अक्, इक्, उक्; or अक्क, उक्क, उक्क.
3. अका, इका, उका; or अक्का, इक्का, उक्का.
4. अवा, इवा, उवा; or अवॉ, इवॉ, उवॉ.
5. अकवा, इकवा, उकवा; or अक्कवा, इक्कवा, उक्कवा.
6. औवा, इयवा<sup>1)</sup>, उअवा<sup>1)</sup>; or औवॉ, इयवॉ<sup>1)</sup>, उअवॉ<sup>1)</sup>.

Feminine.

1. ई, ई, ऊ; or इउं.
2. अक्, इक्, उक्; or अक्क, इक्क, उक्क.
3. अकी, इकी, उकी; or अक्की, इक्की, उक्की.
4. इया, इया, उवा; or इयॉ, इयॉ, उवॉ.
5. अकिया, इकिया, उकिया; or अक्किया, इक्किया, उक्किया.
6. इयवा<sup>1)</sup>, इयवा<sup>1)</sup>, उअवा<sup>1)</sup>; or इयवॉ<sup>1)</sup>, इयवॉ<sup>1)</sup>, उअवॉ<sup>1)</sup>.

*Note:* Observe in adding these suffixes, that their initial vowel always supersedes the final vowel of the word. A long antepenultimate is shortened (see § 25). The semivowels व् and व् may or may not be inserted after इ, उ and औ (cf. § 28); e. g., उवा or उवा, इया or इया.

196. The first set may be added to either subst. or adj. The forms thus made I shall call their *strong* forms; those without the suff. their *weak* forms. The suff. अ (m.), ई (f.) are added to nouns in अ (*quiescent*). As to adj., all may take them; thus m. सॉच् or सॉच् *true*; f. सॉच् or सॉच्; or m. सीह् or नीहा *sweet*. f. सीह् or नीहा; but the strong form is generally used with fem., while with masc. the weak form is rather the more common. In the case of subst., the usage is more or less fixed; some occurring only in the

1) Sometimes pronounced इवा, उवा or इवॉ, उवॉ; contracted like औवा for \*अववा § 203; and see §§ 83 84. exc.

weak form, others only in the strong, while many again may be used in both; on the whole those in the weak form preponderate in E. H., as compared with W. H. Thus m. घर *house* (not घरा), f. बात् *event* (not बाती); m. घोरा (or घोडा) *horse*, f. घोरी *mare* (not घोर); but m. पट् or पटा *board*, f. भेड़ or भेडी *sheep*, etc. The suff. ई and ऊ (both *gen. com.*) are added to nouns in इ and उ respectively; but in most cases, at present, only one of the two forms exists. Thus adj. occur only in the strong form, as भारी *heavy*, गरु *heavy*, हलू *light, slow* (not भारि, गरु, हलु). Subst. as a rule, have either the one or the other; e. g., माली *gardener*, हाथी *elephant*, बालू *sand* (not मालि, हाथि, बालु); on the other hand अग्नि *fire*, मुनि *sage*, गुरु *teacher* (not अग्नि, मुनी, गुरु). There are, however, a few examples of the existence of both forms; as ज्ञानि or ज्ञानो *sage*, बहिनि or बहिनी *sister*, पतोहु or पतोहू *son's wife*, etc. See also §§ 42—53.

197. The suffix इडँ (*com. gen.*) can be added to adj. in ई only; as m. f. भारी or भरिडँ *heavy*. The form in इडँ I shall call the *uncontracted*, that in ई the *contracted*.

198. The second, third and fifth sets can be added to adj. of the weak form only. The forms made by the two former I shall call their long forms. Those in का, की or क्का, क्की contain the suff. का, ई of the first set and are therefore strong, while those in क् or क्क are weak. As a rule, the strong long forms only are used in E. H. Thus m. मिठका or मिठक्का, f. मिठकी or मिठक्की, of मोट *sweet*; होटका, होटकी or होटक्का, होटक्की, of होट *small*; भरिका, भरिकी or भरिक्का, भरिक्की *heavy*, of \*भारि (only used in the strong form भारी, § 196); हलुक or हलुक्क (*gen. com.*) or हलुका, हलुकी or हलुक्का, हलुक्की *light*, of \*हलु (only in the strong form हलू § 196). In a few cases the long form alone exists; as तनिक or तनिका *small*, of \*तनु (see § 61); रचिक *small*. As to the forms in सकवा, etc. of the fifth set, see § 199.

*Exception.* There are a few subst. with the suff. क्, का, as भिडुक *beggar* beside भिडू; बालक (or बालका) *child* beside बाल and बाला; होकरा *boy*, होकरो *girl* beside होरा, होरी, from \*होक् or

\*ङो° (= Skr. ञाव°, Pr. ङाव° Vr. 2, 41) with the pleon. suff. रा, री superadded. — Such nouns as लरिका *boy* (H. H. लडका), बैठिका or बैठिक् *seat* (H. H. बैठक्), etc. contain not the pleonastic, but the derivative suff. का (see §§ 252. 334).

*Note:* The forms in क्का, क्की have the accent on the syllable immediately preceding it; as मिठक्का *mithakkā*, भरिक्का *bharikkā*, हलुक्की *halūkkī*; but the others on the first syllable; as हलुक्क *hālukk*, हलुक्का *hālukkā*, ङोटक्की *chhōtṭkī*, etc.

199. The fourth set may be added 1) to any subst. of the weak form, 2) to any adj. of the weak long form; in the latter case resulting in the fifth set. The forms thus made will be called, in the case of subst., their *long*. in the case of adj., their *redundant* forms. The suff. अवा (m.), इवा (f.) are added to nouns in अ, and the suff. दवा and उवा (both gen. com.) to nouns in इ and उ respectively. Thus, *subst.*, m. घर or घर-वा *house*; f. बात् or बतिया *event*; m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर्) or घोर्-वा *horse*; f. घोरी (wk. f. घोर्) or घोर्-वा *mare*; m. माली (wk. f. मालि) or मलिया *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. \*बालु) or बलुवा *sand*; f. अग्नि or अगिया *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरुवा *teacher*, etc. Again *adj.* m. हलुक् or हलुक्का *light*; f. हलुक् or हलुक्किया; m. ङोटक्का (wk. f. ङोटक्) or ङोटक्का *small*; f. ङोटक्की (wk. f. ङोटक्क) or ङोटक्किया.

*Note:* Bs. II, 40 and Bates H. Dict. 67 give the form उअ for अवा; and Bates 58. इअ for इवा. If these be not merely inaccurate spellings, they must be considered as local peculiarities.

200. The sixth set can only be added to subst. of the weak form. The forms thus made, I shall call their *redundant* forms. The suff. m. औवा, f. इयवा (or ईवा) are added to subst. in अ, and c. g. इयवा and उयवा (or उवा) to subst. in इ and उ respectively. Thus m. घर or घरौवा *house*; f. बात् or बतियवा (or बतौवा) *event*; m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर्) or घोर्-वा *horse*; f. घोरी (wk. f. \*घोर्) or घोर्-वा *mare*; m. माली (wk. f. \*मालि) or मलियवा (or मलौवा) *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. \*बालु) or बलुयवा (or बलूवा) *sand*; f. अग्नि or अगियवा *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरुयवा *teacher*. The suff. औवा and उयवा may be con-

tracted to औ; e. g., घोर्औ or घोर्औ; बलुअवा or बलौ. The suff. औवा may be also contracted into अउ; as घोर्औ or घोर्अ.

*Note* The contracted suff. औ always takes the accent; as घोर्औ *ghōraui*, not *ghóraui*.

201. All these suff. are, generally speaking, very commonly employed. The sixth set, however, is very vulgar. As a rule, they change in no way the meaning of the word. Occasionally, those of the fourth and sixth sets may imply contempt or affection or smallness, and those of the second and third sets the comparative degree (see § 388).

202. *Affinities.* The existence of these sets of pleonast. suff. in the various Gd. languages has been hitherto but little observed by grammarians; if, at least, we exclude the first, which is very common in them all. It consists, in E. and S. Gd., of आ, ई and ऊ; in N. and W. Gd. of ओ (or औ), ई and ऊ, see §§ 49—54. As to the others, I have not been able to learn whether or not they exist in N. and W. Gd., excepting the W. H. In this latter and in E. and S. Gd., some of them certainly do occur; whether or not all do, it is impossible to say at present. The fourth set is in B. (m.) आ, ए, ओ contracted for E. H. अवा, इया, उआ; as B. रामा, E. H. रमन्वा *Rám*; B. हरे, E. H. हरिया *Harí*; B. शोभो, E. H. संभुआ *Sambhú*; (f.) B. ई contracted for E. H. इया; as B. रधी, E. H. रधिया *Rádhá*, etc. There are, however, many anomalies<sup>1</sup>). See S. Ch. 71. 72. In M. the fourth set has (m.) अया—for E. H. अवा and (f.) ई for E. H. इया; as M. राम्या (for रामन्वा cf. § 6, note), E. H. रमन्वा *Rám*; Mg. दुर्गी, E. H. दुर्गिया *Durgá*. See my V<sup>th</sup> Essay on Gd. Gramm. in J. B. A. S. XLIII, 36. The W. H. has अया, ऐया, अई, ऐ for E. H. अवा, औवा, अउ, औ of the fourth and sixth sets respectively; e. g., W. H. कन्हया, कन्हैया, कन्हई, कन्है *krishna*<sup>2</sup>).

1) E. g., sometimes ई migrates into the preceding syllable, as in B. काशे or केसे for E. H. कसिया *kási* (abbreviated for *kásināth*).

2) By way of illustration compare तलैया *pond* = Mg. तलायये = Skr. तडाककः of तडाक, with कन्हैया = Mg. कण्हयये = Skr. \*कृष्णककः of कृष्ण.



गच्छिया, गच्छैया, गच्छई, गच्छै *pit*; etc. In H. H. these pleonastic forms, being more or less vulgar, are not usually employed; but there are a few exceptions, such as बछवा *calf*, कछवा or कछुवा *butter*; etc.

203. *Derivation.* The original of all these suff. is the suff. क which is sometimes employed in Skr. to form diminutives, as पुत्रकः *little son*, but is more often merely pleonastic. In Pr. it is still more extensively used in the latter way; see Vr. 4, 25 in Cw. 140. H. C. 2, 164. Ls. 258. Wb. Spt. 69. 70, especially in the Ap. Pr.; see H. C. 4, 429. 430. Ls. 341. 475. E. H. employs it, in some cases (cf. § 204), even more frequently than Pr. In the latter the suff. क generally becomes ख, but sometimes remains unaltered. The latter is especially the case in Ps. Pr. (cf. H. C. 2, 164). in Sr. and Mg. Pr. (K. I. 12, 1 in Ls. Ap. 50. cf. Ls. 378. 396), and in Ap. Pr. (K. I. 13, 3 in Ls. 449. 457). The Mg. Pr. moreover, — particularly in its lower types — has not only a tendency to retain क, but even to prolong the preceding vowel<sup>1)</sup>, thus making the suff. खाक, ईक, उक Md. 12, 16: cf. Wb. Bh. 348. Ls. 431)<sup>2)</sup>. In one case, Mg. shortens the preceding अ and compensates it by doubling क; viz. in हउक्के *heart* (Md. 12, 13. Vr. 11, 6. K. I. 11, 3 in Ls. 393), for \*हडाके, Skr. हृदयकन्, Ps. हितअकं (Vr. 10, 14) or हितपकं (H. C. 4, 310), but Mh. हिस्रयअं (cf. H. C. 2, 164). Further the suff. क is sometimes *reduplicated* in Pr., thus making it अकअ (for कक, H. C. 2, 164. 4, 430)<sup>3)</sup> or in Mg. कअ or झकअ.

1) Thus in the Mchh. the Mg. form केलक is much more common than its alternative केलअ. It may be remarked, that since the natural tendency in Pr. is to elide hard consonants, the effort to retain them would tend either to their being doubled or to the lengthening of the preceding vowel.

2) Md. 12, 16 कं दीर्घो वा । कप्रत्यये परे पूर्वो दीर्घो वा स्यात् ॥ i. e. „the vowel preceding the suff. क may optionally be long“. The MS. reads पूर्वादीर्घो (?); the example is: लाउसाके । लाउपाके (?).

3) The example in H. C. 2, 164 is बहुअयं, E. H. बहुअवा.

इकम्, उकम्. Thus in Mg. the suff. क may have the following forms (in the nom. sing. incl. final of base): 1) अर्, इर्, उर् by elision of क्; 2) अके, इके, उके or आके, ईके, ऊके by retaining क्; 3) अकर्, इकर्, उकर् or आकर्, ईकर्, ऊकर् by reduplicating the suff. and retaining क्; 4) अअर्, इअर्, उअर् by reduplicating the suff. and eliding क्. In E. H., the first Pr. set is either *contracted* to आ, ई, ऊ (cf. §§ 47. 49. 98, exc.), or *separated* (by inserting वृ or वृ § 69) into अवा, इवा, उवा<sup>1</sup>); the result being the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> E. H. sets. Exceptionally the Pr. hiatus is retained in E. H. इड्, which is apparently the same as the Ap. Pr. termination इड्. The second Pr. set becomes in E. H. either अक्, इक्, उक् (cf. § 45) or अक्क्, इक्क्, उक्क् by doubling क् and shortening the preceding vowel; thus forming the E. H. 2<sup>nd</sup> set. The third Pr. set again is in E. H. either *contracted* to अका, इका, उका and अक्का, इक्का, उक्का, or *separated* into अकवा, इकवा, उकवा and अक्कवा, इक्कवा, उक्कवा; thus producing the E. H. 3<sup>d</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> sets. Finally the fourth Pr. set becomes in E. H. औवा (contracted for \*अवन्वा, cf. § 34), इयवा (or इअवा or contr. ईवा § 83, exc.), उअवा (or उववा or contr. उवा § 84, exc.) by inserting वृ or वृ; thus constituting the E. H. 6<sup>th</sup> set. E. g., Skr. घोटकः *horse*, Mg. घोडर् or (gen.) घोडआह् (§ 369, 2), E. H. घोर् or घोर्न्वा; Skr. \*घोटकः. Mg. (gen.) घोडआह्, E. H. घोर्नैवा (for \*घोर्ववा); or Skr. मिष्टकः *sweet*, Mg. मिट्टर् or मिट्टके or मिट्टाके, E. H. मीठा or मिठक् or मिठक्क्; Skr. \*मिष्टकः, Mg. मिट्टकर् or मिट्टाकर्, E. H. मिठका or मिठक्का or मिठकवा or मिठक्कवा; etc. Similarly in the feminine: 1) Pr. इअ and उअ = H. H. ई and ऊ (§ 51) or इवा and उवा; 2) Pr. \*अकी, \*इकी, \*उकी<sup>2</sup>) or आकी, ईकी, ऊकी = E. H. अक्, इक्, उक् or अक्क्, इक्क्, उक्क् (§ 43); 3) Pr. अकिअ, इकिअ, उकिअ or आकिअ, ईकिअ, उकिअ = E. H. अकी, इकी, उकी or अक्की, इक्की, उक्की or अकिया, इकिया, उकिया or अक्किया, इक्किया, उक्किया; 4) Pr. \*इअअ, \*उअअ<sup>2</sup>), (= \*इकका, \*उकका) = E. H. इयवा, उअवा (or उववा). Thus Skr.

1) For an explanation of the final आ of these forms see §§ 365, 1. 369, 2

2) When क् is retained or the suff. reduplicated, the fem. appears to have been formed irregularly.

मृत्तिका *earth*, Mg. मृत्तिका (cf. H. C. 2, 29), E. H. माटो or मटिया; Skr. \*मृत्तिकका, Mg. मृत्तिका, E. H. मटियवा; or Skr. मिट्टा or मिट्टिका *sweet*, Mg. मिट्टा or मिट्टिका, E. H. मीठ् or मीठो or मिठिया; Skr. \*मिट्टी, Mg. मिट्टी or मिट्टी, E. H. मिठक् or मिठक्; Skr. \*मिट्टिका, Mg. मिट्टिका or मिट्टिका, E. H. मिठकी or मिठकी or मिठिया or मिठिया; etc.

204. *Origin.* The original of the suff. क I am inclined to believe to be the past part. pass. कृत *done* for the following reason. There are two main elements क and उ or ल. Each of them exists in a twofold use, as a pleonastic or a derivative suffix. It will be shown, that the latter (उ or ल) in its two uses is essentially the same element and has the same origin (Skr. दृष्ट), see §§ 218. 244. 248. 251. The same, probably, is true of the former (क) also. It will be shown in §§ 280. 338 that the suff. क — as a derivative one, at least — has originated from the part. कृत; and in § 377, that the genitive affix क has the same origin.

205. *Origin of the pleonastic forms.* Skr. possesses bases in ऋ, इ and उ. The declension of the bases in इ and उ is intricate; at least, as they form a very small minority, it was much less familiar, than that of the ऋ-bases. Hence the custom sprang up in Pr., of adding the suff. क to the इ- and उ-bases, in order to turn them into ऋ-bases; and from habit, it was extended to the ऋ-bases themselves; thus tending to produce a uniform kind of declension. We shall observe (§ 347) a similar levelling tendency of Pr. in regard to the treatment of the verbal roots whereby the diversity of the Skr. conjugation was reduced to a uniform pattern. In E. H., this uniformity of declension has become an established fact. In the meanwhile, however, the result of the Pr. habit of adding the suff. क was, to produce a double set of forms of the same meaning; the *weak* forms in ए, ई, उ, and the *strong* in (Mg.) ऋ, इ, उ. This must have been felt to be inconvenient. In Gd., therefore, the custom grew up of using only one set; and in the struggle for existence, thus ensuing between the two

sets, the harder one (i. e., that of the *strong* forms), will naturally survive. The tendency to extinction of the weak forms is, indeed, unmistakeable in Gd. In E. and W. H., the weak forms in इ and उ (probably from having suffered longest the addition of the suff. क) are altogether extinct in adj., and, to a considerable extent, in subst. also. The case of the weak form in अ, in W. H., is not very different from this. But the E. H. has more nearly preserved the older. i. e. Pr., stage, particularly in regard to adj.; though it also shows signs of the same general tendency. in preferring strong fem. in ई and strong long forms in का, कौ (see §§ 196. 198). — Another reason for the frequent addition of the suff. क in Pr. was its preference (common to all popular languages) for the use of diminutives. This habit continued in Gd., in whose more uncultivated forms, like the E. H., it is very marked. But as the Pr. strong (or diminutive) forms in अद्, इद्, उद्, in their contracted Gd. forms अ, ई, उ, had been generally substituted in Gd. in the place of the (more or less) extinct Pr. weak (or non-diminutive) forms, Gd. was obliged to distinguish its diminutive (but, in vulgar speech, pleonastic) forms by some new device. Accordingly वृ and वृ were inserted in the Pr. strong terminations, and thus were produced the long termin. अवा, इवा, उवा of the E. H. The excess of this popular tendency is exhibited in the reduplication of those forms in the redundant terminations औवा, इयवा, उअवा.

*Second Group.*

206.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1.	अह्	अहा	अही
	2.	आह्	—	—

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others containing the suff. अ, ई of the 1<sup>st</sup> set 1<sup>st</sup> group are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

207. These suff. are sometimes added to adj. or subst. of the weak form: Thus: अह् in गडह् or गड् *fort*, from गड् *enclosure*; अहा in गडहा (or गडा), from गड or गडा *cavity*; m. बडर्हा, f. ०ही, from बडर् or m. बडर्हा, f. ०ही *mad* (W. H. बावल् or बावल्ता); m.

मिरकटहा, f. °ही *feeble* (also मिरकुटहा), from मरकट *monkey* (?); again \*आह् in m. f. बउराह् *mad*.

208. *Derivation.* These suff. are closely allied to those of first group. Their original is the Skr. pleon. suff. क, the क् of which is elided in Pr. and replaced in Gd. by ह् (see § 69). Thus we have in Mg. Pr. (in the nom. sg., and incl. of the final अ of the base) मए (i. e. मकः), in E. H. मह् (for महे); or adding pleon. अ (= क, i. e., doubling क) we have Mg. m. ममए, E. H. ममा, Mg. f. मममा, E. H. ममी. In Mg. the vowel, preceding क, may be lengthened, m. माके, f. माकी, or (eliding क्) मए, मई; whence, inserting ह्, arises E. H. m. f. माह् (= माह, माही). E. g., Skr. गर्तक, Mg. गट्टुके or गट्टुए, E. H. गडह् or गह्; Skr. वातुलक, Mg. वाउलाके or वाउलाए, E. H. वउराह्; or Mg. m. वाउलकके or वाउलमए, E. H. वउरहा, f. Mg. वाउलइमा, E. H. वउरही. By way of illustration compare E. H. घटिहा *inferior, low-priced*, Mg. घटिमए, Skr. घटितकः.

*Third Group.*

209. Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1) a.	अर or अह्	अरा or अडा	अरी or अडो
b.	— —	अरल् or अहू	अरल् or अहू
2)	एर or एह्	एरा or एडा	एरी or एडो
3)	ओर or ओह्	ओरा or ओडा	ओरी or ओडो
4) a.	अल् or अरू	अला or अरा	अली or अरी
5) a.	एल् or एरू	एला or एरा	एली or एरी
b.	ईल् or ईरू	ईला or ईरा	ईली or ईरी
c.	इल् or इरू	इला or इरा	इली or इरी
6) a.	ओल् or ओरू	ओला or ओरा	ओली or ओरी
b.	उल् or उरू	उला or उरा	उली or उरी
c.	उल् or उरू	उला or उरा	उली or उरी
7) a.	अन्	अना	अनी
b.	उन्	उना	उनी

The forms with ह् are properly W. H., and are rarely used in E. H. (see § 29). Most of the forms with ल् may be, and commonly are pronounced with रू (see § 30); some, however, have always ल्, others always रू. All forms of com. gen. are weak, the others con-

taining the pleon. suff. of the 1<sup>st</sup> set 1<sup>st</sup> group are strong. The forms अरू or अरू, contracted from Ap. Pr. अउ = \*अउक्, are properly W. H., and occur only exceptionally in E. H. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

210. The first set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus m. गठरू or गठरा, f. °री, of गाढ् (or गठा) *bundle*; चमरा, of चाम् *leather*; चीकरू (or कीचरू), of चीक् (or कीच्) *mud* (cf. § 133); खब्बोरू, of खब्बू *glutton*, टुकरा, f. °री, of टूक् (Skr. स्तोक्) *piece*; पटरा, f. °री, of पट् (or पटा) *board*; पलंगरा, f. °री, of पलंग् *bedstead*; बहरा, f. °री or m. f. बहरू *calf, colt*, of बह् (or बहा) *young*; भूखरू, of भूख् (or भूखा) *hungry*; भूलकरू, of भूलक् *forgetful*; मोटरा, of मोट् *bundle*; मेहरारू, of मेहर् *woman*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused, as सैकरा *a hundred*, of \*सैक् (A. Mg. सयक्क, Skr. शतक); टोकरा *basket*, of \*टोक्; बोरू or थोरा, f. °री *little*, of \*थो (Pr. थोअ, Skr. स्तोक्, cf. § 97); झोकरा or झौरा *boy* and झोकरे or झौरि *girl*, of \*झोक् or \*झो (see § 198 exc.); डेरारू, f. डेरि *goat*, of \*डे (Mg. डाय, Skr. डाम्); अगारि *front*, of \*अगाम् (Skr. अग्र); पहारि *back*, of \*पाह् (Skr. पश्च); पहारू *mountain* and पहार, *multiplication-table*, of \*पहा (Skr. प्रयित *extended*, see § 118); etc. See also § 104.

211. The second and third sets occur in subst. and adj.; very rarely; thus बहेरा *colt*, बहेरी *filly*, of बह् (or बहा) *young*; बनेरू or बनेरा, f. °री, of बन् *much*; गडोरा, of गाड् (or गडा) *pit*.

212. The fourth set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus मोटलू or मोटला, f. °ली, of मोट् (or मोटा) *fat*; जेठरा, f. °री, of जेठ् (or जेठा) *eldest*; रसररा, f. °री, of \*रस्स् or रस्सा *cord*; मुहरा *vanguard*, मुहरी *cuff, bore of a gun*, of मुह् *mouth*; हथलू or हथरी, of हाथ् or हथा *handle*; सुतला or सुतरा, f. °री *string*, of सूत् *thread*; परला, f. °ली, of पास् *beyond*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as अगला, f. ली *former*, of \*अगाम् (Skr. अग्र; Ap. Pr. अगलउ H. C. 4, 341); मउली *mother*, of M. माउ, E. H. माई (Skr. मातृ, cf. § 63).

213. The fifth and sixth sets occur in subst. and adj.; rarely; thus the 5<sup>th</sup> set in पतीलू or पतीला or पतिला, of पात् *pot, pan*; खपरलू, of खपरू (or खपरा) *tile* (see § 175, note); मुरेला, of मोरू *peacock*; सपेला, of साप् *snake*; अधेला, of आध् *one half*; पडला, of पाय् *a quarter*;

अकेला or इकेला, of एक *one, solitary*. The 6<sup>th</sup> set in सपोला, of साप् *snake*; कंकरोला, of ककरू (or ककरी) *gourd*; बतोला, of बात् *talk*; बाँसुली or बाँसुरी *flute*, of बाँस् *bamboo* (see § 128); बाँकुरा *swaggerer*, of बाँक् *fop*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as in अगिला *foremost*, of अग (Skr. अग्र); मकेला or मकिला or मकोला *muddle*, of \*माक् (Skr. मध्य); पहिल् or °ला *last*, of \*पाह् (Skr. पश्च), पहिल् or °ला *first* (cf. § 118).

214. The seventh set occurs in pronouns and sometimes in nouns; thus pron. अइसन् of *this kind*, तइसन् of *that kind*; कइसन् of *which kind*, जइसन् of *which kind*, of \*अइम्, \*तइस्, etc.; see §§ 111. 456—458; ऐतना, f. °नी *this much*, ओतना, f. °नी *that much*; तेतना, f. °नी *so much*; केनना, f. °नी *how much*; जेतना, f. °नी *as much*. of एत्, तेत्, etc.; see §§ 111. 452—454; आपुन् or आपन् or अपुना or अपना, f. °नी *own*, of \*आप् (Skr. आत्मिय), see § 111; तवन्, f. तउनी *he, that*; कवन्, f. कउनी *who*; जवन्, f. जउनी *which*, of \*तेव्, \*केव्. \*जेव्, see §§ 106. 438, 2. Again nouns: झोना, f. झोनी *young of an animal*, from \*झो, see § 210; घुयना, f. °नी, of घोय् *mouth of an animal*; जामुन्, of जाम् *rose-apple*. see § 111.

215. None of these suff. alter the meaning of the word; though sometimes they restrict it to some particular application; as बह् or बह्रा is *any young animal*, but बह्रा is a *calf* or *colt* and बह्रेरा a *colt*; मकेली or मकोली a *kind of carriage of muddling size*; मिठरी a *particular kind of sweetmeat*; etc. Sometimes, they imply smallness, as मुरेला a *peachuck*; सपोला a *young snake*; अँखरी a *wink*, lit. a small अँख् or *eye*. Sometimes, again, they express likeness, in which case they are more properly to be considered derivative suff., see §§ 241. 245; thus तमरा a *certain jewel of copper color* (lit. like ताम् or *copper*); लखरी a *false stone resembling a लाल् or ruby*; पातुर or पतुरा *thin, weak*, lit. like a पात् or *leaf*. Sometimes both; thus पुतरा or पुतला, f. °री or °ली *idol, doll*, lit. a *little* or like a पूत् *son*; चीलर or चीलहर *louse*, lit. a *small* or like a चील् *hawk*. — It should be remarked, however, that in the nouns in री or ली which imply smallness, as गठरी, पलंगरी, पटरी, टुक्की, टोकरी, मोटरी, पतौली, सुतली, रसरि, etc. (cf. §§ 210. 213), that quality is denoted by the gender

(cf. §§ 256. 257), not by the suffix: for their corresponding masculines always imply largeness; e g., गठरा *large bundle*, गठरी *small bundle*, etc.

216. *Affinities.* All Gd. languages possess this group of pleon. suff., see Bs. II, 115—122. As to S., especially, see Tr. 71. 77—79; as to M. see Man. 34. 113. 114. Their forms do not materially differ in any of them from those in use in E. H. But S. has always एरो for एलो; M. has sometimes ह् for इ (§ 217), and S. sometimes इ for ल्, as in लिखंदु *writer* from लिखंदो, but generally लु, as डिठलु *seen* from डिठो (Tr. 71). Here S. uses the pleon. लु or डु to turn part. into adj.; in the same way G. uses लो (Ed. 113) and M. एला (e. g., मेला *part.* or मेलेला *adj. dead*, Man. 63, 2. 64, 2). For the same purpose Mw. uses डो and N. को, though more in the manner of an affix; e. g., Mw. लिख्यो *part.* and लिख्योडो *adj.*, N. लिख्यो or लिखियो *part.* and लिख्याको *adj. written*.

217. *Derivation.* All these pleon. suff. occur in Pr. (H. C. 2, 164. 165. 166. 173); more especially in Mg. Pr. (Wb. Bh. 437) and Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 429. 430). Here (in the Ap. Mg.) they have, in the nom. sg. and incl. of the final of the base, the following forms: 1) m. छडे, f. छडी (H. C. 4, 431) or, with the pleon. suff. च added, m. छडए, f. छडिआ. These change into the first E. H. set, m. f. छड् or छर and m. छडा or चरा, f. छडी or चरी; e. g., Ap. Mg. गंठडे (Skr. ग्रन्थ H. C. 4, 120), E. H. गठर; Mg. गंठडए, E. H. गठरा; Mg. गंठडिआ, E. H. गठरी. 2) The same, with the pleon. च added to the base of the word, m. छछडे, f. छछडी and m. छछडए, f. छछडिआ. These, by inserting य् (§ 69) and contracting चय to ए (§ 121), result in the E. H. second set, m. f. एड् or एर and m. एडा or एरा, f. एडी or एरी; or by inserting व् (§ 69) and contracting चव to ओ (§ 122) result in the E. H. third set, m. f. ओड् or ओर and m. ओडा or ओरा, f. ओडी or ओरी; e. g., Ap. Mg. धपाछडे or धपायडे, E. H. धनेर; Ap. Mg. वच्छछडए or वच्छयडए, E. H. वछेरा; Ap. Mg. वच्छछडिआ or वच्छयडिआ, E. H. वछेरी; again Ap. Mg. गडुछडए or गडुवडए (Skr. गर्त H. C. 2, 35), E. H. गडोरा. 3) Mg. m. छल्ले or छले, f. छल्ली or छली or, with pleon. च added, m. छल्लए or छलए, f. छल्लिआ



or अलिङ्गा. These produce the E. H. fourth set, m. f. अल् or अर् and m. अला or अरा, f. अली or अरी; thus Mg. नवल् new (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. नव), E. H. नवल्; Mg. एक्कल् (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. एक) *solitary*, E. H. इक्ला or इकरा; Mg. एक्कलिङ्गा, E. H. इक्ली or इकरी; again Mg. पीअल् *yellow* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पीत), E. H. पीला or पीरा (§ 97); Mg. अंधल् *blind* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. अन्ध), E. H. अंधला or अंधरा; Mg. पत्रल् *dish* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पात्र), E. H. पत्रल् or पत्रर्; Mg. बिज्जुलिङ्गा *lightning* (Ls. 2, 194. H. C. 2, 173. Skr. बिजुत्), E. H. बिजुली or बिजुरी; Ap. Mg. अगल् *anterior* (cf. H. C. 4, 141. 444. Skr. अग्र), E. H. अगला. 4) Mg. m. इल् or इले, f. इली or इली or, with pleon. अ added, m. इल् or इल, f. इलिङ्गा or इलिङ्गा. These constitute the E. H. fifth set, m. f. एल् or ईल् or इल् and m. एला or ईला or इला, f. एली or ईली or इली; thus Mg. m. मङ्गिल् or मङ्गिल् *middle* (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. मध्य), E. H. मङ्गला or मङ्गला; Mg. f. मङ्गलिङ्गा or मङ्गलिङ्गा, E. H. मङ्गली or मङ्गली; Mg. पढमिल् (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. प्रथम), E. H. पढेल् or पढिल् (§ 118); again Mg. तेन्गिल् (cf. H. C. 2, 157 see §§ 58.111), E. H. तेतना, G. तेतलो, S. तेतिरी; Mg. f. तेन्गलिङ्गा, E. H. तेतनी, G. तेतली, S. तेतिरी; again Mg. पत्रिल्लं or पत्रिल्लं *dish, vessel* (Skr. पात्र), E. H. पतोला or पतिला, etc. 5) Mg. m. उल् or उले, f. उली or उली or, with pleon. अ added, m. उल् or उल, f. उलिङ्गा or उलिङ्गा. These give rise to the E. H. sixth set, m. f. ओल् or उल् or उल्, and m. ओला or उला or उला, f. ओली or उली or उली; thus Ap. Mg. m. मङ्गुल् *middle* (Skr. मध्य), E. H. मङ्गला; Ap. Mg. f. मङ्गुलिङ्गा, E. H. मङ्गली; Mg. मुहुल् (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. मुख), E. H. मुहुरा *vanguard*; Mg. ह्युलिङ्गा (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. हस्त) *handle*, E. H. ह्युरी or ह्यरी; Mg. अपुल् (see §§ 60.111), E. H. आपुन् or आपन्; Ap. Mg. तेन्गुल् (cf. H. C. 4, 435., see §§ 58.111), E. H. तेतना; etc. 6) with pleon. अ added, m. पा, f. पाङ्गा, n. पाङ्ग. These become the E. H. seventh set, m. ना, f. नी; thus Mg. अप्पाङ्ग (§ 60, note), E. H. अपना; Mg. अप्पाङ्गा, E. H. अपनी. I believe this is the only example of the pleon. suff. ना in Pr. A comparison with E. H. shows: 1) that the Pr. अप्पाङ्ग (H. C. 2, 153) stands for \*अप्पाङ्ग = अप्पुल्लं (H. C. 2, 163); and 2) that the न् of this set is a substitute for an original ल्

(or लृ), as in E. H. ज्ञामृन् (see § 111). Further a comparison of the various sets tends to show, that the Pr. suff. इल्ल, इल and उल्ल, उल are modifications of original forms एल and ओल, and that the latter are contractions of अयल and अवल, formed, by the insertion of वृ and वृ, from अवल and, by the prefixion of the pleon. अ, from the simple suff. अल. The latter (अल) itself is, probably, a mere modification of अउ, through the common interchange of उ and लृ (H. C. 1, 202); as shown by the S. विजुली *lightning* for Pr. विजुली<sup>1</sup>). As to the origin of अउ, see § 218. Of the change of अउ to अउ, now almost universal in W. Gd., there are apparently a few examples in Pr.; viz., Pr. दीहर् or दीहं *long* (H. C. 2, 171. Skr. दीर्घ), E. H. दीर् *a long while ago*; Pr. बाहर् or बाहं *external* (H. C. 2, 140. of Skr. बहिष्), E. H. m. f. बाहिर, m. बाहिरा, f. ०री. For it should be remembered that the old Pr. रृ is a cerebral (= र, see § 15), not (like the E. H.) a dental. The Skr. suff. ल and र (i. e. र), sometimes (espec. in later Skr.) used pleonastically, are, no doubt, identical with the corresponding Pr. ones. — The Skr. pleon. suff. ट (as in कर्कः or कर्कटः or कर्कटकः *crab*, Pr. कक्कडे or कक्कडो, E. H. केक्करू or केक्करा) is probably a hardening of the Pr. suff. उ, and adopted into Skr. in the ancient period of the Ps. Pr. With this would seem to agree the fact, that Psh. and, occasionally, S. possess a diminutive suff. ओटै or उटै (Tr. 77. Bs. II, 122). There are a few nouns of apparently similar formation in H.; but they may well be compounds; e. g., चमोटो *a strip of leather* = Skr. चर्म + पत्रिका; ब्राम्हनेटा *young brāhman* = Pr. ब्राम्हा + विदुओ (brāhman's son); हिरणोटा *fawn* = हिरण + पुत्र. B. has ओटे (S. Ch. 100) and M. ट (Man. 114).

218. *Origin.* The original of these pleon. suff. I believe to be the Skr. suff. (properly a noun) दृष *like*, which is added both to nouns and pronouns. In Pr. it appears as दह; e. g., in एदृहं (H. C. 2, 157) = Skr. ईदृषम् (lit. \*इयादृष = इयत् + दृष); and in

1) Thus: Skr. मध्यक<sup>०</sup> (or मध्यम<sup>०</sup>), Mg \*मत्तकअडे = \*मत्तकअले = \*मत्तकयले = \*मत्तकले = मत्तकले or मत्तकिले, E. H. मक्केल् or मक्किल्.

Ap. Pr. it occurs as डे or डु; e. g., in एवडे or एवडु (H. C. 4, 407) = Skr. \*एवदृष्टः (from Ved. ईवत् or Skr. एवम्). These Ap. forms डे and डु are, evidently, contractions for \*डहो and डहु resp., where ड् would easily arise from the Skr. दृ (just as Pr. डू from Skr. दृ H. C. 2, 36. 37) and °अह्° would be suppressed, as e. g. in S. इते or इत्ये *here* = Ap. इतहे (H. C. 4, 436., see §§ 468, a. 469). And the Ap. suff. डे and डु, being once established, would be treated in their further evolutions precisely as any other suff., and thus produce all the alternative sets, enumerated in § 209. Their initial ड् would be, (as usual) liable to change to ॡ or ॢ, ल् or ॣ, and न्. In the Gd. pronouns it actually has undergone all these changes; see §§ 104. 105. 106. 438, 2. 4. 454. — In confirmation of this theory, it is to be remarked: 1) that as shown in § 215, the original meaning *like* of the suff. ड or ल may still be traced in some words; 2) that a suff., meaning *like*, would easily come to be used diminutively and thence pleonastically, as may be seen in such English words as *such* and *such-like*, *kind* and *kindly*, or in the German *froh* and *frohlich*, *krank* and *kränklich*; the intermediate *diminutive* sense is more often preserved in S. and M. (see Bs. II, 117. 118); 3) that such a suff. may easily become a *derivative* one; as in the English *kingly*, i. e., *like a king* or *belonging to a king*, or in the German *todlich*, i. e., *full of death*, *mortal*, *peinlich*, i. e., *full of pain*. Accordingly, as will be shown in §§ 241. 245. 249., all these pleon. suff. occur also as derivative ones in Pr. and Gd.; 4) that in M. the suff. sometimes have the forms ढा, ढी (for डा, डी), which have preserved the original ह् of the Ap. Pr. \*हहो, \*डही, as in M. तेवढा (Man. 125) for Ap. Pr. तेवडु.

## 2. SECONDARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

219. The secondary derivative suff. may be divided into eighteen groups. Of these the eleven first consist of suff. which already existed as such in Pr., the remaining seven contain those which have become such in Gd., but were full nouns in Pr.

*First Group.*

220. Set. 1. Fem. अई. Set. 2. Fem. आई.

Both, containing the suff. ई of § 196., are strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

221. These suffixes are used to derive abstract nouns from adjectives. Weak and long forms take the first, strong forms the second set. Thus अई, in हलुअई *lightness*, of हलुअ *light*; ठंई *coldness*, of ठं *cold*; सधुअई *simplicity*, of सधुअ *simple*; भरियई *heaviness*, of भरिया *heavy*; etc. Again आई, in भलाई *goodness*, of भला *good*; बड़ाई *greatness*, of बड़ा *great*; मिठाई *sweetness*, of मीठा *sweet*; गोलाई *roundness*, of गोला *round*; etc.

222. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., though in M. they appear to be considered as non-indigenous and introduced from Hindí (see Man. 112). As to S. see T1. 58. In P. the suff. is occasionally added also to the long form of adj. in आ, not only (as in E. H.) to that of adj. in ऊ. That long form ends (as in W. H. see § 202) in अया, and अया is vocalized to इआ (cf. § 121); thus बड़ा *great*, lg. f. बड़ाया, whence बड़ाई *greatness* (see Ld. 13. Bs. II, 79). The आ in such forms is anomalous for अ, as will be seen by a reference to § 221; unless we suppose the base to have been the redundant, not the long form of the word. W. H. and H. H., too, have the anomalous आ; but E. H. has regularly अ; e. g., W. H. गहूआइ, but E. H. गहूअई *heaviness*. The H. H. often superfluously adds आई to tats. or semitats., which contain already the identical suff. ता; as H. H. कोमलताई *comeliness*; योग्यताई or तोमताई *worthiness*, etc.

223. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. taddhita ता (fem.), in Pr. दा or आ (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154). With the pleon. क superadded. it is Skr. तिका, Pr. दिआ or इआ or, incl. of the final अ of the base, अइआ, and Gd. अई (§ 51). And with pleon. अ (= क) added to the base we have Pr. अअइआ, contracted in Gd. अई. Thus Skr. मिष्टता or \*मिष्टतिका, Pr. मिट्टइआ, E. H. मिठई; and Skr. \*मिष्टकतिका, Pr. मिट्टअइआ, E. H. मिठाई; again Skr. \*साधुकतिका, Pr. साधुअइआ, E. H. सधुअई; etc. This derivation is

illustrated by E. H. अर्द्ध *two and a half*, which is contr. from Mg. अर्द्धार्द्ध (cf. Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 1, 101 and § 416). Skr. अर्धतृतीया.

*Second Group.*

224. Set. 1. Masc. अउ or आव्. Set 2. Masc. आन्.

Both sets are weak forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

225. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from a very small number of adj. expressive of dimension: viz., ऊँचाउ or ऊँचाव् or ऊँचान् *height*, of उँचा *high*; गहिराउ or गहिराव् or गहिरान् *depth*, of गहिरा *deep*, ओँडाउ or ओँडाव् or ओँडान् *depth*, of ओँडा *deep*; चोराउ or चोराव् or चोरान् *breadth, width*, of चोरा (H. H. चोग) *broad, wide*; लम्बाउ or लम्बाव् or लम्बान् *length*, of लम्बा *long*. The forms in आन् are properly and generally masc.; but are sometimes used as fem.

*Note.* There are also the ordinary forms in आर्द्ध (§ 229): as ऊँचार्द्ध, गहिरार्द्ध, लम्बार्द्ध, etc.

226. *Affinities.* These suff. are not strictly E. H., but introduced from the W. H.: and occur in all W. Gds. See Bs. II, 80. 81. Tr. 59. In S. they are fem., in G. neuter, and in P. masc. The fem. gender in S. is a Gd. formation, like that of the suff. पी, पणी §§ 228. 230. The tendency of abstract nouns is to become fem.: also in Mg. Pr. there is fem. ञा or neut. ञं for Skr. neut. त्वम्, see Wb. Bh. 437. S. appears to have occasionally आर्द्धिण for आर्णि. the former of which, probably, stands for अयानि and is to be explained like the P. इर्द्धा for आर्द्ध, see § 222. In S. the suff. आनि may be used with any adj. expressing an inherent quality; as अर्द्धाणि *whiteness*, कर्णाणि *blackness*, अर्द्धाणि *greatness*; etc.

227. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or (vedic) त्वन (cf. Wb. Spt. 68. 69). They become in Pr. (nom. sg.) तं or त्तां (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2. 154) or, incl. of the final अ of the base, अतं or अत्तां or (eliding त्, see § 153) अतं or अत्तां (see Spt. A. 52. अतस्तत्त्वात् = Skr. व्यत्यक्तत्वेन) or in Ap. Pr. अउ or अत्तु (cf. H. C. 4, 331). Now the Ap. form अउ or, with pleon. अ added to the base, अअउ contracts in H. to अउ or आव्;

and the Ap. form अन्नण् contracts to H. अन्. E. g., Skr. उच्चकत्वम् *height*, Pr. उच्चन्नं or उच्चन्नं, Ap. उच्चन्न, E. H. उँचाउ or उँचाव्; again Skr. \*उच्चन्नम्, Pr. उच्चन्ना or उच्चन्ना, Ap. उच्चन्ना, E. H. उँचान्. S. has, apparently, preserved the न्न in मुखितण्<sup>1)</sup> *duty of a मुखी headman* (Tr. 61), but not in चोकिराट् *boyhood*, which is probably a comp. of चोक् and वट् (Ap. for Skr. वृत्तम्).

*Third Group.*

228.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.
	1) a. प्पा	b. प् or पा	—
	2) a. प्पन्	b. पन् or पना	पनी

The suff. in प्पा and प्पन् are strong, the others are weak forms. Those with प्पा are added to weak, those with प् to strong bases; but पना, पनी to either.

229. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from subst. or adj. The forms प्पन् or पन्, however, are those commonly employed. Thus प् in ब्रूष्पा *old age*, of ब्रूष् *old*; प्पा or पा in ब्रूष्पा *old age*, झोटप्पा or झोटपा *smallness*, of झोट् or झोटा *small*; मोटप्पा or मोटपा *fatness*, of मोट् or मोटा *fat*; रूडप्पा *widowhood*, of रूड् *widow*; etc.; प्पन् or पन् in ब्रूष्पन् or ब्रूष्पन् *greatness* (cf. H. C. 4, 437), of ब्रूष् or ब्रूष् *great*; सुधापन् *simplicity*, of सूधा *simple*; गुरुपन् or गुरुपन् *heaviness*, of \*गुरु or गुरु *heavy*; बालकपन् *childhood*, of बालक् *child*, etc.; पना or पनी in झोटपना *smallness*; लुचपना or लुचपनी *profligacy*, of लुच् *profligate*; ज्ञानपनी *knowingness, knowledge*, of ज्ञान् (Skr. ज्ञानी § 191) *knowing*; पात्रीपना *profligacy*, of पात्री *profligate*, etc.

*Note:* Exceptionally the suff. appears to be added to a verbal root, as in खुजलापन् *itching*, from खुजलाच् *to itch*; but in reality it is added to the noun \*खुजला (cf. M. वाजस. Man. 115) *itch*, which, however, is now used only as a fem. खुजलो.

230. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds.; though they seem to be less common in B. and O., than in the others

1) It is more probably the Ap. Pr. suff. तण् (see H. C. 4, 422, 20); viz., Ap. मुखितण् scl. वट्.

(see Bs. II, 73). M. has पण् n., पणा m. (Man. 112); S. प fem., पो m.; पाई f., पी f., पणु m., पणो m. (Tr. 59—61); G. पो m., पण् m., पणु n. (Ed. 14); P. पा m., पुण् or पुणा m. (Ld. 13., e. g., उचक्कपुणा *business of a उचक्का pickpocket*); B. has पन् m., पना or (Bs. II, 71) anomalously पाना; O. has पण् m., पणिन्ना f. (e. g., भौउपणिन्ना *roguery*). B. and O. have more commonly मि (or अमि); as लुचामि *profligacy*, भौडामि *roguery*, ढिलामि *laziness* of ढोला, see Bs. II, 77.

231. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or, (vedic) त्वन (see § 227). They become in Ap. Pr. (nom. sg.) त्वं or त्वणं (H. C. 4, 437. Ls. 460) or, with pleon. अ added, त्वञ्चं or त्वणञ्चं. The Ap. त्वं and त्वञ्चं become in E. H. प् and प्वा or पा respectively; and the Ap. त्वणं and त्वणञ्चं become E. H. पन् or पन् and पना, whence E. H. makes fem. पनी. Thus Skr. वृद्धत्वम्, Ap. वृद्धत्वं (cf. H. C. 1, 131), E. H. वुढाप; Skr. \*वृद्धत्वकं, Ap. वृद्धत्पञ्चं, E. H. वुढप्वा or वुढापा; Skr. \*वृद्धत्वनम्, Ap. वृद्धत्पणं, E. H. वुढपन् or वुढापन्; Skr. \*वृद्धत्वनकम्, Ap. वृद्धत्पणञ्चं, E. H. वुढापना or वुढापनी: etc. The अ in the E. H. forms अपा, आपन् might be the usual result of the simplification of the conjunct त्व्, but is more likely to be the strong termination of the base, as shown by the M., which changes that अ to ए, as भलेपण् *goodness* (Man. 112) for E. H. भलापन्; i. e., M. adds पन् to the strong form भले = भलव = Pr. भल्वञ्च = Skr. भद्रक. In the B. and O. मि the प् has been apparently softened to म्.

#### Fourth Group.

232.	Set.	Com. gen.	Fem.
	1)	वंत् or वत्	वंती or वती
	2)	मंत् or मत्	मंती or मती

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. Strong masc. forms (ac वता, etc.) do not exist.

233. The weak suff. are used to derive *possessional* adj. from subst. of the weak form. Thus वंत् or वत् in धनवंत् or धनवत् (m. f.) *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*; भगतवत् or वत् *faithful*, of भगत् *faith*; सोमवंत् or वत् *sorrowful*, of सोम् *sorrow*; पुन्रवंत् or वत् *virtuous*, of

पुन् *virtue*; जयवन्त् or वत् *victorious*, of जय् *victory*; मानवन्त् or वत् *proud*, of मान् *pride*; भगवन्त् or वत् *fortunate, excellent*, of भग् *fortune, excellence*, etc. Again मन्त् or मत् in सिरिमन्त् or सिरिमत् (m. f.) *excellent*, of सिरि *excellence*, हनुमन्त् or मत् *monkey*, of हनु *jaw*; भक्तिमन्त् or मत् *devoted*, of भक्ति *devotion*; पुनमन्त् or मत् *virtuous*, of पुन् *virtue*; etc.

234. The strong fem. suff. are commonly used to derive abstract nouns from their respective possessional adj., as धनवती *wealthiness*, of धनवन्त् *wealthy*, सोचवती *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवन्त् *thoughtful*, of सोच् *thought*, etc.; see §§ 256. 257

235. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds., exc. S. See Bs. II, 106. As to M. see Man. 114. H. H. and the H. Gds. generally are fond of using the tats. forms, m. वान्, f. वती; as रूपवान् *beautiful*, f. रूपवती; धनवान् *wealthy*, f. धनवती; दयावान् *merciful*, f. दयावती, etc. In E. H., however, as distinguished from H. H., the tats. forms do not occur, except in a few proper names, as भगवान् *God*, भगवती *the goddess Gaudi*, etc.; हनुमान् *the monkey-god*, etc. S. has the suff. वान् m., वानी f. (Tr. 76. 99), as m. सोलवान्, f. सोलवानी. E. H. m. f. सोलवन्त् or वत्; H. H. m. सोलवान्, f. सोलवती *amiable*. This S. form has in exceptional cases crept into the other Gds.; as H., M., G. गाडीवान् or गाडीवान् *coachman* (see Man. 113. Ed. 14).

236. *Derivation*. The originals of these suff. are the Skr. taddh. वत् and मत्, which become in Pr. वंत and मत (Vr. 4, 35. H. C. 2, 159). Whence in the Mg. nom. sg. m. वंते and मंते, f. वंती and मंती; in E. H. m. f. वन्त् and मन्त् (§§ 43. 45) or वत् and मत् (§§ 143. 146). Or with pleon. अ added, in Mg. f. वंतिआ and मंतिआ. E. H. वंती and मंती or वती and मती (§ 51). Thus Skr. m. धनवान्, Mg. धपावन्त, E. H. धनवन्त् or वत्; Skr. f. धनवती, Mg. धपावन्ती, E. H. धनवन्ती or वती; again Skr. f. ~धनवतिका, Mg. धपावन्तिआ, E. H. धनवन्ती or वती (scl. वृत्ति *condition*). The S. वान्, f. वानी, though, probably, ultimately connected with the Skr. suff., are independent of the Pr. m. वंतो, f. वंती; for they exist also in Pers., and there are no forms मान्, मानी in S., corresponding to Pr. मंतो, मंती.



*Fifth Group.*

237. Set. 1) Com. gen. आइत् (§ 82). Masc. अइत् or ऐत्.

Fem. अइती or ऐती (§§ 25. 77)

The suff. of com. gen. is a weak, the others are strong forms.

238. These suff. occur only with a very few subst. from which they are used to derive possessional adj.; and from the latter abstract nouns are derived by means of the fem. strong form (see § 257). Thus ढलाइत् *shield-bearer*, ढलइती or ढलैती *office of sh.*, from ढाल् *shield*; वरहाइत् *spearsman*, of वरहा *spear*; कडवाइत् *warrior-hard*, of कडवा *war-song*; लिंगाइत् *a ling-worshipper*, of लिंगे *phallus*; चर्चाइत् *talker*, of चर्चा *talk*; नताइत् *kinsman*, of नाता *kin*; कराइत् or करइता or करैता *the name of a very poisonous snake*, of कारा or काला *black*; उकाइत् *robber* and उकइती or उकैती *profession of robbery*, of डाका *robbery*; अहुताइत् (fem.) *abundance*, of अहुत् *much*.

239. *Affinities.* These suff. are properly W. Gd., more especially S., whence they have exceptionally passed (mostly in technical terms) into the other Gds. In S. they are: 1) m. एतो, f. एती (for \*अइतो, \*अइती) added to weak bases, as पुट्टेतो *having a son*, of पुट्ट *son* (base पुट्. Skr. पुत्र); and 2) m. आइतो, f. आइती added to strong bases, as वाराइतो *opportune*, of वारो *time* (base वार = वारश्च, Skr. वार्क). P. has occasionally the form ऐत् or ऐद् (see Bs. II, 102).

240. *Derivation.* These suff. may have been originally connected with those of the fourth group. For in Vr. 4. 25. H. C. 2, 159 the Pr. originals इत or इत्त are mentioned in close connection with वत and मत. The latter, incl. of the final अ of the base, would be अवत and मवत or (ehding व् and म्) अवत्त, or (inserting व्. § 69) अवत्त, or (vocalizing व्, § 121) अइत्त, or (again detaching the अ of the base) इत्त. Thus Pr. माणइतो or माणइती *proud* (H. C. 2, 159) would be = माणवतो = माणवतो, माणवतो = Skr. मानवान्. With pleon. अ added to the suff., they are Pr. m. अइत्तओ, f. अइत्तिया; S. m. एतो, f. ऐती. Or with pleon. अ added to the base, Pr. m. अअइतो, f. अअइती, E. H. m. or f. आइत्; and with pleon. अ added to both the base and suff., Pr. m. अअइत्तओ, f. अअइत्तिया; S. m. आइतो, f. आइती; E. H. m. अइत्ता or ऐता, f. अइती or ऐती. — There are, however, a few

words of a similar form, such as चडाइत् or चडाइता or चडेता *rider, trooper*, दंगाइत् or f. दंगाइती or दंगैती *quarrelsome*, अकडाइत् *swaggerer*, etc., which seem to require a different explanation. They are clearly *primary* derivatives of the Rs. चड् mount, दांग् quarrel, अकड् strut; viz., probably, part. pres. of the denom. verbs चडाव्, दंगाव्, अकडाव् (see §§ 349. 352). The suff. of such part. would be in Skr. आपयन्, in Pr. आवेन्तो or आवन्तो. The latter would change to आवन्तो, आवन्तो, आवन्तो or आवन्तो, and in Gd. आडत्. Possibly the first mentioned derivatives, also, are to be explained in this way, as denominative participles, instead of possessional adj. This is the explanation suggested by Ls. 289. 290. It is favored by the fact that both examples in Vr. 4, 25., viz., रोसाइन्तो *angry* and पापाइन्तो *alive*, end in आवन्तो with long *ā*. Those in H. C. 2, 159., viz., कव्वाइन्तो *poetical* and मापाइन्तो *proud*, indeed, end in अइन्तो with *ā*; but this need be no objection: as Pr. may, optionally, shorten the denom. suff. आव् to अ, see H. C. 4, 37. Wb. Spt. 65.

*Sixth Group.*

241.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	आल् or आर्	आला or आरा	आली or आरी
	2)	आल् or आर्	आलू or आरू	आलू or आरू

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, and the use of the alternative forms with ल् and र्, see § 195, note.

242. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. In some cases, the word has been restricted to some particular secondary meaning. Thus the first set in तोद्दाल् or तोद्दार् or m. ०रा, f. री *pot-bellied*, of तोद्दू *belly*; रसाल् *sugar-cane* or *mango-tree* (lit. *juicy*), of रस् *juice*; पत्ताल् f. or पत्तारा or ०ला m. *a large double water-bag of leather carried across a bullock's back, with one half suspended on each side of it* (lit. *two-sided*), of पाख् *side*; रेताला *sandy*, of रेत् *sand*; दुधार् or दधाल् *milch-cow*, of दूध् *milk* (M. दुधाल्), etc. Again the 2<sup>nd</sup> set in दयाल् or दयाल् m. or f. *merciful*, of दय् (Skr. दय) *mercy*; लजाल् or लजाल् *bashful*, of लज् *shame*; perhaps also कगाराल् *quarrelsome* of कगार् *quarrel*; but see §§ 308. 312.

*Note:* In some words the suff. is probably pleonastic (cf. § 209), as in मेहर or मेहरारू *woman*, घड़ी or घड़िया f. or घड़ियाल् or घड़ियार् m. *clock*, *gong*. In others, where the suff. exists only with रू, it is probably of a different kind, as in चिन्हारू *acquaintance*, etc.: see §§ 272 273.

243. *Affinities* These suff. occur only as an exception in the E Gd. and P., but are very common in S. and W. Gd.; especially the second set. M. has, as a rule, ह्, sometimes इ; thus केसाह् or केसाह् *hairy*, खेडाह् *frolicsome*, see Man. 114. G. also has ह्: as रेतोह् or रेतोह् *sandy*, S. has ल् or रू, like E. H., and sometimes इ (Tr. 66. 69); as धणारू *herdsman*, त्रवालू (*wheat*) *mixed with barley*; नाताड *right-handed*. P. has ह् or ल्; as उन्नाडा *woollen*. कसाला *distressed*; see Bs II, 90—94.

244. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Pr. suff. आल and आलु (Vr 4, 25. H. C 2, 159). They occur, however, especially the latter, in Skr. also. The suff. आल becomes in Mg. (nom. sg.) m आले, f. आली and, with pleon अ added, m. आलए, f. आलिआ, whence arise the E. H. first set m. or f. आह् or आल् and m. आरा or आला, f. आरी or आली. E.g., Skr. रसालः, A. Mg. रसाले (cf. H. C. 2, 159). E. H. रसाल् or रसाह्, Skr. दुग्धाला, Mg. दुडाला or °ली, E. H. दुग्धाल or °रू; Skr. \*तुन्दालकः (cf. तुन्दिल M. W. 378, 2), Mg. तोदालए (cf. H. C. 1. 116), E. H. तोदारा; f. Skr. \*तुन्दालिका, Mg. तोगलिआ, E. H. तोदारी. The suff. आलु becomes in Mg., nom. sg., m. or f. आलु and, with pleon. अ added, m. आलुए, f. आलुआ, whence the E. H. second set, m. or f. आलु and m. or f. आलू. E.g., Skr. दयालुः, Mg. दयालू (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. दयालु or °ह्; Skr. लज्जालुका, Mg. लज्जालुआ (H. C. 2, 159), E. H. लज्जालू or °रू. As to the origin of the suff. आल and आलु, they are probably derivatives of the Skr. suff. दृश *like*: see § 251.

#### Seventh Group.

245.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	अइल् or अइरू	ऐला or ऐरा	ऐली or ऐरी	
2)	इल् or इरू	इला or इरा	इली or इरी	
3)	अउल् or अउरू	ओला or ओरा	ओली or ओरी	
4)	उल् or उरू	उला or उरा	उली or उरी	

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. In the two first sets ल् is commonly used, in the two others र्; for the rest see § 195, note.

246. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. Sometimes the word is restricted to some particular meaning. The first and third sets are those commonly used. Thus the 1<sup>st</sup> set in दंगल् m. or f. *quarrelsome*, of दंगा *quarrel*; गँढैला, f. °ली *knotty*, of गँह *knot*; पनैला, f. °ली *swampy*, of पानी *water*; पयर्इल् m. or f., or पयर्ला, f. °ली *full of stones*, of पयर् *stone*; उँकैला *having a sting*. of उँक् *sting*; खपरइल् *a tiled house*, of खपरा *tile*; बोक्इल् *beast of burden*, of बोक् *load*; दुधइल् *milch-cow*, of दूध *milk*; etc. Again the 2<sup>nd</sup> set in रेतिला, f. ली *sandy*, of रेत् *sand*; बोक्िल् *loaded*, of बोक् *load*; etc. Again the 3<sup>d</sup> set in पयउर् m. or f., or पयौरा, f. °री *full of stones*. of पयर् *stone*; उँकउर् m. or f., or उँकौरा, f. °री *having a sting, a wasp*, of उँक् *sting*; रसउर् m. or f., or रसौरा, f. °री *juicy*, of रस् *juice*, घमोरी or घमोली *prickly heat*, of घाम् *warmth*; बकोला *hood* and बकोलो *green caterpillar*, of बाँक् *a bend*; etc. Again the 4<sup>th</sup> set in पातुर् *moth*, of पात् (Skr. पत्र) *wing*; पातुर् or पतुरी *prostitute*, of पात् (Skr. पात्र) *vessel*; पातुर् *weak* (H. H. पतला; lit. *leaf-like*), from पात् *leaf*, बाउर् or वउर्, f. °री *mad* (H. H. बावला). of बाय् *wind* (lit. *inflated*). Occasionally, the suff expresses relation generally, as in बनैला, f. °ली *wild, savage*, of बन् *a wood*; घरैला, f. °ली *tame*, of घर *house*; कबोरी or कबोली *tumour in the armpit*, of काख् *armpit*.

247. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds., but in the W. and S. Gd. they have an initial ए or ई for ऐ, and ओ or उ for औ, and in H. H. also घ for इ or उ. The M., G. and O. have ऋ, and S. often र् for ल्. Thus W. H. एलौ or ईलौ, H. H. एला or ईला or अला, M. एऋ or ईऋ, G. एओ or ईओ, S. एलो or एरो, ईलो or ईरो, इरु (Tr. 67). The interchange of र् and ल्, however, occasionally occurs in all Gds., and, indeed, already in Pr. (see § 248). Thus H. H. गँढैला, W. H. गँढैलो *knotty*; W. H. घमोली, M. घमोऋ *prickly heat*; H. H. पतला *thin*, रेतला *sandy*; etc.; further examples see in Bs. II, 95—101.

248. *Derivation*. The originals of these suff. are the Pr.

suff. इल् and उल् (Vr. 4, 5 H. C. 2, 159) or, with the pleon. ञ added to the base, ञइल् and ञउल् or, with pleon. ञ added to the suff., इल्ञ, ञइल्ञ, उल्ञ, ञउल्ञ, whence the E H suffixal forms regularly arise. Thus E H. पयर्इल् = A. Mg. पत्यलइल्; E. H. पयर्इला = A. Mg. पत्यर्इल्; E. H. पयर्उर् = A. Mg. पत्यलउल्; E. H. पयर्इरा = A. Mg. पत्यलउल्; E. H. पतुरी = A. Mg. पतुलिञ, etc. From the Pr. these suff. were probably adopted into the Skr. as taddh. with one ल्; thus इल् in Skr. ग्रन्थिल *knotty*; उल् or उल in वातुल or वातूल *gouty*; शूल in गण्डोला *raw sugar*, etc. The Pr. taddh. इर् (H. C. 2, 145. Vr. 4, 25), which occurs also in Skr., may, perhaps, be identified with the Pr. इल् (or इल), by the interchange of ल् and र् (see § 110), in S. it occurs as इर् (see § 247); but E. H. has no suff. इर्, except as an alternative of इल्. — As to the origin of the suff. इल् and उल् (probably from Skr. दृज), see § 251.

Eighth Group.

249.	Set.	Com gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	a.	एर् or एइ	एरा or एडा	एरी or एडी
	b.		एर् or एइ	एर् or एइ
2)	a.	ओर् or ओइ	ओरा or ओडा	ओरी or ओडी
	b.	ओर् or ओइ	ओरा or ओडा	ओरी or ओडी

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. Those with इ are properly W. H. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

250. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst.; but the derivatives are few in number and always restricted to some particular meaning. Thus the first set, in सपरा or सपेडा *snake-catcher*, of साप *snake*. कटेरा *palings*, of कांटा *thorn*; पखेर् *bird*, of पाख् *wing*. The second set in लरकारा or लउकोडा *parents*, of लरिका *child*; पखोरा *shoulder-blade*, of पाख् *side*; हयोरा or हयोरा *hammer*, of हाय् *handle*; करोरा *tax-gatherer*, of कर *tax*, etc.

251. *Affinities and Derivation.* I believe these suff. and their derivatives are, strictly, W. Gd., and only introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. To this group belong the suff., S. इइयो (Tr. 70) and M. आइया (Man. 113); e. g., S. पेइइयो *walker*, of पैर् or पैर् *foot*, वाटाइया *guide*, of वाट *way*. — On comparing

this group with the sixth and seventh, it will be seen, that there are, in each, identical suff. containing ल् or क् or ङ्; thus, sixth group, E. H. आलू or आलू, M. आलू or आलू, S. आलू or M. आलू; seventh and eighth groups, E. H. ऐला or ऐला or ऐला, M. ऐला; E. H. ओला, ओला, W. H. ओला or ओला, M. ओला. Further, on comparing these with the third pleonastic group (§ 209), it will be seen that the suffixes in the two classes are identical. Hence it appears probable, that they have the same origin and are derived from the Skr. suff. दृष्ट, as explained in § 218. Skr. दृष्टकः would, in Ap. Pr., become डिहड. whence. eliding ह् and contracting the hiatus-vowels, the forms ड्यो and ड्या would arise, as contained in S. ड्यो and M. आड्या. The initial vowels of the latter must be accounted for by the addition of the pleon. अ to the base, just as in pleon. एग, एला. इला, etc (see § 218). — That the Skr. suff. दृष्ट like would easily lend itself to derive possess. adj., may be seen from the German *peinlich*, i. e., painful, or from the English *lively*, *prickly*, *sprightly* = full of life, pricks, spirit.

*Ninth Group.*

252.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	ई	—	इकी
	2)	इक्	इका	इनि or इनी

The suff. इक् and इनि are weak, the others strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

253. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing, in a general way, possession or relation from subst. The first set is the one commonly used; sometimes in its long form ड्या (see § 199). Thus, 1<sup>st</sup> set in संगी or सवती *friend, companion*, of सम् or संबन् *companionship*; खारी or कुनही *enemy*, of खारू or कुनह *enmity*; बकवादी or बतोलिया or बतुनिया *a talkative person*, of बकवादू or बतोला *talk*; सुखी *happy*, of सुख *happiness*; दुखी *miserable*, of दुख *pain*; धनी *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*; तेली *oilman*, of तेल *oil*; माली *gardener*, of माल् or माला *garland*; धोबी *washerman*, of धोब ( § 311) *washing*; हथोटी or हथोटिया *craftsman*, of हथोटी *handicraft*; बहेलिया *huntsman*, of बाह *shooting*; गडेरिया *shepherd*, of गड् *fold*, etc. And हिन्दुई *belonging to*

a *Hindú* of हिन्दू *Hindú*; मराठी *bel. to a Maráthá* of मराठा *Maráthá* (man or country); अंग्रेजी *English* of अंग्रेज *Englishman* or *England*. etc. Again the 2<sup>nd</sup> set in धनिक् or धनिका, f. °को *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*, etc.

254. Derivatives in ई are gen. com., when used adjectively; but when used as subst., they form a fem. in इनि or इनी. on which see the next group (§ 256). Thus बंगाली भाषा *Bangalī language*; बहिरी तिरिया *foreign woman*, but बंगालिनी or बंगालिनी *a woman of Bangál*. बहिरिनी or बहिरिनी *a woman of a foreign country*.

255. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. exist in all Gds.; see Bs. II, 83—89., where examples will be found. — The original is the Skr. taddh. suff. इक्; in Mg. (in the nom. sg.) इए or इके (or इक्के § 203, footnote 1) or, with pleon. अ added, इकए; whence E. H. ई or इक् or इका. Thus Skr. धनिकः, Mg. धणिए or धणिके or धनिकए, E. H. धनो or धनिक् or धनिका. Skr. महाराष्ट्रिकः, Mg. मरहट्टिए (cf. H. C. 1, 69. 2, 119), E. H. मराठी (cf. § 32). In the latter and in similar words, the original suff. may also have been the taddh. ईय; practically it makes no difference. as Skr. ईय would be Mg. ईए, E. H. ई. As to the origin of the fem. suff., see §§ 256—262.

#### *Tenth Group.*

256. Set. 1) Fem. — ई Set. 2) Fem. इनि or इनी

3) " आइन् or आइनो " 4) " — आनी

The suff. इनि and आइन् are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note; but observe that the final उ of a base is not elided. but changed to उः हिन्दुइनि or हिन्दुइनी *a Hindú woman* of हिन्दू *Hindú*.

257. These suff. are used to derive feminine from masc. nouns; and it may be remarked, that, with inanimate objects, the fem. generally expresses diminutiveness, while in many other cases it forms abstract nouns. Thus डंगरी *hillock*, of डङ्गड़ *hill*; बनी *copse*, of बन् *wood*; बाँसी *flute* (lit. *small piece of bamboo*), of बांस *bamboo*; गोली *bullet, globule*, of गोला *ball*; डोरी *string* of डोरा *rope*; चोली

*bodice*, of चोला *waistcoat*, etc. Again सोचवंती *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवत् *thoughtful*; रखवारी *guarding or guardianship*, of रखवारू *guardian*, ढलैती *shieldbearership*, of ढलाइत् *shieldbearer*; चिन्हारी *acquaintance*, of चिन्हारू *an acquaintance*; पढ़िहारौ *reading or readership*, of पढ़िहारू or ०रर *reader*; etc.

258. The first set may be used with any adj. or subst. in आ. Thus adj.: राँची *true*, of म. राँचा, बाँकी *crooked*, of म. बाँका; मोठी *sweet*, of म. मोठा; भूखी *hungry*, of म. भूखा; बड़ी *great*, of म. बड़ा, etc. Or subst., झोरी or झोकरी or लरिकी *girl*, of झोरा or झोकरा or लरिका *boy*; बेटी *daughter*, of बेटो *son*; काकी *paternal aunt*, of काका *paternal uncle*; नानी *maternal grandmother*, of नाना *mat. grandfather*; बकरी or डेरी *she-goat*, of बकरा or डेरा *he-goat*; घोरी *mare*, of घोरा *horse*; भेड़ी *eue*, of भेड़ा *ram*, कुकरी *hen*, of कुकरा *cock*; etc. Occasionally the corresponding masc. in आ is not in use (cf § 196); as सोनारी *fem. goldsmith*, of \*सोनारा or सोनारू *m.*; चमारौ *f. leather-worker*, of \*चमारा or चमारू *m.*; कोँहारी, *f. potter*, of \*कोहारा or कोँहारू *m.*; कहारी, *f. porter*, of \*कहारा or कहारू *m.*; सुतारी, *f. carpenter*, of \*सुतारा or सुतारू *m.*

*Note:* In a few cases the long form in इया (see § 199) is exclusively used; as in कुन्निया *fem.*, of कुन्ना *dog*; डिबिया *small box*, of डिबा *box*. बुडिया *old woman*, of बूडा *old man*; but the short forms कुन्नी, डिबी, बूडो also occur.

259. The second set can be added only to subst. in अ or ई or ऊ, expressing animate objects; never to adj., except when used substantively. Thus in अ; persons: सोनारिनि or ०रिनी *f. goldsmith*, of सोनारू *m.*, चमारिनि or ०रिनी *f. leather-worker*, of चमारू *m.*; गोबालिनि or गुव् ० or गू ० *f. cowherd*, of गोबालू *m.*, घटबालिनि *ferry-woman*, of घटबालू *m.*, etc. Or animals; पतुरिनी *f. moth*, of पतारू *m.*; बाघिनि or बघिनी *tigress*, of बाघू *tiger*; सीँघिनि or सिँघिनी *lioness*, of सीँघू *lion*. Again in ई: persons; परोसिनि or ०सिनी *f. neighbour*, of परोसी *m.*; त्रैरागिनि or ०गिनी *f. ascetic*, of त्रैरागी; मालिनि or ०नी *f. gardener*, of माली *m.*; धोबिनि or ०नी *washerwoman*, of धोबी *m.*; कोढिनि or ०नी *f. leper*, of कोढो. etc. Or animals; हायिनि or हयिनी *f. elephant*, of हायी *m.* Again in ऊ; नउइनि or नउइनी *f. barber*, of



नाड् m.; पहरइनि or °नी *watchman's wife*, of पहर, etc.; see § 256. Occasionally the masc. is not in use, as बहिनि or बहिन् or बहिनी *sister* (masc. भाई *brother*).

260 The third and fourth sets are confined to some particular words, as पंडाइन or °नी *wife of a पंडा a kind of brāhman*; चांवाइन *woman of the चौबे caste*; दुवाइन *woman of the दूबे (m.) caste*; ठकुराइन *lady of ठाकुर lord, chief*, चौधराइन *wife of a चौधरी headman*; पडियाइन *wife of a पंडा priest*; गुरुआइन *wife of a गुरु teacher*; पंडिताइन *wife of a पंडित scholar*; बनिवाइन *woman of the बनिवा trader-caste*; पुरोहितानी *wife of a पुरोहित family priest*.

*Note:* These suff. are used even with foreign words, as मेहतरानी or मेहतराइन *wife of a मेहतर (pers مہتر) sweeper*; सईस्तिन् *wife of a सार्तन् (arab. ساريس) groom*. — With names of castes or professions the fem. signifies either the wife of a man of the caste, or any woman of that caste, or any woman following that profession.

261. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds. But P. and W. H. have अन् and अनी after nouns in अ, thus E. H. सेठिनि *wife of a सेठ merchant*, W. H. सेठन्, P. सेठन् or सेठनी, S. नेठिण् or नेठिणि or सेठिणी, but E. H. कोरिनि *wife of a कोरी weaver*, W. H. कोलिन्, P. कोलिन्, S. कोरिणि or °रिणी (Tr. 99—102. Ld. 13, 41. 42). M. has ईण् as सेठेण्, कोर्रेण्, बाघीण् (*tigress*), see Man. 24. G. has एण् or अण्, as कोर्रेण् or कोर्रेण्, बाघण् or बाघेण्, धोत्रण् or धोत्रेण् (*washerwoman*), see Ed. 26, 9. B. has इनी or अनी or अनी, as बाघिनी, धोत्रानी, कामारनी (*a fem. blacksmith*), see S. Ch. 36. 40. 41. For further examples, see Bs. II, 163—170.

262. *Derivation.* The original of the E. H. suff. ई is the Skr. taddh. इका, which becomes in Pr. इआ, and is contracted in E. H. to ई. as explained in § 203. It is, in fact, identical with the pleon. fem. ई of the 1<sup>st</sup> set, 1<sup>st</sup> group. — The original of the E. H. second set is the Skr. taddh. इनी or, with pleon. क added, इनिका, in Pr. इणी or इणिआ, E. H. इनि or इनी; thus Skr. base मालिन्, m माली, Mg. माली, E. H. *deest* (=मालि); fem. Skr. मालिनी, Mg. मालिणी, E. H. मालिनि; or with pleon. अ added, Skr. मालिकः

(i. e., मालिन् + क), Mg. मालिण्, E. H. माली; fem. Skr. मालिनिका (i. e., मालिनी + का), Mg. मालिणिन्ना, E. H. मालिनी. It should be observed that, while in the case of the fem. E. H. preserves both the weak form मालिनि and the strong form मालिनी, on the other hand in the masc. it has only the strong form माली, but not a weak form \*माल् or \*मालि (see § 196). Again E. H. सोनारू has two fem., सोनारी and सोनारिनि or ०रिनी; the former is = A. Mg. सोस्रालिन्ना, Skr. सुवर्णकाजिका fem. of सुवर्णकाजक. pleon. for ०काज; but the latter is = A. Mg. सोस्रालिणी or ०लिणिन्ना = Skr. सुवर्णकाजिणी or (pleon.) ०जिणिका, fem. of सुवर्णकाजी (base ०काजिन्). The latter masc. form exists in E. H. only in the weak form सोनारू, not in the strong सोनारी; though E. H. सोनारू might and probably does also stand for the A. Mg. सोस्राले, Skr. सुवर्णकाजः. It is not necessary to assume an anomaly in this and similar words as to the use of the fem. suff. इनि in E. H.; but it appears to be anomalously employed in such words as ब्याघिनि *tigress* from m. ब्याघ्, for which fem. form there is no foundation in Skr., which has m. व्याघ्रः, f. व्याघ्री. — The E. H. suff. आइन् arises in various ways. Thus in चौबाइन् it arises from Pr. चउवेइणी, Skr. चतुर्वेदिनी; in पँडाइन् and पँडियाइन् it is added anomalously to पँडा, पँडिया, Mg. पँडिअण्, Skr. पण्डितकः, etc. — The E. H. suff. आनी is a tats. for Skr. आनी, as in Skr. इन्द्रानी *wife of Indra*. — The E. H. रस्ती *string* is a regular fem. of the E. H. m. रस्ता, which is derived from the Skr. masc. रश्मि or pleon. रश्मिकः (or रश्मकः of रश्मन्, see M. W. 835, 1); not *vice versa*, the E. H. masc. रस्ता formed from the E. H. fem. रस्ती (as Bs. II, 149), which would be a unique anomaly.

#### *Eleventh Group.*

263. Com. gen. अच्. Masc. आ or अच्. Fem. अइँ.

The form अच् is weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them see § 195, note.

264. These suff. are used to derive ordinal numbers from the cardinals, with the exception of the four first and the sixth, which are formed differently (see §§ 269. 401). Thus m. or f. पंचच्, -

m. पचा or पचवॉ, f. पचई<sup>५</sup> *fifth*, of पच् *five*; m. f. दसव् or m. दसा or दसवॉ, f. दसई<sup>१०</sup> *tenth*, of दम् *ten*; m. f. बारहव् or m. बारहवॉ, f. बारहई<sup>१२</sup> *twelfth*, of बारह *twelve*, etc. They are added pleonastically to the following: दुसरा or दुसरव् or दुसरवॉ *second*, of दुड *two*; तिसरा or तिसरव् or तिसरवॉ *third*, of तोनि *three*; चौथा or चौथव् or चौथवॉ *fourth*, of चारि *four*; छठा or छठव् or छठवॉ *sixth*, of इ *six*; बीस or बीसव् or बीसवॉ *twentieth*, of बीस् *twenty*, etc.

265. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight differences: thus B. m. आ, f. ई<sup>५</sup> (S. Ch. 195); M. अवा, f. अवी, n. अवै<sup>५</sup> or (from 19<sup>th</sup>) आवा, आवी, आवै<sup>५</sup> (Man. 42. 44); H. H. अवॉ, f. अवी<sup>५</sup>; W. H. अवॉ, f. अवो<sup>५</sup>, P. अवॉ or अमॉ, f. अवी<sup>५</sup> or अमो<sup>५</sup> (Ld. 82—85); G. (and O. H.) अमो, f. अमो. n. अमु<sup>५</sup> (Ed. 48); S. ओ<sup>५</sup>, f. ई<sup>५</sup>; e. g., B. पाचा, f. पाचई<sup>५</sup>, M. पाचवा, f. पांचवी<sup>५</sup>, n. पांचवे<sup>५</sup>, but विसावा, f. विसावी<sup>५</sup>, n. विनावै<sup>५</sup> *twentieth*; W. H. पांचवो<sup>५</sup>, f. पांचवी<sup>५</sup>; P. पतवा or पतमॉ, f. पतवी<sup>५</sup> or पतमो<sup>५</sup>. G. पाचमो, f. पांचमो, n. पांचमु<sup>५</sup>; S. पंतो<sup>५</sup>, f. पतो<sup>५</sup>.

266. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. taddh. न or, with pleon. क added, नक; whence nom. sg. (incl. the final अ of the base) अमकः. f. अमिका. Mg. अमए, f. अमिआ, Ap. Mg. अवैए, f. अवैआ (cf H. C. 4, 397), E. H. अवॉ or (contracted, after eliding न् or व्) आ; f. अरै<sup>५</sup> (cf. §§ 33. 47. 51). Thus Skr. पञ्चमकः, Ap. Mg. पंचमए or पंचवैए. E. H. पचा or पचवॉ; f. Skr. पञ्चमिका, Ap. Mg. पंचमिआ or पंचवैआ. E. H. पचई<sup>५</sup>. The M. form आवा may be a contraction of the Skr. अतितमकः; e. g., विंशतितमकः, Mg. बीसइअमए (cf. Wb. Bh. 476); or it may have arisen by adding the pleon. अ to the base and be = Skr. \*विंशकमकः, Mg. \*बीसअमए. In the latter case the addition of the suff. आवा would be pleonastic, as the Skr. विंश itself means *twentieth*; but so it is in E. H. and all other Gds. in चौथवॉ, छठवॉ, बीसवॉ, etc., the regular forms being चौथा, छठा, बीगा, etc.

#### *Improper Suffixes.*

267. The suffixes of the following groups are in reality curtailed nouns, and their derivatives modified compounds. This appears from the following facts: 1) that in some cases the base

does not exist in E. H.; e g., कोहार् *potter* of \*कोह् (Skr. कुम्भ, E. H. कुम्भ); कहार् *potter*, of \*कह् (Skr. स्कन्ध, E. H. कंध); रोआसा *lachrymose*, of \*रोद् (Skr. रोद); 2) that the various suff. (exc. आहर्) are, severally, found only in a very small number of words; 3) that the terminations of their derivatives are not recognised as suff., and their etymology in many cases unknown to all but Skr. scholars

*Twelfth Group.*

268. Com. gen. स्र् or स्र्. Masc. सर्त्. Fem. सर्ती.

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

These suff. are extremely rare, and occur only in numerals; thus m. f. द्वस्र्, m. दुसर्त्, f. ०र्ती *second* (lit. *twice removed*, i. e., from Nro. 1), of दुइ *two*; m. f. तीस्र्, m. तिसर्त्, f. ०र्ती *third* (lit. *thrice moved*, i. e., from Nro. 1), of तीन् *three*; m. चौस् or चउस् or f. चौसर्ती *a field four times tilled* (lit. *four times moved or turned*).

270. *Affinities.* This curious formation of the second and third ordinal numbers is confined to the E and S. Gd. and H. H. The W. Gds have the regular ordinal forms: O. H. द्वज्ञो or द्वज्ञो; P. द्वज्ञा or द्वज्ञा = Pr. दुइज्ञओ or दुइज्ञओ (H. C. 1, 94. 209); S. वीओ or वीओ, G. वीओ, Pr. विइओ (H. C. 1, 94) or वीओ (H. C. 1, 248) or विइओ (H. C. 1, 248); again W. H. तीओ or तीओ, P. तीओ or तीओ, S. तीओ or तीओ, G. तीओ, = Pr. तइओ (H. C. 1, 101) or तइओ (cf. H. C. 4, 339). But H. H. and M. द्वसर्त्, तीसर्त्.

271. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. past part. pass. सृत: *moved*, in A. Mg. सल्लिर् or सल्लिन्न, which in Gd. becomes स्र् by the successive quiescence of the final अ and इ (cf. §§ 45. 302), and स्र् by the elision of र् (cf. § 124). Similarly the E. H. सर्त् = A. Mg. सल्लिन्नर्, Skr. सृतक:; and f. सर्ती = A. Mg. सल्लिन्ना, Skr. सृतिका. E. g., Skr. \*द्विस्सृत: (i. e., द्वि: + सृत), A. Mg. द्वसल्लिर्, E. H. द्वस्र्.

*Thirteenth Group.*

272. Set. Com. gen. Masc. Fem.

1) अर् or र् अर्त् or र्त् अर्ती or र्ती

2) आर् आर्त् आर्ती

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

273. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing (genitive) relation from subst. or pronouns; but they occur very rarely. Thus in the possessive pron.; m. f. हमारू or m. हमरा, f. ०री *our* (lit. *of us*), of हम् *we*; m. f. तोहारू or m. तोहरा, f. ०री *your* (lit. *of you*), of तोह् *you*; m. f. मोरू or m. मोरा, f. ०री *mine*, of \*मो *I*; m. f. तोरू or m. तोरा, f. ०री *thine*, of \*तो *thou*. Again in nouns; e g., m. f. गँवारू or m. गँवरा, f. ०री *rustic, vulgar*, of गँव् *village*; m. f. चिन्हारू or m. चिन्हारा *an acquaintance* (lit. *of a mark, marked*), f. चिन्हारी *acquaintance*; भिखारू *beggar*, of भोख् *alms*; perhaps also हथियारू *tools, weapons*, of हथिया *small handle*, m. घसियारा, f. ०री *grasser*, of घसिया (or घास्) *grass*; भठियारा, f. ०री *innkeeper*, of भठिया (or भठी) *hearth, inn* (Skr. भट्ट).

274 *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the gen. affixes कर्. करा, करी, see § 377, where their derivation will be fully explained. The full suffix कर् still exists in the M. गाँवकर् *villager* (Man. 113), खोडकर् (H. खोडिल्) *mischievous*, of खोड् (Man. 114); चिपलुङ्कर् *a man of Chiplun* (Bs. II, 181), etc. The curtailed suff. अर्, आर्, etc. are employed in B. and O. as their ordinary gen. affixes; as O. वरू *domestic or of a house*, of वरू *house*. H. H. has हमरा *our*, तुम्हारा *your*, गँवरा *villager*.

*Fourteenth Group.*

275.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	आर्	—	आरा	आरी	
2)	—	आरिनि	आरी	आरिनी	
3)	कारू	—	कारा	कारी	

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

276. These suff. are used to derive nouns, expressing „workers of something“. They are of a limited number. Thus the 1<sup>st</sup> set in सोनारू, f. सोनारी or ०रिनि or ०रिनी *goldsmith*, of सोना *gold*; कोहारू, f. ०री or ०रिनि or ०रिनी *potter*, of कुम् *pot*; कहारू, f. ०री or ०रिनि or ०रिनी *porter*, of काँध् *shoulder*; चमारू, f. ०री or ०रिनि or ०रिनी *leather-worker*, of चाम् *leather*; सुतारू, f. ०री or ०रिनि or ०रिनी *carpenter*, of सूत् *thread*; अंधारू or अंधियारू or अंधारा, f. ०री, or अंधियारा m.,

f. <sup>०</sup>री *dark* or *darkness*, of <sup>०</sup>ंधा *dark*. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set in पुनारी, f. पुनारिनि or <sup>०</sup>रिनी *worshipper*, of पूजा *worship*. The 3<sup>d</sup> set in डुटकार् or <sup>०</sup>रा or <sup>०</sup>री *deliverance*, of डुटा *delivered*.

277. *Affinities and Derivation*. The original of these suffixes is the Skr. noun कार् or कारिन्; e. g., Skr. कुम्भकार्: or <sup>०</sup>री, Mg. कुम्भाले or <sup>०</sup>ली or कुंभाले or <sup>०</sup>ली, E. H. को<sup>०</sup>हार (cf. § 120); Skr. पूजाकारिकः (i. c., <sup>०</sup>रिन् + क), Mg. पूजालिए, E. H. पुनारी, N. पूजाहारि, (S. Lk. 1, 5). These and similar words occur in all Gds. As to the fem., see § 259.

*Fifteenth Group.*

278.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	क्	का	की
	2)	कै	—	—

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

279. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing relation from a subst. Thus काठक् or काठकै or काठका, f. <sup>०</sup>की *wooden*, of कार् *wood*; घरकै or घरका, f. <sup>०</sup>की *domestic*, of घर *house*; वनकै or वनकी, f. <sup>०</sup>की *wild*, of वन् *forest*; etc.

280. *Affinities and Derivation*. These suff. are identical with the common genitive affixes; and their derivatives are really genitives of the respective bases. This can be seen from the fact that all the various Gd. gen. aff. may be used in this way; thus M. चा in M. घरचा *domestic* (Man. 113. Bs. II, 110), in S. गोठेचो *of the same village*, of गोठु; वेढीचो *of the jungle*, of वेढि (Tr. 91); again Konkani ला in M. तेथला *of that place*, of तेथे *there* (Man. 113); again G. णो in S. चोराणो *thievish*, of चोर *thief*, or वातूणो *oral*, of वातु *mouth* (Tr. 72. 73); again H. का in M. बोल्का *eloquent*, of बोल् *word* (Man. 107), मारका *given to beating*, of मार *beating* (Man. 115), पाटिलकी *office of a पाटिल् village accountant* (Man. 113); in P. पिडका *paternal*, of पिड *father*; in S. हारिका *relating to a हारी peasant* (Tr. 71); again Mw. रो in M. खातरा *itch-producing*, of खान् (Man 115); and, of course, each in its own language. — As to the origin of all these affixal forms see § 377. — The vowel ए before चो in S. is not (as Bs. II. 110)

the inflected termination of the noun; for the obl. form of गोटु is not गोटे but गोटु; similarly of वेढि it is not वेढी, but वेढि (Tr. 123. 128); but all these long vowels in S., viz. ए in एचो, ई in ईचो, आ in आपो or आकू (Tr. 70), ऊ in उपो, ओ in ओको (Tr. 71), have probably arisen by the suff. being added to the strong form (in अय or इय or अक् or उक्, contracted to ए, ई, etc.), just as in M. भल्लेष्णु *goodness*, of भल्ल + ण्ण (see § 231).

*Sixteenth Group.*

281.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	—	आस्
	2)	आना	आसी

The form आन् is weak, the others are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

282. Of these suff. the first set is used to derive subst., expressing „desire of anything“, and the second set to derive adj. meaning „desirous“, from an other subst. The number of such derivatives, however, is small. Thus f. निँदास् *desire to sleep, sleepiness*; m. निँदात्ता. f. ँसी *sleepy*, of नीँदू *sleep*; उँदास् *sleepiness*, ँसा m., ँसी f. *sleepy*, of उँदू *sleep*; मुतास् f. *desire to make water*, ँसा m., ँसी f. *desirous of d<sup>10</sup>*, of मूत् *urine*; हगास् *desire to stool*, ँसा m., ँसी f. *desirous of d<sup>10</sup>*, of हग *excrement*; चुदास् f. *lasciviousness*, ँसा m., ँसी f. *lascivious*, of चोदू *copulation*; पेदास् *gluttony*, of पेदू *belly*; कटामा m., ँसी f. *inclined to bite, snappish*, of काट् *bite*. Sometimes the base is not in use, as in रोआन् f. *inclination to weep*, रोआना m., ँसी f. *tearful*. In a few words the suff. has come to signify abstract nouns, as मिठास् f. *sweetness* (lit. *desire or tendency to be sweet*), of मीदू *sweet*; उँचास् f. *height*, of उँच् *high*; बुरास् *coldness*, of बुर (H. H. बुद्ध) *cold*.

283. *Affinities and Derivation.* These derivatives are found also in W. H. and P. (see Bs. II, 82). In the other Gds. the (so-called) suff. is probably better preserved in its nominal form. It is merely a curtailment of the nouns वॉन् or वॉह् (fem.) *desire* = Skr. वाञ्छा, and वॉसा or वॉह्वा *desirous* = Skr. वाञ्छकः, as may be seen from the alternative form चूदवॉसा *libidinous*. In

the suff., व् is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted, to घा. Thus Skr. निद्रावाञ्छा, Pr. निद्रवञ्छा, E. H. निद्रास्; Skr. रोद्रवाञ्छकः, Mg. लोअवञ्छए or लोअवञ्छए, E. H. रोअसा. The change of इ to स् is very common in M. and Mw., and, though less so, in P., whence it has sometimes passed into the other Gds. (see § 11. Bs. I, 218). — Shakespear's (H. Dict.) identification of the suff. with the Skr. noun अघ्रा *hope* is not tenable; neither is the theory of their connection (as Br. II. 81) with the Skr. desiderative. The latter is true only of E. H. पिवास् f. *thirst* = Skr. पिवासा, Pr. पिआसा, and E. H. पिवासा m., °सी f. *thirsty* = Skr. पिवास्तिकः m., °तिका f. (not, as Bs., Skr. पिवास्तुक, which would be H. पिवास्). It exactly corresponds to E. H. भूख् f. *hunger* = Skr. बुभुक्षा, Pr. बुहुकखा, and E. H. भूखा m., भूखी f. *hungry* = Skr. बुभुक्षितकः m., °तिका f. — The two words कपास् f. and कटास् m. *violent burst of rain* do not belong to this group, but are compounds of कप् or कट् *quick* and Pr. वासा f. or वानं n. *rain* (see H. C. 2. 104), = Skr. वर्षा and वर्षम्.

*Seventeenth Group.*

284.	Set.	Fem.	Fem.
	1)	आहट् or आवट्	औटी
	2)	आवत्	औती

The forms in ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

285. The first set is used to derive abstract nouns from adj. The form आहट् is the one commonly employed. Thus सचाहट् or सचावट् or सचौटी *truth, truthfulness*, of सच् or सचा *true* (= सचाई § 220); मिठाहट् *sweetness*, of नीट् *sweet*; गर्माहट् *warmth*, of गर्म् (Pers. گرم) *warm*; ब्राहट् *purity*, of ब्रा *pure*; तिताहट् *bitterness*, of तित् or तीता *bitter*; चिकनाहट् *smoothness*, of चिकना *smooth*; रूखाहट् *roughness*, of रूख् *rough*; कडुआहट् *bitterness*, of कडुआ *bitter*, etc.

286. The first and second sets occur in a few words, which are derived from subst., and express relation generally; as चमरावत् or चमरावट् *perquisites of a man of the चमार् caste*; वपौती *patrimony*, of बाप् *father*; सगौती *flesh, animal food*, (probably) of सग *kin, related* (= Skr. सगर्भ *of the same origin*, hence *animal* as opp. to *vegetable*



(cf. § 120); हिनौतो *humility, supplication*. of हेिन् *destitute*; ह्यौटो *handicraft, dexterity*, of हात् *hand*.

287. *Affinities*. These derivatives are properly W. Gd. and have been introduced into the E. H. from the W. II. In the latter and in P. they are very common; also in S., which has the contracted forms ऋत् or ऋत् (or ऋत्) or ऋतो (probably for \*ऋत्). all masc., see Tr. 60. 62. 68. 74.; e. g., चोकिरात् *boyhood*, of चोकिरुः *debtor*, of डिम्पणो *debt*; ऋत् *porter*, of भरी *load*; पाणवाढा *damp*, of पाणी *water*. etc. Also occasionally in M.; as रानवत् *belonging to a desert*, of रान् (Man. 113). or contracted to ईट् (= \*ऋत्) as in रानोत् *angry*, of रान् (Man. 114).

288. *Derivation* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. nouns वृत्ति fem or वृत्त neut. and वार्ता fem. or वार्त्त neut.: all meaning *condition, state, mode of life, earnings*, etc. (see M. W. 957. 958). The two former become in Pr. वट्टो or वट्टे (H. C. 2, 29), the two latter वत्ता (or वट्टा) and वत्तं (H. C. 2, 30). Next Pr. वट्टो or वट्टा and, with pleon. अ added. वट्टिआ become in H. वट् and वटो, or, with pleon. अ added to the base, आवट् and ओटो (contracted for मवटो or मउटो, cf. § 78, for आवटो, § 25) or, with ह् substituted for वृ (see § 69), आहट्. Similarly Pr. वत्ता or वत्तिआ become in H. आवत् or आतो. Thus Skr. \*सत्यकवृत्तिः, Pr. नञ्चवट्टो or सञ्चवट्टिआ, E. H. सचावट् or सचोतो; again Skr. चर्मकारकवृत्तिः or वार्ता, Pr. चर्मआरवट्टो or वत्ता, E. H. चमरावट् or वत् (for \*चमरावट्, cf. § 25). The S. m. ऋत् arises similarly from the Skr. neut. वृत्तम्. — Those suff. which form adj., as S. ऋत्, M. ऋट्, arise from the Skr. m. वृत्तः or वार्त्तः, Pr. वट्टो or वत्तो. Thus E. H. गुत्रौता or टा *a beetle found in old cow-dung*, from गोबर + वृत्तकः *living in gobar or cow-dung*. — In the E. H. चिकनावट् or वत् (fem.) *clayey soil*, there is probably an exchange of म् and वृ. see § 134, 2; E. H. also चिकनी माटो. — The suff. of this group should be carefully distinguished from those of the fifth group (§ 322) which are primary, and have an altogether different origin. Practically they are often confounded, and the dental त्, which is proper to the primary group, given to the secondary, the proper cons. of which is ट्; and *vice versa*.

*Eighteenth Group.*

289. Com. gen. स्. Masc. सा. Fem. सी.

The form स् is weak, the others are strong.

290. These suff. occur in a very few nouns, which more or less distinctly imply „likeness“. Thus आपुस् f. (H. H. आपस्) *kindred* (lit. *like self*); especially in the phrase आपुस् मे “among themselves, of आपु self; पैसा m. *a copper coin, the fourth part of an annā*, of पाइ or पाई *a pice* (lit. *like the pāda or quarter of a weight of gold*, cf. M. W. 564); पनसा m., पनसी f. *insipid* (lit. *like water*), of पानी *water*; m. ऐकना, f. ०सी *similar, identical* (lit. *like one*), of ऐक् *one*.

291. *Affinities.* These suff. exist. in all Gds. in the above mentioned words (cf. Bs. II, 330). — In M. they may be added, as a pleon. or dimin. suff., to any adj. in the following forms: m. सा, f. सी, n. से or, less curtailed, com. gen. सर; e. g., क़ास्सर, c. g. *blackish*, of क़ासा *black*; m. लहानसा, f. ०सी, n. ०से *littleish*, of लहान् *little* (Man. 114). For the same purpose m. सौ, f. सी are used in W. H. (H. H. सा, सी), but as an affix, not as a suffix; that is, the adj., to which they are added, is itself inflected; thus H. H. उँचा सा पहाड़ *a rather high mountain*, नीली सी चिड़ियाँ *rather blue birds*, बड़े से घोड़े *rather large horses* (see Kl. 91)<sup>1</sup>. — In W. H. and H. H. the same aff. is also commonly employed to express resemblance; as मेरी सी दूआ *a condition like mine*; मुक् सा पापी *a sinner like me*; पड़ित् की सीं बोली *speech like that of a pandit* (examples of Kl. 91. Eth. 58). In E. H. सा. सी are not employed as affixes; in their place it uses ऐसन् *such* with subst. (e. g., हाथो ऐसन् *like an elephant*, आदमी ऐसन् *like a man*) and ऐक् *one* or ऐसन् *such* with adj.; as होट् ऐक् (usually spelled होटेक्) or होट् ऐसन् *rather little* (cf. German *etwas klein*); थोरेक् or थोर् ऐसन् *rather few, some few*; बहुतेक् or बहुत ऐसन् *rather many*.

1) The examples are from Kl. The aff. never denotes *intensity*, as Kl., Eth. (H. Gr. 48) and Bates (H. Dict. 740) state. It expresses the English *rather*, not *very*. It has no connexion with the Skr. सम *like*, still less with the Skr. suff. शस् *fold* (as Kl. 91, a). Bates gives the correct derivation.

292. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. नदृश like, as evidenced by the E. H. use of ऐसन्, which is the same as Skr. ईदृश (§§ 111. 458). Skr. नदृशः becomes in A. Mg. सरिसे (Wb. Bh. 422, cf. H. C. 1, 142) or सरिर् (cf. H. C. 4, 300 for सरिह्, with ह् as in तेह् H. C. 2, 157 or in तेहु = \*तइहु H. C. 4, 402 = Skr. तादृशः). The latter becomes in Gd. \*सरिश्, \*सरि, whence M. सरू or, by eliding रू (cf. Ap. तइत्तो H. C. 4, 403 = Skr. तादृशः, see § 124) and dropping इ, E. H. स. Similarly Skr. म. सदृशकः = A. Mg. सरिसर् or Ap. Mg. \*सइश्, contracted \*सइश् or (dropping इ and contracted) E. H. सा; fem. Skr. सदृशिका, A. Mg. सरिसिश्, Ap. \*सइश्, E. H. contracted \*नइर् or सी. Precisely similar are E. H. ना or भया or भइश् *been* = Mg. भविसर्, Skr. भूतः; E. H. गा or गवा or गइश्, Ap. Mg. गइश्, Skr. गतः; E. H. का (§ 278) = S. कयो = Ap. कइश्, Skr. कृतः, see § 307; E. H. नू or नरू = A. Mg. नरिर्, Skr. स्तः (§ 268). — The E. H. use of ऐक् may be compared with its analogous use in the indefinite numerals (§ 425), as दस् ऐक् *about ten, some ten*.

*Nineteenth Group.*

293. Com. gen. वारू or वाल्. Masc. वारा or वाला.

Fem. वारी or वाली and वारिनि or वालिनि.

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak.

294. These suff. are used to derive nouns implying possession or relation generally, from subst. Thus गोवारू or गोवाल् c. g. or गुवारा or ला m. or गुवारी or ली or गुवारिनि or लिनि f. *cow-keeper, cowherd*, of गो *cow*; घटवारू or वाल् c. g., वारी or ली or रिनि or लिनि f. *wharf-keeper, wharfinger*, of घाट् *landing-place*; नाओवारा or ला m., री or ली f. *boat-keeper, boat-man*, of नाओ *boat*; m. कपडावारा or ला, f. री or ली *cloth-keeper, cloth-merchant*; दिल्लीवारा or ला m., री or ली f. *belonging to or native of Delhi*, etc. Even with foreign words; as बक्सवारा or ला m., री or ली or रिनि or लिनि f. *box-keeper, pedlar*.

295. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. or S. Gd., but W. Gd., whence they have been introduced into E. H., B. (see S. Ch. 88, cf. 154; spelled m. उयाला, f. उयाली; e. g., B. टूपिउयाला *holding or wearing a टूपि cap*) and M. (see Man. 113, 2; e. g.,

दूधवाला *milkman*). In W. Gd. they are very commonly used. S. has वारो m., वारी f. (Tr. 76, 36); e. g., घरवारो *owner of a house*; G. has वामो m., वामी f. (Ed. 14); e. g., दुधवाओ, टोपीवाओ.

296. *Derivation.* The original of these suff., certainly in the two first examples, probably in all, is the Skr. noun पाल *keeper* or, with pleon. क added, पालक. Thus Skr. m. गोपालः or °लकः, f. °लिका, Mg. m. गोवाले or °लट्, f. °लिआ, E. H. m. गोवाजू or °रा, f. °री. Practically, however, these suff. are confounded with the primary suff. वाला, °ली (in अनेवाला, °ली), see § 315. — The fem. in लिनि is probably an anomalous formation, see §§ 259. 262; though it might be referred to a Skr. base पालिन्.

### 3. PRIMARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

297. The primary derivative suffixes may be divided into eight groups, traces of all which already existed, more or less distinctly, in Pr.

#### *First Group.*

298. Com. gen. अत्. Masc. अता. Fem. अती (or अति). The forms in आ and ई are strong. the others weak. The masc. strong form is not much used in E. H., except in the oblique form अते, as an adv. part., see § 488.

*Note:* Observe, in adding these suff., that ए is inserted after ई, and optionally व् after उ and ओ; and अ is elided after आ and ए and after R. हो *be*.

299. These suff. are used to derive the participle present from any root. Thus हसत् *laughing*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठत् *reading*, of R. पठ् *read*; पीयत् *drinking*, of R. पी *drink*; चूयत् or चूवत् *dripping*, of R. चू *drip*; रोयत् or रोवत् *weeping*, of R. रो *weep*, etc. But खात् *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; देत् *giving*, of R. दे *give*; होत् *being*, of R. हो *be*, etc. The fem. in इ is only used as a component part of the pret. conj.; as कर्तिसि (f.) *thou didst*, of कर्त्ति + सि; see § 507.

300. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight modifications; thus B. इत् (only in the obl. f. इते, S. Ch. 148);

O. \*अन्त (only in the obl. f. अन्त. Sn. 28): H. H. m. अन्त, f. अन्तो; W. H. m. अन्तु (Br.) or अन्तो (Mw.), f. अन्तो; P. m. अन्ता or अन्ता, f. अन्तो or अन्तो (Ld. 24), N. अन्तो, f. अन्तो; S. अन्तो or ईन्दी, f. अन्तो or ईन्दी (Tr. 268. 269); G. m. अन्तो, f. अन्तो, n. अन्तु (Ed. 113, 53); M. c. g. अन्तु or m. अन्ता, f. अन्तो, n. अन्ते (Man. 63. 73); O. H. m. अन्तो or अन्तु (Kl. 222. 240. 241). The O. has also उ (e. g., कहु *doing*, Sn. 28).

301. *Derivation* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अन् (or अन्त): in Pr. अन्त (Vr. 7, 10. H. C. 3, 180. 181), or occasionally in Sr. Pr. अन्त (H. C. 4, 261. cf. Ls. 362). Hence nom. sg. Mg. m. अन्त, f. अन्तो (H. C. 3, 182) or, with pleon. अ added, m. अन्त, f. अन्तिया; and E. H. m. f. अन्तु or m. अन्ता, f. अन्तो (cf. §§ 143. 146). Thus Skr. m. हसन्, f. हसन्तो; A. Mg. हसन्त, f. हसन्तो; O. H. m. f. हसन्तु; E. H. हसन्तु: again Skr. \*हसन्तकः, A. Mg. हसन्त, E. H. हसन्ता; fem. Skr. \*हसन्तिका, A. Mg. हसन्तिया, E. H. हसन्तो. — The S. अन्तो, P. अन्ता, N. अन्तो. Gw. अन्तो or अन्तो (Kl. 215) are similarly derived from the Sr. Pr. अन्तयो. — The O. उ has, perhaps, arisen from अन्तु (or अन्तु) by the elision of न्? (see § 153). — The E. H. खान्त is = Mg. खन्त or खान्त (cf. H. C. 4, 228), E. H. देन्त = Mg. देन्त (cf. H. C. 2, 206. 4, 379) = \*द्वन्ते, Skr. दन्तु (or \*ददन्तः); E. H. होन्त = Mg. होन्त (cf. H. C. 3, 180) or हवन्त or भवन्त (cf. H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवन्.

### Second Group.

302. Set. Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1) इल् or अल्	—	इलि or अलि	इला or अला	इलो or अलो
2) इअ or इ	अ	इ	आ	ई

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong forms in ला are not much used, except in the obl. f. इले or अले, as adv. part., see § 488. The forms with इल् are peculiar to the Maithili and Magadh in the eastern, and the forms (m.) अ or आ, (f.) इ or ई to Baiswari in the western part of the E. H. area. The latter (Bs.) dialect does not use the first set at all; the other E. H. dialects use both, see § 303.

*Note:* Observe, in adding the suff. beginning with अ, that व्

is inserted after आ and ई, and optionally व् after ऊ and ओ; before those beginning with इ neither व् nor वृ is inserted.

303. These suff. are used to derive the past participle from any root. Thus हसल् or हसिल् *laughed*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठल् or पठिल् *read*, of R. पठ् *read*; पीयल् or पीयिल् *drunk*, of R. पी *drink*; चूयल् or चूयिल् or चूयल् *dripped*, of R. चू *drip*; रोयल् or रोयिल् *wept*, of R. रो *weep*; खाइल् or खायल् *eaten*, of R. खा *eat*, etc. The derivatives of the second set, and those of the fem. अलि are never used by themselves, but only as component parts of the pret. indicat. (exc. in Bs), see §§ 502. 504, thus हस्यो° *I laughed*, of हसिच् + उं; खाइस् *thou eatest*, of खाइ + स्; again हसलित्स् (f.) *thou laughedst*, of हसलि + स्, etc. But in Bs. हसा m., हसो f. *laughed*; पठा m., पठो f. *read*; खाया m., खाई f. *eaten*; etc.

*Note:* This part. is used *passively* in the formation of the passive voice, but *actively* in that of the pret. tense active.

304. *Exception.* The following part. pass. are formed irregularly: R. कर् *do*, P. P. 1) कइल् or कयल् or कैल्, or 2) किइच्° or किहि° or Bs. कया or किया *done*; — of R. धर् *place*, P. P. 1) धइल् or धयल् or धैल् or 2) धइच्° or धिहि° or Bs. भ्या; also regularly धरिल्, धरा, etc. *placed*. — R. मर् *die*, P. P. 1) मुइल् or मुयल् or 2) मुइच्° or मुइ° or Bs. मुआ; also regularly मरिल्, मरा *died*, etc. — R. ता *go*, P. P. 1) गइल् or गयल् or गैल् or 2) गइच्° or गइ° or B. गया *gone*; also regularly ताइल् or तायल् (§ 479. exc.); — R. हो *be*; P. P. 1) भइल् or भयल् or भैल् or 2) भइच्° or भइ° or Bs. भया or भवा *been*; also regularly होइल् or होयल् (§ 479. exc.). — R. दे *give*, P. P. 1) दिहिल् or 2) दिइच्° or दिहि° or Bs. द्या or दिया *given*. — R. ले *take*, P. P. 1) लिहिल् or 2) लिइच्° or लिहि° or Bs. ल्या or लिया *taken*. — R. आच् *come*, P. P. 1) आइल् or आयल् or 2) आइच्° or आइ° or Bs. आया or आवा *come*. — R. पाच् *obtain*, P. P. 1) पाइल् or पायल् or 2) पाइच्° or पाइ° or Bs. पाया or पावा *obtained*.

305. *Affinities.* The second set occurs in all Gds., exc. M.; but the first set in the E. Gd. and S. Gd. only. Thus 1) both sets; in B., wk. च. इल् (only in the obl. f. इले as a cond. part.,

S. Ch. 148), and wk. f. *इय* (only in the obl. f. *इया* as past part. and in the pret. tense, S. Ch. 148. 144), or st. f. *आ* m., *ई* f. (only in the pass. sense and to form the pass. voice, S. Ch. 148. 142); in O., st. f. *इला* (e. g., *पडिला fallen*, Sn. 29) or wk. f. *इल्* (only in the obl. f. *इले* as a condit. part., Sn. 28); and wk. f. *इ* (as past part., Sn. 28) or *इअ* (only in the pret. tense, Sn. 30), or st. f. *आ* m., *ई* f. (as past part., Sn. 30; and in the pass. voice, Sn. 39). — 2) Only first set; in M., st. f. *अला* or *इला* m., *अली* or *इली* f., *अले* or *इले* n. (Man. 63. 64. 67. 68, note; e. g., *सुटला* or *सुटिला* = E. H. *हुटल्* or *हुटिल्* and M. *सोरिला* or *मोडला* = E. H. *होडल्* or *होडिल्*). — 3) Only second set; in O. II. (Chand), wk. f. *इव्* (= Mg. *इए*, *इअ*) or *एव्* (= Ap. *एउ*) or st. f. *एव्* (= Ap. *उअउ*), see Kl. 213. 215.; in H. H., st. f. *आ* m., *ई* f., in W. H., st. f. *यो* or *यो* m., *ई* f.; in P. st. f. *इआ* m., *ई* f. (Ld 24); in G., st. f. *यो* m., *ई* f., *यु* n. (Ed. 113. 50). in S. wk. f. *इउ* or *इअ* or *उ* (Tr. 289), or st. f. *इओ* or *यो* m., *ई* f. (Tr. 271. 289); in N., wk. f. *इअ* or *ए* or *उ*, or st. f. *यो* m., *ई* f. In all W. Gds. the P. P. is used in the pass. sense only, see § 487. — It is worth noting, that both sets exist in *Pashtū* (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXIII. 116). e. g., wk. f. *kar* or *krah* (= कृतः); st. f. *karai* (= कृतकः); and wk. f. *kral* (= \*करितः, B. करिल्), st. f. *karalai* (= \*करितकः, O. करिला). Trumpp distinguishes the weak and strong forms as part. pret. and part. perf., but these names, being the same in import, do not explain the difference.

*Note:* Some Gds. add. a pleon. suff. to the past part. in order to make it more of the nature of an adj.; viz., M. adds *ला* (Man. 63. 64), G. *लो* (Ed. 50. 113), S. *लु* or *डो* (Tr. 272. 69). Mw. *डो* (Kl. 209, 393), N. *को* (see § 216). The term. of the part. suffers various modifications before these suff., which may be seen from the following examples: M. *पठलेला*, G. *पठलो*, S. *पठिल्लु* or *पठिअडो*, Mw. *पठ्योडो* or *पठोडो*, N. *पठ्याको* *read*, from the resp. part. M. *पठला*, G. *पठ्यो*, S. *पठिओ*, Mw. *पठ्यो*, N. *पठ्यो*.

306. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit त or, with the connecting vowel उ added, इत. The addition of इ is very common in Pr., even with such roots, as do not take

it in Skr. (see Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156. Ls. 363. Wb. Spt. 65. Wb. Bh. 432. 433). In Gd. it has become almost universal; though there are a very few exceptions, as P. दिद्दा or डिद्दा *seen* (Pr. दिद्दो, Skr. दृढकः), but also regularly देखिआ (Ld. 66); G. होहो *seen*, पेहो *entered* (Pr. पइद्दो, Skr. प्रविष्टकः); S. डिहो *seen*, पेहो *entered*, लधो *obtained* (Pr. लढो H. C. 3, 134., Skr. लब्धकः), and some others, see Tr. 273—279. Ed. 50. — The suff. इत् becomes in Pr. either इद् which is the older form preserved in Sr. (H. C. 4, 269), Mg. (see Vr. 11, 11. H. C. 4, 291. 292) and old Ap. (H. C. 4, 396), or इञ् which is the later form of the Mh. (Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156) the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 433) and the later Ap. (e. g., हसिउ H. C. 4, 396. = Mh. हसिओ; Ap. धसिउ H. C. 4, 439 et passim; compare the treatment of the similar suff. इत्थ = Ap. इएव H. C. 4, 438). The (older) Mg. form इद् further changes in E. and S. Gd. to इल् and अल् (§ 109). The only instances of this change of द् to ल् in Mg. are: कले for कदे (H. C. 4, 290. Skr. कृतः) *done*, गले for गदे (H. C. 4, 302. Skr. गतः) *gone*, and मले for मदे (cf. Ls. 423. Skr. मृतः) *died*<sup>1)</sup> and, moreover, they are confined to the lower (or Ap.) types of Mg. (e. g., the Šābari<sup>2)</sup> and Avantī, Ls. 417). This tendency of the Ap. Mg. has become the general rule in its descendants, the E. and S. Gd.; though side by side with the special Ap. Mg. forms in इल् they have preserved also the general later (A. Mg., Mh., Ap. Sr.) Pr forms in इञ्. There are, then, the following forms, in the nom. sg.: 1) Mg. m. इदे, f. इदा, and, with pleon. अ added. m. इदए, f. इदिआ; these result in the E. H.

1) It is commonly supposed (Ls 412. Bs. I, 236) that द् first changed to ङ् and then to ल्; and it is true that Vr. 11, 15 gives the three Mg. forms कङे, गङे, मङे; but Mđ. 12, 28 gives them only as alternatives besides कदे, गदे, मदे. Seeing that the general tendency of the languages of the Mg. class is towards dentalisation (see §§ 15. 16), it seems more probable, that द् changed at once to (dental) ल्, than that it first became cerebral ङ्, and then reverted to the dental ल्.

2) It may be remarked, that O. which is closely allied to the Šābari (see p. XXIV) preserves the three forms कल् *done*, गल् *gone*, मल् *died*.



m. इल् or झल्, f. इलि or झलि or इल् or झल्; and m. इला or झला, f. इलो or झलो. 2) Mg. m. इए, f. इआ, and, with pleon. झ added, m. इअए, f. इअआ, whence the E. H. m. f. इअ or (dropping अ) इ, and m. इअ or (suppressing इ) आ, f. इई or (contracted) ई. E. g., Skr. चलितः *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, E. H. चलिल् or चलल्; or A. Mg. चलिए (Wb. Bh. 215) or Ap. चलिउ, O. H. चलिच् or चलिच्<sup>1</sup>), E. H. चलिअ or चलि, Bs. चलि or चल (*chala*). Again Skr. चलितोऽस्मि *I walked*, A. Mg. चलिए म्हि or चलिअ म्हि, Ap. चलिअउ (see § 503, 1. a), E. H. चलयो. Again Skr. चलितोऽसि *thou walkedst*, A. Mg. चलिए सि or Ap. a) चलिअसि or b) चलिअहि (see § 503, 1. b), N. a) चलयन् or चलिल्, E. H. चलिल्, S. b) चलिई. Again Skr. चलितकः *walked*, Mg. चलिदए, E. H. and M. चलला or चलिला, O. चलिला; or A. Mg. चलिअए, P. चलिअ, Bs., H. H., B. O. चला; or Mh. चलिअओ, Ap. चलिअउ, O. H. चलेच् or चलिओ or चलो, W. H. चलयौ or चलो, S. चलिआ or चलो, G. and N. चलो.

307. *Affinities and Derivation of the Exceptional Forms.* Cognate forms are denoted by identical letters. 1) R. खाद् *eat*: Skr. (a and c) खादितः or (b and d) खादितकः, Mg. (a) खादे or (b) खाइदे or A. Mg. (c) खाइए or (d) खाइअए, E. H. (a) खाइल् or (b) खइला or Bs. (c) खाइ or (d) खाया (for \*खाइआ), B. and O. (a) खाइल् or (b) खाइला or (c) खाइ or (d) खिया (for \*खया = \*खइआ, see below गिया *gone*, cf. Sn. 40), M. (b) खाला (Man. 80), H. H. (d) खाया, P. (b) काहदा (with euphon. ह्, § 69) or (d) खाया (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) खाइदउ or (d) खाइअउ, Mw. and G. (b) खाथो (for \*खाहदो or खाहिदो with euph. ह्, as in P.), W. H. (d) खायो or खयो. — 2) R. लभ् *take*; Skr. (a) लब्धः or (β) लब्धकः, Pr. (a) लढो (H. C. 3, 134) or (β) लढओ, S. (β) लथो (Tr. 278); or Skr. (a) \*लभितः or (b) \*लभितकः, Mg. (a) लहिदे or (b) लहिदए or A. Mg. (c) लहिए or (d) लहिअए, E. H. (a) लिहल् or (b) लिहला or (c) लिहि (in the pret. tense, cf. § 502 exc., for \*लहि) or Bs. (d) लेवा (contr. for लइआ with euph. व्, cf. § 69, Kl. 224) or लया or लिया (like गिया *gone*), B. (a) निल् (in the past tense and

1) M., as usual (§ 65, note), changes इउ or इव् to ईव्, e g. बाँधीव् *bound* or *built*. from R. बाँध् *bind* (see Man. 107. 114)

condit. part., S. Ch. 190). or (d) निया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) नेल or (b) नेला or (d) नेया (Sn. 36), M. (b) ल्याला (Mn. 80), H. H. (d) लिया, P. (d) लइया or लिआ (Ld 66) or (b) लीता (perhaps contr. for a Ps. Pr. form \*लइतए or \*लहितए, or made after दिना *given*, Ld 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) लहिदउ or (d) लहिअउ, W. H. (b) Mw. लीदो (contr. for \*लइदो) or लीधो (contr. like काथो *eaten*, Kl. 213) or लीनो or लीन्हो (with न् or न्ह for दू or धू. cf. H. C. 1, 208 गन्निणो = Pr. \*गन्निदो = Skr. गर्भितः, Pr. अणित्तं = Pr. \*अदिउत्तं = Skr. अतिमुक्कन्) or (d) लेत्रो (for \*लइत्रो) or Br. (d) लयो or लियो, G. (b) लीधो (as in Mw.. Ed. 50). — 3) R. दध् *give* (substitute for दा or धा); Skr. (α) हितः (for \*धितः) or (β) हितकः, Ap. (a) °हिदु (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) °हितउ (H. C. 4, 395). Gd. *deest*; again, formed strictly analogous to the P. P. of R. लभ्, Skr. \*दधितः, Mg. (a) \*दहिदे or (b) \*दहिदए or A. Mg. (c) \*दहिए or (d) \*दहिअए, E. II. (a) दिहल् or (b) दिहला or (c) दिहि (in the past tense, for \*दहि) or Bs. (d) देवा (Kl. 224) or दया or दिया. B. (a) दिल् (in the past tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 190) or (d) दिया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) देल or (b) देला or (d) देया (Sn. 36), M. (b) दिला (Man. 80). H. H. (d) दिया, P. दिना (perhaps for Skr. दत्त. or formed like लीता *taken*, cf. Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) \*दहिदउ or (d) \*दहिअउ; W. H. (b) Mw. दीदो or दीधो or दीनो or दीन्हो or (d) दयां or Bs. (d) दयो or दियो, G. (b) दीधो (Ed. 59). — 4) R. ध् *place*; Skr. धृतः, Gd. *deest*; or Skr. \*धरितः, Mg. (a) धलिदे or (b) धलिदए or A. Mg. (c) धलिए (cf. II C. 1, 36. धरिओ) or (d) धलिअए, E. II. (a) धइल् or धरिल् or (b) धइला or धरिला or (c) धइ or धरि or Bs. (c) धर or (a) धरा, B. and O. (a) धरिल् or (b) धरिला or (d) धरा, M. (b) धरला. H. II. (d) धरा, P. (d) धरिआ; again Ap. Pr. (b) धरिदउ or (d) धरिअउ, W. H. (d) धरौ or धरौ, G. (d) धरौ, S. (d) धरिओ or धरौ. — 5) R. कृ *do*; Skr. (α) कृतः or (β) कृतकः, Ap. (α) किदु (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) किअउ (H. C. 4, 371), S. (β) किअो (Tr. 277); again Skr. \*कर्तितः, Mg. (a) कलिदे or (b) कलिदए or A. Mg. (c) कलिए or (d) कलिअए or Ap. (d) किया (H. C. 4, 396; see H. H. below), E. II. (a) कइल् (§§ 109. 124) or (b) कइला or (c) किहि (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc., with euph. इ, for \*किइ = कइ = करि, formed after लिहि *taken*, दिहि *given*)

or Bs. कर् or (d) कर्, B. and O. (a) कर्ल् or (b) कर्ला (in the past tense and condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148. Sn. 27) or (d) कर् (S. Ch. 148. Sn. 39), M. (b) कर्त्ता (for \*कर्त्ता, Man. 80). II. H. (d) किया (for \*क्या = कर्त्ता, see S. below, formed after दिया *given*, लिया *taken*, गया *gone*), P. (d) कीता (perhaps for \*कर्त्ता, like लीता *taken*, q. v., Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) कर्दिउ or (d) कर्दिउ or कियउ (H. C. 4, 378 = कर्दिउ, see below W. H.), W. H. (b) Mw. कीदो or कीधो or कीनो or कीन्हो (formed like लोदो, etc., q. v., Kl. 213), or (d) कर्यो or (d) Br. कर्यो or कियो (for \*कयो = कर्यो, see below S.), G. (b) कीधो (Ed. 50) or (d) कर्यो, S. (d) कयो (for \*कर्यो, Tr. 277) or (b) कीतो (see above P.). — 6) R. गन् *go*; Skr. (a) गतः or (β) गतकः. Mg. (a) गदे or गडे or (β) गदए or गउए, O. (a) गल् or (β) गला (in the pret. tense and condit. part. Sn. 34); or Skr. (a) \*गमितः, Pali (a) गमितो (Ms. 131). Mg. (a) गमिदे or (b) गमिदए or (c) गमिद or (d) गमिदए (cf. Wb. Bh. 405 गमेवाए = \*गमिदवाए = \*गमितकवा), or Ap. (d) गया (H. C. 4, 376. see II. H. below), E. H. (a) गदल् or (b) गद्ला or (c) गद् (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc.) or Bs. (d) गया (= गदवा, see below P.) or contr. गा (Kl. 225), B. (a) नेल् (in pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (d) गया (S. Ch. 148, for गया, see below P.), M. (b) नेला (Man. 80), H. H. गया (= गदवा), P. गदवा or गिवा (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (d) गमिदउ or गदउ or contr. गउउ (H. C. 4, 422. 20., see W. H. and above P.), W. H. (d) Br. गयो or Mw. गयो or गोयो (Kl. 213.? गियो?), G. (d) गयो (Ed. 50 or गयला Ed. 83., see § 216). N. गयो. — 7) R. भू *be*; Skr. भूतः, Pr. भूतो (H. C. 4, 64). Gd *deest*; or Skr. \*भवितः, Mg. (a) भविदे or (b) हविदे or (c) हुविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 60) or (d) भविदए or (e) हविदए or (f) हुविदए or (g) भविद or (h) हविद (cf. H. C. 4, 401 परिहविद = परिभूत) or (i) हुविद or (k) भविदए or (l) हविदए or (m) हुविदए, Ap. (m) हुवा (H. C. 4, 351, for हुवा, see below H. H., and compare Ap. मुवा and मुदवा). E. H. (a) भदल् or (d) भद्ला or (g) भद् or भय् (§ 123) or (h) हउ or हो (in the pres. tense, § 514. 3, for \*हवि, § 122) or Bs. (k) भवा or गया (= भदवा) or contr. भा, B. (b) हदल् (in the condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (l) हद्या (S. Ch. 148), O. (c) हदल् or (f) होद्ला

(in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 35) or (i) होइ (Sn. 35) or (m) हुन्छा (Sn. 66, see H. H. below), M. (e) काला (Man. 80, for \*काला or \*हइला), H. H. (m) हुन्छा (for हुइन्छा, see P. and Km below), P. (m) होइन्छा (Ld. 26); again Ap. Pr. (k) भविष्यत् or (l) हविष्यत् or (m) हुविष्यत्, W. H. (k) Br. भवौ (for \*भव्यौ) or भवौ (= भव्यौ) or contr. भौ or Km. भवो or भवो or भो (Kl. 205) or (l) Mw. द्वियो (suppressing अ between हवि<sup>o</sup>) or द्वियो (? Kl. 236) or (m) हुवो or हुयो (Kl. 210, for हुइयो) or contr. हो (Kl. 200), G. (l) हवो (Ed. 69) or (m) होवो (Ed. 69), S. (m) हुवो (Tr. 298, see H. H. above), N. (k) भवो (= भव्यौ), Km. (m) हुइयो (Kl. 2, 237). Gw. (m) होवो (Kl. 236). — 8) R. नृ die; Skr. नृतः, Mg. (α) मदे or (β) मए (Wb. Bh. 156) or (γ) मडे (Vr. 11, 15) or Mh. मुञ्चो (Spt. 144 et passim), O. (a) मल्ल; or Skr. \*मरितः, Mg. (a) मलिद् or (b) मुलिदे or (c) मलिदए or (d) मुलिदए or (e) मलिए or (f) मुलिए or (g) मलिमए or (h) मुलिमए, Ap. (f) मुइञ्च (H. C. 4, 367. 419., eliding ल् = र्, § 124) or contr. (h) मुञ्चा (H. C. 4, 442., see H. H. below), E. H. (a) मरिल् or (b) मुइल् or (c) मरिल्ला or (d) मुइला or (e) मरि or (f) मुइ or (g) Bs. मरा or (h) मुञ्चा, M. (c) मेला (Man. 80, for \*मइला), H. H. (h) मुञ्चा (for मुइञ्चा, see Ap. Mg. above); again Ap. Pr. (g) मरिष्यत् or (h) मुरिष्यत् or contr. मुञ्चत् (H. C. 4, 442, for \*मुइष्यत्, see Ap. Mg. above and W. H. below), W. H. (g) मर्यौ or मर्यो or (h) मुञ्चै or मुञ्चो (for \*मुइञ्चो), G. मुवो (Ed. 50), N. (g) मरियो or मर्यो, S. dto. — 9) R. आप् come and प्राप् (= प्र + आप्) obtain; Skr. आपः or प्राप्, Pr. अत्तो or पत्तो (cf. H. C. 4, 332), Gd. deest; or Skr. \*आपितः or \*प्रापितः, Mg. (a) आविदे or (b) आविदए or (c) आविए (cf. H. C. 4, 387 पाविञ्च, and see Ap. below) or (d) आविमए, E. H. (a) आइल् or (b) अइला or (c) आद् or आय् or (d) Bs. आया (cf. § 423), B. (a) आइल् (in the pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 188. 189)<sup>1</sup>), M. (b) आला (Man. 80, for \*आइला), H. H. (d) आया (for आइया), P. (d) आइया; again Ap. Pr. (c) आविउ or आइउ (H. C. 4, 422) or (d) आविमउ (cf. H. C. 4, 432 Bombay Ed. आउइञ्चो = आविञ्चो?), W. H. (d) आयो or आयो (for आइञ्चो), N. आयो. The forms of प्राप् are strictly analogous throughout.

<sup>1</sup>) The other B. forms आत्तिल्, etc. are derived from the R. आइन् = Pr. आविन् = Skr. आविष् enter (आ + विष्).

*Third Group.*

308. Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1) इव् or अव्	* इवा or * अवा	इवि or अवि	
2) आव् or अाव्	आवा	आवाई or आई or आवट्	
3) अळव् or आव्	—	—	
4) अवइया or अइया	—	—	
5) अवारू or अवाल्	आवारी or अवाला	आवारी or अवाली	
6) आरू or आलू	—	—	

The forms of the fourth set are redundant (§§ 200. 202); of the others those in आ. ई and ऊ are strong, the remainder are weak. — The forms with initial र are not commonly employed, except with Rs. in आ and causal or denom. Rs. in आव् (or आ by § 33). — The masc. strong forms of the first set are never used, exc. in the obl. form इव or अव or (by elision of व्) contr. र. — The suff. आवट् is sometimes wrongly spelled आहट्, owing to a confusion with the suff. आहट् of § 284.

*Note:* Observe in adding these suff., 1) that in the first set ~~the~~ initial अ is elided after Rs. in आ, र and R. हो *be*, and इ after Rs. in ई; 2) that before the suff. of the second and fourth sets, the termin. आव् of caus. and den. Rs. is elided, and final radical आ and र are shortened. For the rest see § 298, note.

309. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act and agency, from any root. Originally their derivatives were part. fut. *passive* only; but in the neuter gender they naturally came to express verbal nouns of act and thus were used as the (so-called) infinitive; for the “*it is to be done*” of a thing is equal to the “*doing*” of a thing. Next the pass. sense was dropped, as in the case of the past part. pass. (§ 301, note), and the part. used actively (e. g., in the formation of the fut. tense act. cf. § 509, 3): and thus it came to express verbal nouns of agency. The latter process was facilitated by the addition of pleon. suff., see § 314. With some intrans. verbs, as होव् *to be*, the part. fut. pass. ne-

cessarily has an active sense; and this may have led the way to the general practice of using this part. *actively*.

310. The first set is used to form the part. fut. or the inf. Thus हसब् or हसिब् *what is to be laughed at or to laugh*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठब् or पठिब् *what is to be read or to read*, of R. पठ् *read*; कर्ब् or करिब् *what is to be done or to do*, of R. कर् *do*; छूम् or छूह् or छूइब् *what is to be touched or to touch*, of R. छू *touch*; बोम्ब or बोवब् or बोइब् *what is to be sown or to sow*, of R. बो *sow*. But खाइब् or खाब् *what is to be eaten or to eat*, of R. खा *eat*; कराइब् or कराब् *what is to be caused to be done or to cause to do*, of C. R. कराब् *cause to do*; पीयब् or पीब् *what is to be drunk or to drink*, of R. पी *drink*; देब् or देइब् *what is to be given, debt or to give*, of R. दे *give*; होब् or होइब् *what is to be, future, possible or to be*, of R. हो *be*. Thus मो के or मो से ऊ कर्ब् बाटे *by me that is to be done*, or actively मैँ कर्बोँ (= कर्ब + उँ) *I shall do*. The fem. in इ is used only as a component part of the fut. tense act., as कर्बिस (fem.) *thou wilt do* for कर्बि + त्, cf. § 509, 3.

311. The second set is used to form nouns of *act.* Thus आवाई *coming*, of R. आव् *come*; जावाई *going*, of R. जा *go*; खावाई *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; सुकाव् or सुकाई or सुकावट् *seeing*, of R. सूक् *see*; सिचाव् or सिचाई or सिचावट् *irrigation*, of R. सीच् *irrigate*; ओलाव् or ओलाई or ओलावट् *movement*, of R. ओल् *move*; लराव् or लरावट् *fighting*, of R. लर् or लह् *fight*; चलाव् *dispatch*, of C. R. चलाव् *cause to go*. Very commonly the fem. expresses the wages or price paid for doing a thing, as रखावाई or रखाई *wages for keeping*, of R. रक् *keep*; कटवाई *wages for cutting*, of R. काट्; बनवाई or बनाई or बनावट् *making or price for making* of C. R. बनाव् *make*; लिखावाई or लिखाई *wages for writing or dictation*, of R. लिख् *write* or C. R. लिखाव् *dictate*. The masc. strong form is very rarely used and, as a rule, has some special meaning; thus पहिरावा *dress* (lit., *what is to be put on*), of R. पहिर् *put on, wear*; बुलावा *a call*, of C. R. बुलाव् *call*, but बुलवाई, बुलावट् *calling*; मिलावा *mixture*, of R. मिल् *mix*; चढावा *sacrifice*, of C. R. चढाव् *sacrifice* (lit., *cause to ascend*).

312. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth sets are used to form *nouns of agency*. The fourth set is the one commonly employed. Thus खातू or खल्लू *glutton* or खवइया or खवेया *eater*, of R. खा *eat*; डरातू or डरल्लू or डरालू or डरवाला or डरवइया *timid. coward*, of R. डर *fear*; रखवार or रखवारा or रखवइया or रखइया *guardian*, of R. रख *keep*; कगडार or कगडालू *quarrelsome*, of R. कगड *quarrel*; छवइया *thatcher*, of R. छा *thatch*; दिवइया *giver*, of R. दे *give*; चरइया *rider*, of R. चर *mount*; देखवइया *observer*, of R. देख *see*; सुनवइया *listener*, of R. सुन *hear*; बनवइया *maker*, of C. R. बनाव *make*, etc. The fem. makes nouns of, act., as रखवारी *guarding*.

313. *Affinities*. The first and second sets occur in all Gds. as suff. of the part. fut. pass. or of nouns of act. (i. e., of the infinitive). exc. in P.<sup>1</sup>). Thus the first set in B. (wk. f.) इव (in the fut. tense act., S. Ch. 146) and (st. f.) इवा or (by elision of व) contr. आ (as “gerund or verbal noun”, S. Ch. 149. i. e., as part. fut. pass. and inf.); this same आ or (uncontracted) इये (= इवे = इए) is used also in an *active* sense as a suff. of nouns of agency: e. g., घासकाटा *a grass cutter* (S. Ch. 154. 149). Similarly in O. (wk. f.) इव (in the fut. act. Sn. 27) and (st. f.) इवा or contr. आ (Sn. 30). Also in W. H. (as inf. and part. fut. pass.) (st. f.) Br. अखो or अत्रो or इखो or इत्रो or Mw. अखो or अत्रो or इखो or इत्रो (obl. f. अवे or इवे, as in E. H.). In G. it occurs as the suff. of a part. fut. pass.. ending in (st. f.) m. अत्रो, f. अत्रो, n. अत्रुं, and forms the so-called “potential” (Ed. 57); e. g., नारे छोउखो हतो lit.. *by me he should be delivered*; also as suff. of the infinitive, viz. (st. f.) अत्रुं neut. (Ed. 50. 112); e. g., छोउत्रुं *to deliver*. Also in S. it occurs; though never to form an inf., but only a part. fut. pass. in इत्रो (in the fut. tense pass. Tr. 336), and strangely also a part. present pass. (Tr. 54); e. g., इडिखो pres. *being given up* (Tr. 331) or fut. *he shall be given up* (Tr. 336). Perhaps it exists also in the M. inf. termin. अ, a strong form, contr. for इअ = इव (Man. 61, 5. 71):

1) The so-called P. „gerund“ (Ld. 24. 45. 81) ending in उआ m., इ f., is identical with the past part. pass.; see the § on compound verbs.

e. g., सोडूँ to loose (for \*सोडिऊँ = Mw. होडिओँ, G. होडवँ)<sup>1)</sup>. — The second set, which now forms in E. H. and similarly in W. H. verbal nouns only, is still used in M. to form the part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) आवेँ neut. (called "supine" in Man. 62. 61, 5), with an obl. f. आवया (= E. H. आवे) or (by eliding व्) contr. आया (= E. H. ऐ, B. इये). It also occurs in M. with the sense of a part. pres. pass. in the formation of the pres. conj. teuse, ending in आवा m., आवी f., आवेँ n.; e. g., M. मी सुटावा I may be loosed (lit. I am to be loosed), or म्याँ सोटावा I may loose him (lit. by me he may be loosed or by me he is to be loosed); see § 509, 3. — The other sets occur also in W. H., except that there is no change of ल् to र् in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> sets; e. g., W. H. रखवाल् or °ला, f. °ली; कगडाल्. The 5<sup>th</sup> set occurs in M. as अवाडू or अवाकू (see Bs. II, 60; e. g., कन्हवाडू pitiful, of R. कन्ह moan); and in G. as अवानो (commonly used to form the fut. tense act.; e. g., होडवानो he shall deliver, of R. होड Ed. 61), the original pass. sense of which may be seen from its use in the so-called "potential" (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे होडवानो हतो lit., by me he should be delivered. The sixth set occurs in M. as ~~अवाडू~~ or अकू (see Man. 114. Bs. II, 60; e. g., खेलाडू frolicsome, of R. खेल play; खाताडू itching, of R. खात itch); in S. as आरौ or आर (Tr. 53; e. g., घारारौ or घोरार pedlar, of R. घोरे seek; पीजारौ cotton-carder, of R. पिज्ज card).

314. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit लव्य forming the part. fut. pass. It is often added with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतव्य. The addition of इ is general in Pr. (Vr. 7, 33. H. C. 3, 157) and universal in Gd. The suff. इतव्यम् (nom. sg. neut.) becomes in Pr. एअव्वं or इअव्वं (H. C. 3, 157) and in Ap. \*एव्वं or एवँ (H. C. 4, 438. K. I. 53 in Ls. 469, 5) or इव्वं (K. I. 50 in Ls. 468, 3); finally in E. H. इव् or अव्. Similarly,

1) If it were not the long vowel ऊ, it might be taken as a contr. of the Pr. एउं or इउं = Skr. इतुम् H. C. 3, 157; like the M. conj. part. in ऊपा = Pr. एऊपा or इऊपा, Skr. \*इत्वानम्.



with the pleon. अ added, Skr. इत्यकम्, Pr. एष्वक् or एष्वक्, Ap. Sr. (a) एवुं (H. C. 4, 438. 4, 354) or Ap. Mg. (b) एवा (= \*एवए or \*एव्व, cf. § 54), W. Gd. (a) इवौ or अवौ or E. Gd. (b) एवा or अवा or S. Gd. (b) अवै (= \*एव्व). Thus Skr. कर्तव्यम् (or \*कर्तव्यम्), Pr. करेव्वं or करिष्वं, Ap. \*करेव्वं or करिव्वं or कर्वं, E. H. करिष् or कर्ष्; again Skr. कर्तव्यकम्, Pr. करेव्वक् or करिष्वक्. Ap. (a) \*करेव्वं or (b) करेव्वं or (c) करेवा; Gd. (a) M. करावै, (b) W. H. करिवौ, (c) O. करिवा. It should be remarked, that H. C. expressly gives the neut. wk. f. एवं (H. C. 4, 441) as an inf. suffix, while the corresponding st. f. एवुं and एवा (H. C. 4, 438) are mentioned as suff. of the part. fut. pass. — The suff. अवार् is a comp. of the suff. अव् or आव् + suff. वार् of § 220, and the suff. अवइया a comp. of suff. आव् + pleon. suff. ऐया (of the redundant form, § 202); and the suff. अवार् or अवारा a comp. of suff. आव् + pleon. suff. वार् or वरा (§ 209); and the suff. आवट् a comp. of suff. आव् + ट्. The nature of the latter element (ट्) is obscure. Perhaps it represents the Skr. suff. ता of abstract nouns (§ 220, also contained in the suff. अवार्) or त्वम् (or fem. \*त्वा in Mg., see Wb. Bh. 437); thus Skr. इत्यता or त्वम् = Mg. इष्वता or Ap. \*एव्वटा, E. H. आवट्; the change of त् to ट् (as in पट् for पत्न H. C. 2, 29) may be owing to a confusion with the suff. आवट् or आवट् (§ 284) derived from the Skr. वृत्ता = Pr. वट्. — Again the suff. वार्, अवइया and वार् (or वालू) are contr. respectively from the suff. अवार्, अवइया and अवारा (or अवाला), by the elision of व्; just as the E. H. obl. f. ऐ is contr. for B. र्ये (= इवे), and the M. obl. f. वाया for आवया (§ 313). — The suff. तव्य, in course of time, lost its originally pass. sense and became active, as in B. अ and इये (see § 313); in the other Gds., this process was facilitated by the addition of the pleon. suff. ऐया and वरा = Ap. Pr. अव्व ( = अवक्के) and अव्व, the उ of which latter suff. changed, as usual in Gd., to ऋ or ल् or र् or न्. E. g., Ap. रवेव्वउउ (Skr. रक्षितव्यः), W. H. रव्वालौ or E. H. र्वा: Ap. रवेव्वउउ, M. \*रवेव्वउ or contr. रवेव्वउ. Similarly the originally pass. suff. अनीया (of the part. fut.) and इत (of the past. part.) have become active

in Gd. (see §§ 316. 305). It is a remarkable fact, that the suff. *तव्य* has suffered a precisely analogous change in the Latin *tivus*. Its derivatives occur very rarely in classic Latin, and, as a rule, are used passively, as *captivus* "prisoner", *votivus* „dedicated“; but *stativus* "appointed" or "stationary" is both pass. and act., and *fugitivus* "fugitive" is active. But in the later (low) Latin they are very common, and, as a rule, used actively; as *effectivus* „effective“, *operativus*, *contemplativus*, *negativus*, etc.

*Fourth Group.*

315.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	अन्	अना	अनी
	2)	आवन् or अान्	अउना or औना	अउनी or औनी
	3)	अनिहारू	अनिहारा	अनिहारी
	4)	—	अनेवारा or °ला	अनेवारी or °ली

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. The second set, on being added to caus. and den. roots in आव्, supersedes that termin. For the rest, see § 298, note.

316. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of ~~agency~~ and agency, from any root. The nouns of agency are, in fact, *part. fut. act.*, implying the habit of doing a thing. As to the change of the sense from pass. to act., see § 309. The verbal nouns of act., formed by these suff. and used as infinitives in W. H. and the other Gds., are seldom or never employed so in E. H.

\*317. All these suff. (exc. the strong femin. of the third set) are occasionally used to form the part. fut. pass., and generally have some particular meaning. Thus देन् or देना or देनी *what is to be given, a debt*, of R. दे *give*; लेन् or लेना or लेनी *what is to be taken, a receipt*, of R. ले *take*, as in the phrase लेन् देन् *intercourse, traffic*; ब्रान् or ब्राना *what is to be played, a musical instrument*, of R. ब्रन् *be played*; ओढना or ओढनी *what is to be put on, a cloak or sheet*, of R. ओढ् *put on, wear*; बिहावन् or बिहउना or बिहौना or f. °नी *what is to be spread, bed-clothes*, of R. बिह् or बिहाव् *spread*; खेळउना or खेळौना, f. °नी *what is to be played*

with, a toy, of R. खेल् *play*; भरउना or भरौना *what is to be loaded, a load.* of R. भराव् *load*; कहौनी (H. H. कहानी) *what is to be said. a story,* of R. कह् *speak*; पहिरावन् or पहिरोनी *what is to be put on, garments,* of R. पहिर् *put on*; इउनी or इौनी *encampments, barracks* (lit., *what is to be thatched*), of R. इा *thatch*; पठन् or पठनी *what is to be read, spell, charm,* of R. पठ् *read*. Again होना, f. होनी, or m. f. होनिहार or m. ०रा, or m. होनेवारा, f. ०री *what is to be. possible, future,* and अहोना *impossible.* of R. हो (but होनेहारी *possibility, futurity*).

318. The third and fourth sets (exc. the strong femin. of the former) are used to form part. fut. act. or nouns of agency. Thus m. f. करनिहार, m. ०रा *one who is going to do or a doer,* of R. कर् *do*; m. f. पठनिहार or m. पठनिहारा or पठनेवारा or ०ला, f. ०री or ०ली *one who is going to read, a reader,* of R. पठ् *read*; m. f. देनेहार or m. ०रा or m. देनेवाला or ०रा, f. ०लो or ०री *one who is going to give, a giver,* of R. दे *give*, etc. Occasionally also the strong forms of the first and second sets form nouns of agency, as हँसना, f. ०नी *jester,* of R. हँस् *laugh*; डरउना or डरौना, f. ०नी *coward, timid,* of R. डर् *fear*; सुहउना or सुहौना, f. ०नी *pleasing,* of R. सुहाव् *please*; विनउना or विनौना, f. ०नी *disgusting,* of R. विनाव् *nauseate*; पहिउनी or पहिरोनी *a tire-woman,* of C. R. पहिराव् *attire*. The fem. in अनी often signifies an instrument, and the masc. in आन् a place; thus fem. खोदनी *a spade* (lit., *digger*), of R. खोद् *dig*; लेखनी *style, pen,* of R. लेख् *write, engrave*; कतरनी *scissors,* of R. कतर् *cut*; सुननी *sense of hearing,* of R. सुन् *hear*, etc.: and masc. उठान् *area, court,* of R. उठ् *rise*; बकान् *place for ensnaring,* of R. बाक् or बकाव् *ensnare*; ठिकान् *halting-place,* of R. ठिक् *halt*.

319. The weak forms of the first and second sets and the strong femin. of the first, second and third sets are commonly used to form nouns of act. Thus m. कहन् or f. कहनी *speaking, speech,* of R. कह् *speak*; सुनन् or सुननी *hearing,* of R. सुन् *hear*; लेन् or लेनी *taking,* of R. ले *take*; करन् or करनी <sup>1)</sup> *action,* of R. कर् *do*; रहन् or रहनी <sup>1)</sup> *existence, living,* of R. रह् *remain, live*; होनी <sup>1)</sup> *occur*

1) Also कर्तव्, रहतव्, होतव् or होनिहार, which are clearly part.

rence, *accidence*, of R. हो *be*; सुकावन् *direction, advice*, of R. सुकाव् *show*; मनावन् *agreement, respect*, of R. मान् *respect* or मनाव् *persuade*; व्रतनी *dispute*, of R. व्रत् *fight*; लिखनी *writing*, of R. लिख् *wrote*; सिखावन् *instruction*, of R. सिखाव् *teach*, etc. Especially the suff. अन्; as उडान् *flying*, of R. उड् *fly*; कुडान् *leaping*, of R. कूड् *leap*; चढान् *ascent, riding*, of R. चढ् *mount, ride*; डोलन् or डोलान् *movement*, of R. डोल् *move*; बइठान् *sitting, session*, of R. बइठ् *sit*; धरान् *holding*, of R. धर् *hold*; पक्रान् *seizure*, of R. पक्र् *seize*; सिचान् *irrigation*, of R. सीच् *irrigate*; उठान् *rising*, of R. उठ् *rise*; चलान् *clearance*, of R. चलाव् *dispatch*; लडान् *fighting*, of R. लड् *fight*, etc.

*Note:* उडान् *flying*, etc. may be also उडाव्, उडाई, उडावर, etc.; see § 308. — The derivatives of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> sets must not be confounded with those of the Skr. suff. अन्, which are not E. H. formations but received from the Skr. as tats. or tadbh. The suff. अन् no longer exists as such in Gd., nor apparently did it do so in Pr. Its derivatives in E. H. can be often recognized by the fact of the non-existence of their roots in it. Thus E. H. पान् *beverage*, दान् *giving*, मान् *respect*, गवन् or गमन् *going*, बधावन् *presents*, etc., whose roots \*पा, \*दा, \*मा, \*गम्, \*वधाप्, etc. do not exist in E. H., at least in this particular form. But sometimes it may remain doubtful, whether an E. H. word is an old tadbh. deriv. of the Skr. suff. अन् or an E. H. formation of the present group.

320. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds.; but those of the 4<sup>th</sup> set are not properly E. H., nor generally E. or S. Gd. (cf. S. Ch. 154. Man. 113, 2), but introduced into them from the W. Gd., especially from W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 76 अन्वारो or अनेवारो). — The third set is that commonly used in E. H.; it occurs also in W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 75); in G. it is contr. to अनाद् (forming the fut. act. tense, Ed. 61), also in M. अणार् or अणार् (forming the fut. part. act. or nouns

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fut. pass. and thus disclose the etymological character of the words in the text.

of agency, Man. 63, 3. 64, 4). — The first and second set is used in all Gds. in the same way as in E. H.; moreover, the masc. strong form commonly serves as the (so-called) infinitive in W. H. (अनोँ or अनौ in Br. and अनोँ or अनौ in Mw.), P. (अणा or अना Ld. 24, 80); also in M. (neuter) अणोँ (called “gerund” in Man. 61, 100. 62); and, in the weak form, in B. अन or अनि or अन् or अनि (S. Ch 149. 186), O. अण or अण (Sn. 30, 38), W. H. (Br.) अनि, S. अणु or इणु (Tr. 54. 251), N. अनु. The strong form exists also as a suff. of the part. fut. pass. in W. H. m. अनोँ, f. अनौ, and S. m. अणो or इणो, f. अणौ or इणौ (Tr. 279. 55).

321. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. kṛit अनौय, which in Pr. becomes अणौय (Vr. 2, 17. H. C. 1, 248) or अणौय (as in पाणौय or पाणौय *water* = Skr. पानौय Vi. 1, 18. H. C. 1. 101) or अणय (or अणय Wb. Bh. 418. H. C. 1, 443. 441). The latter form has already dropped the passive signification and become a suff. of act. or agency. From the Ap. forms अणय or अणय, by the addition of the pleon. suff. उ or उअ or अउ or अउअ, arise the forms अणयउ or अणयउअ, which become अणयउ or अणयउ or अणयउ or अणयउ in M. and G.; and the form अणयउअ, which (inserting euph. व्) appears in S. as अनयउ, W. H. अनयउ; and the forms अणयउअ or अणयउअ, which (inserting euph. ह्) appear in E. H. etc. as अनयउ or अनयउ. The simple Ap. form अणय (H. C. 4, 443) appears in E. H. etc. as अना. The simple Ap. अणय, which forms the inf. (H. C. 4, 441) appears in the W. H. infinitive in अनोँ or अनौ; and the Ap. inf. suff. अणहि (H. C. 1, 441) in the W. H. inf. suff. अने or shortened अनि. — It is probable that in the popular usage the two kṛit suff. अन (pleon. अनक = Pr. अणय) and अनौय have become confused, so as to make a correct allotment of their respective derivatives a matter of difficulty. But as there can be no doubt, that the passive suff. तय has become an active suff. of act. and agency (see § 314), it is extremely probable that the same change has occurred in the case of the similar suff. अनौय, the modern derivatives of which exhibit remarkably analogous forms and meanings to those of the

suff. तव्य. — The secondary suff. वात्ता or वारा (§ 293) have contributed a further cause of popular confusion.

*Fifth Group.*

322. Set. 1) Fem. अत् or अती. Set. 2) Fem. आवत् or औती. The forms in ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

323. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from a root; but they exist only in a limited number of words. Thus the first set in चुक्त् or चुक्ती *settlement*, of R. चुक् *finish*; चुनत् *plaiting, plants*, of R. चुन् *plant*; वसती *dwelling, village*, of R. वस् *dwell*; भरती *filling up, enlistment*, of R. भर *fill*; चरुती *rising, gain*, of R. चरु *rise*; वरुती *increase*, of R. वरु *increase*; घटती *decrease*, of R. घट् *decrease*; लगती *belonging, assessment*, of R. लग् *belong*. Occasionally the root is not in use, as in अरुत् *commission* (lit., *increase*), of R. \*अरु; बिनती *information, petition*, of R. \*बिन्. The second set in समुकावत् or समुकौती *explaining*, of R. समुकाव् *explain*; हुटौती *release*, of R. हुटाव् *release*; मनौती *security*, of R. मनाव् *cause to trust*.

324. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds. ~~Those~~ of the second set, however, appear to be extinct in B. and O., see Bs. II, 108. In M. they are उत् and अवती; in G. औती or उती; in P. and W. H. आवत्, औती. Thus W. H. and P. समुकौती, G. समग्रुती, M. समग्रूत्; W. H. and P. मनौती, G. मनौती; W. H. and P. चुकौती, M. चुक्वती. S. seems to have only the first set in अति (Tr. 49).

325. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit ति (fem.), added to the caus. or denom. radical suff. आप् (§ 349); thus आप्ति or, with pleon. क added, आप्तिका; and in Pr. अन्ती or अन्तिष्ठा, in E. H. अत् or अती. Thus Skr. विज्ञापिका, Mg. विन्नन्तिष्ठा, E. H. बिनती; or Skr. \*वर्धपिका (of R. वृध्), Mg. वट्टन्तिष्ठा, E. H. वरुती; or Skr. \*अर्थपिः (of R. ऋध्), Mg. अट्टन्ती (cf. T. V. 3, 1. 13)<sup>1)</sup>, E. H. अरुत्, M. अउत्, O., B., G., S. आउत् (see Bs.

1) According to H. C. 4, 81 Pr. substitutes आअट्ट for the Skr. R.

II, 53). — By the dissolution of the conjunct  $\text{प्र}$ , the forms Pr.  $\text{आवती}$  or  $\text{आवतिआ}$ , E. II.  $\text{आवत्}$  or  $\text{औती}$  might arise. thus Skr. \*मनाविका, Mg. \*मणावतिआ, E. H. मनौती (for मनवती or मनउती, §§ 25. 34. 78).

*Sixth Group.*

326. Com. gen. अ. Masc. आ. Fem. ई.

The form अ is weak; the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

327. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from any root. As a rule they are fem. Thus सूक् *sight*, of R. सूक् *see*; लयेद् f. *dragging* (W. H. लयेद्), of R. लयेद् *draggle*; चपेट् f. or चपेटा m. a *slap*, of R. चपेट् *slap*; खेल् m. or f. *play*, of R. खेल् *play*; चाल् f. *walking, conduct, custom*, of R. चाल् or चल् *walk*; पकड़् f. *seizure* (W. H. पकड़), of R. पकड़ *seize*; हंस् m f. or हंसा m.. हंसी f. *laughter*, of R. हंस् *laugh*; दउड् f. or दउडा m. or दउडी f. *running, race*, of R. दउड् *run*; रगड़् f. or रगडा m. *rubbing*, of R. रगड़् *rub*; फेर m. or फेरा m. or फेरी f. *turning, circumambulation*, of R. फेर *turn*; दाव् m. *pressure, force, fear*, of R. दाव् *press*; बोल् m. or बोली f. *speech, dialect*, of R. बोल् *speak*; पइताव् m. or पइतावा m. *repentance*, of R. पइताव् *repent*, etc.

328. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds. with very slight differences: W. H. has m. f. अ, and m. औ or ओ, f. ई; S. m, उ, f. अ or इ, and m. ओ, f. ई (Tr. 46. 47); G. m. f. अ, and m. ओ, f. ई; M., B. and O. have the same as E. H. Thus M. बोल्, बोली *speaking, language* (Man. 107); बाँध्, बाँधा *binding, embankment*, of R. बाँध् (Man. 107), etc.; S. भोल् f. *error*, E. H. भूल्, of R. भुल्; S. घाटि f. or घाटो m. *decrease*, of R. घट्; S. फेर m. *turning* (Tr. 46. 47). Further examples see in Bs. II, 51. 52.

329. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अ, which (in the nom. sing.) forms m. अः, f. आ and, with pleon. क added, m. अकः, f. इका. These are in Mg. m. ए. f. आ,

व्यापृ; T. V. 3, 1. 13 gives आअड्; thus H. C. आअड्डे, T. V. आअड्डे. The derivation is obscure; but it seems rather to be connected with the R. अथ्.

and m. घट्, f. ड्या; whence E. H. m. f. घ (cf. §§ 42. 45) and m. घा, f. ई (cf. §§ 47. 51). Thus Skr. क्रीडः or क्रीडा (or खेलत), Mg. खेले or खेला (cf. H. C. 4, 382), E. H. खेल्; again Skr. हसः or हसिका, A. Mg. हसे or हसिघा, E. H. हस् or हसो, etc.

*Seventh Group.*

330.

Com. gen. उ or घाउ.

Both forms are strong. Causal roots in घाव् take the suff. घाउ which supersedes the caus. termination; that is, उ is added to घाव्, the व् of which is elided.

331. These suff. are used to derive nouns of (habitual) agency from any root. Thus उ in खाउ *eater*, *glutton*, of R. खा; उचाट् *rexatious*, of R. उचाट् *rex*; मारु *fighter*, *beater*, of R. मारु *bent*; मूँड् *ascetic* (lit., *one who shaves his head*), of R. मूँड् *shave*; काट् *cutter*, *biter*, of R. काट् *cut*, *bite*; कारु *sweeper*, *broom*, of R. कारु *sweep* (W. H. काइ); जागु *vigilant*, of R. जागु *wake*; बिगाडु *spoiler*, of R. बिगाडु *spoil*, etc. Again घाउ; in कगडाउ *quarrelsome*, of R. कगड् *quarrel*; उडाउ *spendthrift*, of R. उडाव् *squander* (lit., *cause to fly*); कमाउ *laborer*, *bread-winner*, of R. कमाव् *labor*, *earn*; टिकाउ *stationary*, of R. टिक् *stop*; बिकाउ *saleable*, of R. बिक् *sell* (intrans.); फुल्लाउ *coaxer*, *tempter*, of R. फुल्लाव् *coax*. Occasionally the root no more exists in E. H. as डाकु or डाकू *robber*, of R. \*डाक् *bite* or *overpower*.

332. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. H., nor E. Gd., but W. Gd., whence they have been introduced. W. H., P. and S., like the E. H. (Tr. 51), have उ and घाउ; G. appears to have a weak form in उ, as खाउ *eater*, काउ *broom*, etc.; see Bs. II, 37 where other examples will be found; it may, however, be strong; for G. has a tendency to shorten a strong final उ or ओ; e. g., Ap. Pr. सोखउं, Mw. सोनो is in G. सोनु or सोनु *gold* (Skr. सुवर्णम्).

333. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit त् or, with pleon. क added, तृक; the ऋ of which has a tendency to change to उ in Pr. (cf. H. C. 3, 44), also in Páli (see Ms. 40. Bs. II, 57). Whence (nom. sing.) Pr. उ or उओ (= \*तु; or



\*तुक्:), W. Gd. उ or ऊ; e. g., Skr. भर्ता *husband* (base भर्तृ), Pr. भन्तू (H. C. 3, 44), Gd. *deest* (E. H. has भन्तार. Pr. भन्तारा H. C. 3, 44); Skr. पिता *father* (base पितृ), Pr. पिउ or पिउओ (H. C. 1, 131), P. पिउ or पिउ; Skr. भ्राता *brother* (base भ्रातृ), Pr. भाउ or भाउओ (H. C. 1, 131) or Ap. भ्राउ or भ्राउउ (cf. H. C. 4, 398), P. भाउ or भाउ or भ्राउ or भ्राउ (cf. Ld. 10. 30), S. भाउ, M. भाउ. Similarly Skr. दंष्ट्रकः (of R. दंष्ट्र or दंस्) *one who bites or overpowers*, Pr. डकुओ (cf. H. H. 2, 2 डकुओ = Skr. दष्टः *bitten*), Ap. डकुउ, W. Gd. डकु *robber*. — The suff. तृ was often added in Skr. with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतृ. This was, probably, generally done in Pr. (see the analogous cases of the suff. इत and इतव्य §§ 306. 314). and universally in Gd. Whence we have in Pr. इउ or इउओ and (with absorption of इ) in W. Gd. उ (G.) or ऊ (W. H., P., S.). Thus Skr. खादित् *cater* (base खादितृ), Pr. खाइउ or खाइउओ, G. खाउ or W. H. खाउ; Skr. मारित् *beater*, Pr. मारिउ or मारिउओ, G. माह or W. H. मारह, etc. — The suff. घाउ contains the caus. or denom. suff. घाप्; thus Skr. कर्मापयित् *worker*, Pr. कम्मावेउओ or कम्मावउओ, W. Gd. कमाउ, where व् is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted, as usual in caus. and denom. verbs (e. g., W. H. part. pres. कम्मानु *working* = Pr. कम्मावन्तो or कम्मावेन्तो).

#### Eighth Group.

334.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	अक्	अका	अकी
	2)	आक्	आका	आकी

The forms of com. gen. are weak; the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

335. The first set forms nouns of act. In many cases the original root is no longer in use; and the derivative itself, in its weak form, is employed as a root. The weak form is, as a rule, fem. Thus बइठक् f. or बइठका m. *sitting, seat*, of R. बइठ् *sit*; कसक् f. *pain*, of R. कस् *tighten*; तउक् f. *cracking, cleft*, तर्का *day-break*, of R. \*तर् or तर्क् (W. H. तउक्) *crack*; कसक् f. or कसका m., °की f. *glittering*, of R. \*कम् (*wave*) or कसक् *glitter*; कलक् f. *glitter*, कलकी f. *glance*, of R. \*कल् or कलक् *glitter*; कपक् f. or °की m. or

°की f. *snatch, wink*, of R. \*कप् *be quick* (Skr. अद्यप् ?); कटक् f. or °का m. *twitch*, of R. \*कट् *be quick* (Skr. अद्यट् ?); फडक् f. *palpitation*, फडकी *partition, screen*. of R. फाड् *split*; फाटक् m. *gate*, of R. फाट् *split*; सडक् f. *road*, of R. सट् *join?*, etc.

336. The second set is used to derive nouns of agency from roots. Thus चराक् m. or f. *an animal that grazes*, of R. चर् *graze*; चलाक् m. or f. *active, clever*, चलाकी f. *cleverness* (see § 257), of R. चल् *walk, move*; दडगक् m. or f. *runner, racer*, of R. दड् *run*; लराक् m. or f. or °का m., °की f. *quarrelsome*, of R. लर् (W. H. लड्) *fight*; उगक् m. or f. *capable of flying, fledged*, of R. उड् *fly*; पडराक् *swimmer*, पैराकी *act or art of swimming*, of R. पडर् *swim*, etc.

337. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds.; but the W. Gds. have final ओ or ओ- for E. Gd. आ; and S. has आकु or आक् for E. H. आक् or आका (Tr. 52, 9). Examples, see in Bs. II, 31—33. 42. 43. They are exactly the same as in E. H.

338. *Derivation*. The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अक, which is really a compound of the krit suff. (or nominal termin.) अ and the nominal base क (probably = कृ ~~do~~ *doing*, of R. कृ *do*) meaning *doing, agent*. On this subject see § 353. The derivatives of the suff. अक, therefore, are really compound words, made up of two nominal bases, one ending in अ, the other being क; e. g., Skr. कर्षक = कर्ष + क lit. *making a tightening*, E. H. कसक्. An initial क् of the second part of a compound has a tendency to be preserved or even doubled in Pr.; e. g., अहङ्करे or अहक्करे (H. C. 2, 99 = अह + करे), पडिक्कलं or पडिक्कलं (H. C. 2, 93 = प्रति + कूल), मुक्को or मुक्को (H. C. 2, 99 = मू + क lit. *made fast*, i. e., *dumb*). Hence the preservation of it in the Gd. suffixes. — The second set, probably, contains the denom. suff. आप्, and is equal to Skr. आपक; thus Skr. उडुपकः, Mg. उडुपके or उडुअके, E. H. उडगक्, with elision of व् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels.

## SECOND CHAPTER. ROOTS.

339. The usual rule in Hindi grammars for ascertaining the form of the root is, to reject the suff. of the infinitive. This rule holds good for the E. H. also. The root is obtained by detaching the suff. *ञ्च्* or *इच्* (§ 308). Thus R. पठ् from inf. पठ्च् to read; R. ब्रूक् from inf. ब्रूक्च् to know; R. खा from inf. खाइच् or खाव् to eat. In some cases, however, a *च्* or *व्* must be either supplied or omitted; thus R. पाव् from inf. पाइच् to obtain (for \*पाविच् § 33); R. जी from inf. जीवच् to live; R. चू from inf. चूवच् or चूञ्च् to drip; R. रो from inf. रोवच् or रोञ्च् to weep, etc. It will be found that with a few exceptions (about 25) which have a final vowel, all E. H. roots terminate with a consonant.

340. The same result, however, is obtained by taking the 3<sup>d</sup> pers. sing. pres. conj. (see § 495) and detaching from it the termination ऐ (or ए); thus R. पठ्, from पठे he reads; R. ब्रूक्, from ब्रूके he knows; R. पाव्, from पावे he obtains; R. खा, from खाव् he eats; R. जी, from जीवे he lives; R. चू, from चूरे he drips; R. रो, from रोरे or रोवे he weeps. Moreover, this, unlike the ordinary method, presents the E. H. root in the most convenient form for comparing it with the original Skr. root which it represents. Thus while in such cases as that of the inf. पठ्च् to read and 3. sg. pres. conj. पठे he reads, both forms lead equally well to the original Skr. root पठ्, through their respective Skr. and Pr. equivalents (viz., inf. Ap. Pr. पठिञ्च्, Skr. पठितव्यन् and pres. Pr. पठद्, Skr. पठति); on the other hand, in such cases as ब्रूक्च् to know, it is only the 3. sg. ब्रूके he knows, which leads through its equivalents, Pr. वृक्कद्, Skr. वृध्यते (i. e. वृध्-य-ते). to the original (Skr.) form of the root वृध्; for the inf. ब्रूक्च् can, by no possibility, be an equivalent of the Skr. बोधितव्यम्. Its Skr. equivalent would be, if it could exist at all, some such form as \*बुध्यितव्यम्. Such inf. as ब्रूक्च्, in fact, are purely Gd. formations, made from a previously changed radical form ब्रूक्. For the explanation of this and similar radical changes, see §§ 344—349.

341. *Affinities.* On the whole, the Gds. show a very close agreement with one another, as regards roots; especially the E. and W. H. The differences are, in general, only phonetic. Thus E. H. uses र् and ल्, where W. H. has ह् and ल् (see §§ 29. 30); e. g., E. H. पर् fall, W. H. पड़; E. H. चर् walk, W. H. चल. Or E. H. has इ where M. has त् (see § 11); e. g., E. H. हुद् be loosed, होद् loose, M. सुद्, सोड. Or E. H. has an aspirate, where M. has a tenuis (see § 145, note); e. g., E. H. सिख् or सीख् learn, M. सिक्, etc. Sometimes the difference is greater, and is either phonetic or due to different derivation; e. g., E. H. बैस् sit, N. बस्, P. बह्, S. बिह (Skr. उपविष्, cf. § 173); or E. H. सूत् sleep (dén. of the Skr. part सुप्, § 352), W. H. सो (Skr. R. स्वप्). Sometimes the same root, though it may exist in both languages, is common in one, but uncommon in the other; e. g., E. H. गोहराव् call, W. H. पुकार. There are, however, a few roots, especially in S. and M., which do not exist in E. H.; e. g., S. पस् see, M. पाह् see, but E. H. दिस् or देख्, which are also S. and M.

342. ✓ If the E. H. roots are examined, they will be found capable of division into two classes. Firstly, those which ~~though~~ disguised more or less by phonetic modifications, are direct representatives of old Skr. roots (single or compound); secondly such as, though ultimately connected with Skr. roots, are not directly traceable to any of them. ✓ Examples of the first kind are: E. H. चल, Skr. चल् walk; E. H. तप्, Skr. तप् be hot; E. H. ज्ञान्, Skr. ज्ञा know; E. H. कर, Skr. कृ do; E. H. बो, Skr. वप् sow; E. H. खा, Skr. खाद् eat; E. H. चू, Skr. श्र्युत् leak; E. H. कोप्, Skr. कुप् be angry (§ 148); E. H. बोल्, Skr. वद् speak; E. H. मल्, Skr. मृद् rub; E. H. तूद् or टूद्, Skr. ब्रुद् break (§ 174); E. H. बस्, Skr. वर्ष् rub; E. H. परिस्, Skr. स्पर्स् touch (§ 58, note); E. H. परोस्, Skr. परिचिष् distribute (§ 122, 5); E. H. देख्, Skr. दृष् see; E. H. उठ, Skr. उत्था rise; E. H. काँड्, Skr. अध्वद् sweep (§ 172), etc. Of the second kind are: E. H. भूल् forget, cf. Skr. भ्रमर्; E. H. द्वाह् wish, cf. Skr. उत्साह् (§ 173); E. H. बड़् sit, cf. Skr. उपविष्ट (§ 173); E. H. पड़् enter, cf. Skr. प्रविष्ट; E. H. सूत् sleep, cf. Skr. सुप्; E. H.

निकाल् or निकाह् *eject*, cf. Skr. निष्कृष्ट (cf. §§ 113. 114); E. H. ज्ञातव् *make known*, cf. Skr. ज्ञाप; E. H. पलट् or पल्य् *turn over*, cf. Skr. पर्यस्त (§ 143); E. H. पक् *cook*, cf. Skr. पकु; E. H. पहिचान् *recognize*, cf. Skr. परिचयनम् (§ 69); E. H. कौक् *spy, peep*, cf. Skr. कृ; E. H. ओक् *vomit*, cf. Skr. वम् कृ; E. H. कडक् *crack, rumble*, cf. Skr. कर्द कृ; E. H. धौक् *blow*, cf. Skr. धुम् कृ, etc. The first class of roots I shall designate *primary*, the other *secondary*.

### 1. PRIMARY ROOTS.

343. The phonetic disguises which affect the primary roots and make them differ more or less from their Skr. originals, are generally owing to the following causes: 1) phonetic permutation of the radical consonant or vowel; 2) the incorporation of the Sanskritic „class-suffix“ into the root; 3) the change of the Sanskritic „class“ of the root; 4) the addition of the pleonastic radical suff. ऋप्ति. Not unfrequently several of these causes act together. On the other hand a few roots, favored by peculiar phonetic circumstances, remain altogether unchanged so as to be ~~identical~~ in E. H. and in Skr.

344. *Phonetic permutation.* 1) Final radical consonants are principally exposed to this cause of change, because through the accretion of the (so-called) „class-suffix“. they generally become medial, and then, in their progress through Pr. and according to its laws, liable to permutation or elision. Thus E. H. खा *eat* for Pr. खा, Skr. खाद्; as 3<sup>d</sup> sing. pres. Skr. खादति, Pr. खाअद् or खाद् (Vr. 8, 27), E. H. खाय्. Sometimes, however, a root contains a final consonant which Pr. tolerates, and thus identical roots arise; e. g., E. H. चल् *walk* for Pr. चल, Skr. चल; as Skr. चलति, Pr. चलद्, E. H. चल. Hence, when the E. H. exhibits an (apparently) identical root with Skr. (as E. H. तप् *be hot*), containing a final consonant, which would ordinarily be liable to change in Pr., the identity is open to suspicion, and is, probably, to be accounted for in a different way, namely by the incorporation of „the class-suffix“, see § 345. — 2) Initial radical consonants are rarely

liable to change, and, indeed, never change, unless they are compound consonants or a prefix is added, when the initial cons., being now medial, is either changed or elided in Pr.; but such roots are of unfrequent occurrence in E. H.; thus E. H. चू *leak* for Pr. चु (चो), Skr. श्र्युत् or च्युत्; as Skr. श्र्योतति, Pr. चुअइ (H. C. 2, 77) or चोअइ, E. H. चूऐ; or E. H. परोस् *offer food* for Pr. परिवेस्, Skr. परिवेष् (caus. of परि-विष्); as Skr. परिवेषयति, Pr. परिवेसेइ or परिवेसइ, E. H. परोसे (§ 122, 5). Very exceptionally a real single initial cons. is changed; e. g., E. H. हो *be* for Pr. हुव, Skr. भू (§ 176, note), as Skr. भवति, Pr. हुवइ or होइ (Vr. 8, 1), E. H. होय् *he is*; but the original भ् is preserved in the E. H. past part. भइल् *been*. — 3) Radical vowels occasionally suffer a change; sometimes through the vocalisation of an adjoining semivowel (य् or व्, §§ 121. 122); thus E. H. हो *be* for Pr. हुव or हव, Skr. भू; E. H. भीन् *moisten* for Skr. अभ्याद् (§ 172); sometimes by the ordinary phonetic laws; thus E. H. मल् *rub* for Pr. मल्, Skr. मृद्, as Skr. मर्दति, Pr. मल्लइ (H. C. 4, 126), E. H. मलै (§ 109); or E. H. तूद् or टूद् *break* for Pr. तुद्, Skr. वृद्, see §§ 143. 147. 174; E. H. कोप् *be angry* for Pr. कुप्, Skr. कुप्, see §§ 143. 148. — 4) Exceptionally the initial vowel of the prefix of a compound root is elided; as E. H. इाह् *wish* for Pr. \*उच्छाह्, see § 173; or E. H. कौइ *sweep* for Pr. अक्कइ, see § 172.

345. *Incorporation of the „class-suffix“.* Skr. roots are divided into *ten* classes, according to the suffix which they assume for the purpose of forming the conjugational base for the four principal tenses or moods (pres., imperf., potent., imper.). In all other tenses these „class-suffixes“ are rejected and the root used alone. Already in Pr., however, it had become the custom, sometimes to incorporate the class-suff. and to use the root, thus amended, as the conjug. base in all tenses (or moods) and derivative verbs (passive, causal, etc.). In Gd. this usage has been still more extended. Thus E. H. has R. ज्ञान् *know* for Pr. ज्ञाप् and ज्ञा, Skr. ज्ञा, through incorporating the suff. ना of the IX<sup>th</sup> class, as Skr. जानाति, Pr. ज्ञापाइ (cf. H. C. 3, 154. Ls.

348 = ज्ञा + णा + इ) or ज्ञाण्ड (Vr. 8, 23 = ज्ञाण् + ञ् + इ); E. H. ज्ञानै; or E. H. चुन् *gather* for Pr. चुण् or चिण् or चि, Skr. चि. through incorporating the suff. नु of the V<sup>th</sup> cl.; as Skr. चिनोति, Pr. चिणोइ (cf. Ls. 347 = चि-णो-इ) or चिण्ड or चुण्ड (Vr. 8, 29. H. C. 4, 238 = चिण् or चुण् + ञ् + इ), E. H. चुनै; or E. H. नाच् *dance* for Pr. णच्, Skr. नृत्, through incorporating the suff. व् of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., as Skr. नृत्यति, Pr. णच्चइ (Vr. 8, 47 = णच् + ञ् + इ), E. H. नाच्, etc. It should be noticed, that the incorporation of the class-suff. is more or less optional in Pr. and, indeed, exceptional as regards the so-called „general“ tenses and derivat. verbs (cf. Wb. Spt. 59); but in Gd. it is absolute. It may be surmised that, while this was the case in the literary Pr., in the more vulgar Ap. dialects, from which the Gd. took its immediate origin, incorporation was the usual, perhaps the general, practice. That it was a real incorporation of the suff. into the root, even in Pr., can be seen clearly from those forms in which according to Skr. usage the class-suff. could have no place; such as ज्ञापिञ्चं (lit., Skr. \*ज्ञानितम्) *known*, but also regularly णाञ्चं (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञाञ्च; or Pr. ज्ञापिऊण (lit., Skr. \*ज्ञानित्वा) or regularly णाऊण (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञात्वा *having known*; or Pr. ज्ञाणावेइ (H. C. 3, 149), for Skr. ज्ञापयति (lit. \*ज्ञानापयति) *he caused to know*; or Pr. चिणिहिइ or चिविहिइ (H. C. 4, 243), for Skr. चेष्यति (lit. \*चिनिष्यति or \*चिन्विष्यति, i. e., चिन् or चिनु-इष्यति) *he will gather*; or Pr. चिव्वइ (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. चीयते (lit., Skr. \*चिन्व्यते or Pr. \*चिण्इच्चइ) *it is gathered*; or Pr. सुण्ड (Spt. 46) or सुण्डच्चइ (cf. H. C. 4, 302. Dl. 24, lit. \*सुन्यते), but also regularly सुव्वइ (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. श्रूयते (lit. \*श्रुव्यते) *it is heard*; or Pr. सुणिऊण (lit., Skr. \*सुनित्वा) or regularly सोऊण (H. C. 4, 241), for Skr. श्रुत्वा *having heard*; or Pr. णच्चानिच्चइ (H. C. 1, 33), for Skr. नर्तितानि (lit. \*नृत्यापितानि) *caused to dance*; or Pr. करिञ्च (lit. \*कर्य) or regularly कद्वञ्च (H. C. 4, 272), for Skr. कृत्वा *having done*, etc. In E. H. this incorporation is so thoroughly established, that the old radical forms have entirely disappeared, and their places have been taken by the new ones, even, e. g., as the base for the formation of the ver-

bal noun in *ज्ञ* which is the source of the modern infinitive (§§ 308—314); thus E. H. *ज्ञानञ्* to *know* for Skr. *ज्ञातव्यम्* (lit. \**ज्ञानितव्यम्*); E. H. *नाचञ्* to *dance* for Skr. *नर्तितव्यम्* (lit. \**नृत्यितव्यम्*), etc. This process explains why many Skr. roots ending in a vowel terminate in E. H. with a consonant.

*Note:* In most of the above examples there is not only an incorporation of the class-suff., but simultaneously also a change of the „class“; see § 347.

346. An exactly analogous process is the *incorporation of the passive suff.* *व*, by which means a few intransitive roots are formed in E. H. from Skr. transitive (active) roots; e. g., the Skr. R. *चप्* is trans. *press*, but the E. H. R. *चप्* is intrans. *be put down, be abashed*, and equal to the Skr. pass. R. *च्य*; as Skr. pass. *च्यते* *he is pressed*, Pr. *चप्ड*, E. H. *चपे*, etc. Sometimes both the Skr. and Gd. Rs. are intrans.; e. g., E. H. *चारू* (W. H. *चालू*) and Skr. *चल्* *walk*, as Skr. pass. *चल्यते* (but act. *चलति*), Pr. *चल्लड्* (Vr. 8, 53, but act. *चलड्* H. C. 4, 231), W. H. *चालै* or E. H. *चारै* (but act. W. H. *चलै*, E. H. *चरै*), etc. In rare cases both are trans.; e. g., E. H. *सीच्* and Skr. *सिच्* *irrigate*; as Skr. ~~pass.~~ *सिच्यते* (but act. *सिञ्चति*), Pr. *सिच्चड्* (H. C. 4, 230, but act. *सिंचड्* H. C. 4, 239), E. H. *सीचे* (but act. *सीचै*), etc. Other examples, see § 348.

*Note:* In most cases of this kind also a change of „voice“ from pass. to act. takes place; see § 348.

347. *Change of „class“.* The Skr. distribution of roots into ten classes had already in Pr. become, to a considerable extent, obliterated. In Gd. it has disappeared altogether. While Skr. has ten classes, of which the 1<sup>st</sup> (incl. VI<sup>th</sup>) and the X<sup>th</sup> (incl. denom. and causal) include by far the largest number of roots, Pr. has, in the main, only two, of which one corresponds to the Skr. VI<sup>th</sup> (or 1<sup>st</sup>) and the other to the Skr. X<sup>th</sup> cl. The remaining classes occur in Pr. only in extremely isolated and exceptional cases; but as a rule, roots belonging to them are transferred into the VI<sup>th</sup> 1) (or occasionally X<sup>th</sup>) class, either 1) by

1) It is usual to say the 1<sup>st</sup> cl. (cf. Wb. Spt. 59. Ls. 334); but it seems



substituting the suff.  $\text{ञ}$  of the VI<sup>th</sup> (or X<sup>th</sup>) for their proper class-suff. ( $\text{नु}$  of the V<sup>th</sup>,  $\text{न}$  of the VII<sup>th</sup>,  $\text{उ}$  of the VIII<sup>th</sup>,  $\text{ना}$  of the IX<sup>th</sup>,  $\text{व}$  of the IV<sup>th</sup>), see H. C. 4, 239; or 2) by incorporating the latter with the root and, when necessary, eliding and changing the final vowel of such class-suff. ( $\text{उ}$ ,  $\text{ञ}$ ) into  $\text{ञ}$ , the characteristic of the VI<sup>th</sup> and X<sup>th</sup> classes (cf. Wb. Spt. 59 ff. Ls. 334); or 3) by interpolating the suff.  $\text{ञ}$  of the VI<sup>th</sup> class. For example; R.  $\text{चि}$  *gather* is in Skr. of the V<sup>th</sup> cl., base  $\text{चिनु}$ , hence 3. sg. pres.  $\text{चिनोति}$ , but in Pr. it becomes of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by incorporating  $\text{नु}$  and changing  $\text{उ}$  to  $\text{ञ}$ , hence base  $\text{चिण}$ , 3. sg. pres.  $\text{चिणङ्}$  (Vr. 8, 29); or again R.  $\text{प्राप्}$  *obtain* is in Skr. of the V<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base  $\text{प्राप्}$ , 3. sg. pres.  $\text{प्राप्तेति}$ , but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by substituting the suff.  $\text{ञ}$  of the VI<sup>th</sup> for  $\text{नु}$ , hence base  $\text{पाव}$ , 3. sg. pres.  $\text{पावङ्}$  (H. C. 4, 239); or again R.  $\text{भञ्ज्}$  *break* is in Skr. of the VII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base  $\text{भनञ्}$ , 3. sg. pres.  $\text{भनञ्जि}$ , but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by incorporating  $\text{न}$  and eliding its  $\text{ञ}$ , hence base  $\text{भञ्ज}$ , 3. sg. pres.  $\text{भञ्जङ्}$  (H. C. 4, 106); similarly in Pr.  $\text{पेतेदि}$  or  $\text{पितेदि}$  (Ls. 347), for Skr.  $\text{पिनटि}$ , there is a transfer of the R.  $\text{पिप्}$  from the VII<sup>th</sup> into the X<sup>th</sup> cl.; or again R.  $\text{कृ}$  *do* is in Skr. of the VIII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base  $\text{कृन्}$ , 3. sg. pres.  $\text{करोति}$ , but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or I<sup>st</sup> or X<sup>th</sup> cl., by changing the suff.  $\text{उ}$  of the VIII<sup>th</sup> to  $\text{ञ}$ , hence base  $\text{कृञ्}$  (i. e.,  $\text{क्र}$ ) or  $\text{कर्}$  or  $\text{करे}$  (i. e.,  $\text{करय}$ ), 3. sg. pres.  $\text{कृङ्}$  (as in  $\text{बृङ्}$  Spt. 173 = Skr.  $\text{बृत्करोति}$ ) or  $\text{कर्ङ्}$  (Vr. 8, 13)

to me, on the whole, that the form which such Pr. roots take, is more accurately described as that of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. The I<sup>st</sup> differs from the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. by *gunating* and *accentuating* the radical vowel; the VI<sup>th</sup> does not gunate the radicals and accentuates the suffixal vowel. Now in many cases Pr. does not gunate the rad. vowel; e. g., in  $\text{चिणङ्}$ ,  $\text{सुणङ्}$ , where if they were of the I<sup>st</sup> cl., it should be  $\text{चेणङ्}$ ,  $\text{सोणङ्}$ ; for the Rs. are, practically,  $\text{चिण्}$ ,  $\text{सुण्}$ . Again in many other cases the final rad. sound is a comp. cons., which precludes the gunation of the rad. vowel and thus renders it impossible to determine the class by this sign; e. g., in  $\text{भनङ्}$ ,  $\text{पावङ्}$ . Here the class could only be determined by the accent; but as Pr. (and Gd.) is devoid of the old Aryan accent, this aid to determine the class also fails. Thus circumstances are in favor of its being the VI class.

or करेइ (H. C. 4, 337); or again R. ज्ञा *know* is in Skr. of the IX<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base ज्ञाना, 3. sg. pres. ज्ञानाति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or X<sup>th</sup>, by incorporating ना and changing ञा to ञ, hence base ज्ञाण or ज्ञाणे (i. e., ज्ञानय), 3. sg. pres. ज्ञाणइ (Vr. 8, 23) or ज्ञाणेइ (Dl. 15); or again R. ग्रह् *seize* is in Skr. of the IX<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base गृह्णा, 3. sg. pres. गृह्णाति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or X<sup>th</sup>, by substituting their suff. ञ (अय) for ना, hence base गेह् or गेहे (i. e., गेह्य), 3. sg. pres. गेहइ (Vr. 8, 15) or गेहेदि (Dl. 90); or again R. नृत् *dance* is in Skr. of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base नृत्य, 3. sg. pres. नृत्यति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or X<sup>th</sup>, by incorporating य, hence base णञ्च or णाञ्चे, 3. sg. pres. णञ्चइ (Vr. 8, 47) or णञ्चेदि (Dl. 50); or again R. रुद् *weep* is in Skr. of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., hence irregular base रोदि, 3. sg. pres. रोदिति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or I<sup>st</sup> cl., by substituting their suff. ञ for the irreg. इ of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., hence base रुद or रोद, 3. sg. pres. रुञ्चइ or रुवइ (H. C. 4, 226. Spt. 311 or contr. रोइ H. C. 4, 368) or रोञ्चइ or रोवइ (H. C. 4, 226); or again R. या *go* is in Skr. of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., hence base या, 3. sg. pres. याति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by interpolating its suff. ञ, hence base जाञ्च, 3. sg. pres. जाञ्चइ (H. C. 4, 240 or contr. जाइ H. C. 4, 240. 350). Moreover, there was already in Pr. a tendency to run its two (remaining) classes, the VI<sup>th</sup> and X<sup>th</sup>, into *one*, either by transferring the roots of the VI<sup>th</sup> into the X<sup>th</sup>; or *far more commonly* by reducing the roots (whether primitive or denom. or caus.) of the X<sup>th</sup> into the VI<sup>th</sup>, through changing the X<sup>th</sup> class-suff. ए into the VI<sup>th</sup> class-suff. ञ (see H. C. 3, 158. 149. Wb. Spt. 60. Ls. 341. 342. 344). Thus 1) change of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. into the X<sup>th</sup>; e. g., हसेइ (H. C. 3, 158), for हसइ (H. C. 3, 158. Skr. हसति) *he laughs*; करेइ (H. C. 4, 337), for कइ (Vr. 8, 13) *he does*; नञ्चेइ (Dl. 50), for नञ्चइ (Vr. 8, 47) *he dances*, etc.; 2) change of the X<sup>th</sup> cl. into the VI<sup>th</sup>; e. g., कहइ (H. C. 4, 2), for कहेइ (Spt. 35. cf. H. C. 4, 267), Skr. कथयति, from R. कथ् *speak*; or चिंतइ (H. C. 4, 422), for चिंतेइ (Spt. 156. cf. H. C. 4, 265) *he thinks*; or सहइ (Spt. 260), for साहेइ (Spt. 188), Skr. साधयति, from R. साध् *accomplish*; again in causals: दरिंसइ

(H. C. 3, 149), for दृश्सेद्, Skr. दृश्यति, from R. दृष् see; or क्रावद् (H. C. 3, 149), for क्रावेद् (H. C. 3, 149), Skr. कारयति, from R. कृ do; or ह्सावद् (H. C. 3, 149), for ह्सावेद् (H. C. 3, 149), from R. हस् laugh; or भ्मावद् (H. C. 3, 151), for भ्मावेद् (H. C. 3, 151) *he causes to roam*, from R. भ्रम्, etc. In E. H. (and Gd. generally) this process reaches its natural conclusion by all roots whatsoever (whether primitive or derivative) having been transferred to a single class, which practically corresponds to the VI<sup>th</sup> of Skr. While, therefore, in Skr. roots belong to ten, and in Pr. (in the main) to two classes, they all belong in E. H. to one and the same. Thus (see the above examples) E. H. चुने = Pr. चुणाद्; E. H. पावे = Pr. पावद्; E. H. भनै = Pr. भनद्; E. H. पीसे = Pr. पीसद् or पिसद्; E. H. करै = Pr. कर्द्; E. H. ज्ञानै = Pr. ज्ञाणाद्; E. H. गहै = Pr. गेहद्; E. H. नाचै = Pr. नचद्; E. H. रोरे = Pr. रोर्द्; E. H. जाय् (W. H. जावे) = Pr. जाद् (or जाअद्); E. H. हसै = Pr. हसद्; E. H. कहै = Pr. कहद्; E. H. चितै = Pr. चितद्; E. H. क्रावे = Pr. क्रावद्; E. H. ह्सावे = Pr. ह्सावद्, etc. Some E. H. roots ending with an anomalous long vowel, as पी *drunk*, चू *drip*, are probably to be explained on the principle of the interpolation of the VI<sup>th</sup> class-suff. अ; just as in the case of the above mentioned R. जा go. Thus E. H. पीवै *he drinks* presupposes a Pr. form \*पिअवद् or \*पिअयद्, instead of the common Pr. पिअद् (H. C. 4, 10) or पिवद् (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. पिवति, which would be in E. H. either \*पीद् or \*पिवै; similarly E. H. चूरे *it drips* = Pr. \*चूअवद्, for the ordinary Pr. चुअद् (H. C. 2, 77).

*Note:* Some Skr. roots are conjugated in several classes, one of which is the usual one, while the others are either rarely used or confined to the Vedas. It will be found, that some Gd. roots which have apparently changed their Skr. class, have really preserved such an unusual or vedic class. Thus R. तप् *be hot* is in Skr. both of the I<sup>st</sup> cl., तप, and also, but rarely, of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., तप्य. The latter is the modern E. H. तप् (Pr. तप्प). The former would have become in E. H. तव or तो, through Pr. तव (cf. तवद् H. C. 1, 231). Again R. मृ *die* is in Skr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., म्रिय,

but in the Vedas of the I<sup>st</sup> cl., मर्. The latter is preserved in the E. H. मर्. Pr. मर् (Vr. 8, 12 मर्इ, E. H. मर्). It is possible that other modern Gd. roots, which have apparently changed their class, have really preserved an ancient traditional one of colloquial use, even though in many instances no evidence of it has survived either in Skr. or Pr. literature.

348. An exactly analogous process is the *change of „voice“*. In the case of some simple roots, their passive radical forms, made in Skr. with the suff. य्, are used in Pr. in an active sense and substituted in their place (cf. Wb. Spt. 64. S. Gdt. in J. G. O. S. XXIX, 492). By this process, practically, such roots are transferred in Pr. from their proper Skr. class into the VI<sup>th</sup> (or X<sup>th</sup>), and in E. H. into the VI<sup>th</sup>. Thus R. भञ् break is in Skr. of the VII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base भनञ्, 3. sg. pres. भनक्ति; its pass. root or base is भञ्य, hence 3. sg. pres. भन्यते *he is broken*. Now Pr. treats this form, as if it were an active one of a R. भञ् of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., and, by incorporating the (really passive, but practically IV<sup>th</sup> cl.) suff. य, makes the root to be of the VI<sup>th</sup>; hence base भन्य 3. sg. pres. भन्यइ *he breaks* (cf. Spt. 168 भन्यतस्स, Dl. 42 विभन्य). Again R. रुध् *hinder* is in Skr. of the VII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base रुपाथ्, 3. sg. pres. रुपाडि; but in Pr. it is of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by incorporating न and eliding its अ; hence base रुध्, 3. sg. pres. रुधइ (Vr. 8. 49). The Skr. pass. base is रुध्य, hence 3. sg. pres. रुध्यते *he is hindered*; in Pr. this becomes रुन्धइ (or रुन्धभइ) and is used both in its proper pass. sense (*he is hindered* H. C. 4. 245. 248) as well as in the act. sense (*he hinders* H. C. 4, 218); that is, Pr. transfers the R. रुध् into the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. by incorporating the pass. suff. य and employing it in an act. sense. Examples of this kind are not uncommon. Thus R. शक् can forms Pr. शक्कइ, for Skr. शक्नोति (Vr. 8, 52. H. C. 4, 230). Now clearly शक्कइ is the equivalent of the Skr. pass. शक्यते, used actively. The real equivalent for the Skr. (V<sup>th</sup> cl.) शक्नोति is the alternative Pr. form शक्कणोइ (cf. Dl. 36 शक्कणोमि). Again R. लग् *belong* forms Pr. लगगइ (Vr. 8, 52), which cannot be = Skr. (I<sup>st</sup> cl.) लगति, but = Skr.

pass. लग्यते; again R. स्फुट् *burst* forms Pr. फुट् or फुड् (Vr. 8, 53). Of these, evidently, the former = Skr. pass. स्फुट्यते, the latter = Skr. act. (VI<sup>th</sup> cl.) स्फुटति. Again R. सिच् *sprinkle* forms both सिचि (H. C. 4, 230) = Skr. pass. सिच्यते, and सिंचि (H. C. 4, 239) = Skr. act. (VI<sup>th</sup> cl.) सिञ्चति. Again R. हन् *kill* forms either हम् *kill* = Skr. pass. हन्यते and used both as an act. (Vr. 8, 45) and as a pass. (H. C. 4, 244), or हपा (Dl. 72) = Skr. act. हन्ति. Again the R. विक्री *sell* (i. e. वि-क्री) forms both विक्रे and विक्रीपा, of which the latter = Skr. act. विक्रीणीते; but that the former = Skr. pass. विक्रीयते is shown by the E. H. विक्रै *it is sold* which is still used exclusively in a pass. or intrans. sense. This Pr. form विक्रे, by showing that the termin. एङ् may represent the Skr. pass. termin. ईयते, throws light on some strange Pr. forms, which thus are shown to be passives, used actively. Thus Pr. धेङ् *he places*, of the R. धा, is the same as Skr. pass. धीयते; for from the usual Skr. act. (III<sup>d</sup> cl.) दधाति it cannot be phonetically derived. Thus also देङ् (Cw. 99) *he gives*, of R. दा, is probably the Skr. pass. दीयते; and Pr. चेङ् *he gathers* (T. V. 2, 4, 72), of R. चि, is the Skr. pass. चीयते rather than an assumed new I<sup>st</sup> cl. चयति (as Wb. Spt. 60); and Pr. ठेङ् or थेङ् (Ls. 345) *he stands*, of R. स्था, is the Skr. pass. स्थीयते rather than an assumed new I<sup>st</sup> cl. स्थायति, of R. स्था (? as Ls. 135); and Pr. उड्डेङ् *he flies* (Cw. 99), of R. उड्-डी, is the Skr. IV<sup>th</sup> cl. उड्डीयते (in reality a pass. form) rather than the Skr. I<sup>st</sup> cl. उड्डयते. All these last mentioned forms in एङ्, as regards their termination, resemble the Pr. X<sup>th</sup> cl., which likewise ends in एङ्, as Pr. कहेङ् = Skr. कथयति; and thus they come to be treated as if they were really X<sup>th</sup> cl. formations, and may all be optionally transferred into the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. Just as कहेङ् may change to कह्ङ्, so देङ् to दङ् (Spt. 216), ठेङ् to ठङ् (H. C. 4, 17), and, no doubt, the others similarly, though in their case the Pr. evidence is wanting. But the fact is proved by the E. H., which here again makes the change absolute and transfers all pass.-act. roots to the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. Thus E. H. बिक्रै = Pr. विक्रे or विक्री; E. H. ओहै (in पहिरै *he put son*, see § 133) = Pr.

°धङ् or °धेङ्; E. H. संचै = Pr. संचङ् or संचेङ्; E. II. उडै = Pr. उडुङ् or उडुङ्; the only exception is E. H. दे (or देय) for Pr. देङ्. Again E. H. सकै = Pr. सकङ्; E. II. लगै = Pr. लगङ्; E. II. फुटे = Pr. फुटुङ्; E. H. चारै or W. H. चालै = Pr. चलङ्; E. H. सीचै = Pr. सिचङ्.

*Note:* The cause, no doubt, of this confusion in Pr. of the pass. and act. was the great likeness between the form of the (active) IV<sup>th</sup> cl. and that of the passive. Even in Skr. they can only be distinguished by the accent, which in the IV<sup>th</sup> cl. is thrown on the radical, but in the pass. on the suffixal vowel; thus act. नह्यते *nāhyate he binds*, but pass. नह्यते *nahyāte he is bound*. In Pr., where the accent is disused, the identity becomes complete. In this way some passives became associated in the popular mind with the IV<sup>th</sup> cl. and came to be used as actives. Most, if not all, the facts might be explained, by supposing a transfer in Pr. of certain roots into the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., but such a change of class is otherwise quite unsupported; and the explanation by means of a change of voice seems much simpler.

349. *Addition of the pleonastic suffix* आपि. In Skr. the causal roots are occasionally formed by adding the suff. आपि (Pr. आवि, E. II. आव) instead of the ordinary causal suff. ङ्; e. g., caus. R. अध्यापि (3. sg. अध्यापयति *he teaches*), of R. अघ्नो (1. e., अघि-ङ्) *read*; see other examples in M. M. 217. 218. In Pr. any C. R. may be formed at pleasure with either of these suff. (Vr. 7, 26. 27. H. C. 3, 149. Wb. Spt. 64. 65. Wb. Bh. 436); e. g., Pr. कारेङ् or कर्त्तवेङ् *he causes to do* = Skr. कारयति or \*कर्त्तयति. In E. H. the C. R. is *always* formed with आपि; the original C. Rs. formed with ङ्, so far as they have survived, having become primitive transitive roots (see §§ 471—473). Thus E. H. कर्त्तवै *he causes to do*, not \*कारै, which does not exist; again E. H. मर्त्तवै *he causes to die* (1. e., causing death indirectly), but मारै *he beats* or *he kills*. Now it has been shown in § 347, that, in Pr., roots of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. are occasionally transferred into the X<sup>th</sup> cl. (H. C. 3, 158), i. e., practically are formed like causal roots with ङ्;

and hence they also occasionally assume the (caus.) suff. ञापि, which in their case, of course, is practically pleonastic (cf. H. C. 3, 158 सुणाउ perhaps contr. for सुणावउ or सुणावेउ); e. g., Pr. has the pleon. R. सुहावि = Skr. सुह् or \*सुहापि (3. sg. सुहावेइ Spt. 169), E. H. सुहाव्. In E. H. these pleon. roots are still more common; e. g., चुराव् *steal*, Pr. \*चुरावि, Skr. चुर; E. H. गरियाव् *abuse*, Pr. \*गलिहावि, Skr. गल्ह, etc. See the List of Roots. There can be little doubt, however, that such Gd. pleon. Rs. as well as their Skr. originals are in reality *denominative* roots (see § 352).

## 2. SECONDARY ROOTS.

350. Secondary roots may be divided into three classes, according to their origin. I shall distinguish them as 1) *derivative*, 2) *denominative*, and 3) *compound*.

351. *Derivative Roots*. In E. H. there sometimes exist pairs of roots, of which one member is intrans. and corresponds to the Skr. simple or (sometimes) passive root, and the other is trans. and represents the corresponding Skr. causal root. In these cases the intrans. has a short and the trans. a long vowel. Thus E. H. चर् issue intrans. = Skr. S. R. चृ, and E. H. चार् accomplish (lit. *cause to issue*) trans. = Skr. C. R. चारि; or E. H. मर् die intr. = Skr. S. R. मृ, and E. H. मार kill trans. = Skr. C. R. मारि; E. H. बुड sink intr. = Skr. S. R. बुड् and E. H. बोट् immerse trans. = Skr. C. R. बोटि, etc. In a similar manner, by shortening the radical vowel, E. H. sometimes derives new intrans. from trans. roots, when, on phonetic grounds, only the latter can be shown to have an equivalent in Skr. or Pr.; vice versa, in a few cases, by lengthening the radical vowel, E. H. derives trans. from intrans. roots, when only the latter exist in Skr. or Pr. The latter process is resorted to only very exceptionally, because E. H. has its own special means of forming causal (or trans.) roots with the suff. ञाव (see §§ 349. 474). Thus E. H. possesses a number of new pairs of roots, of which one member is original, while the other is derivative. Thus E. H. निबाह् accomplish

is trans. and equivalent to the Skr. C. R. निर्वाहि, of the trans. S. R. निर्वह्; from निवाह् E. H. derives an intrans. R. निबह् *be accomplished*, which cannot, phonetically, be derived from the Skr. pass. R. निर्वह्य or निर्वह्य; for these forms would become in Pr. निवृह्य, and thence E. H. \*निबह्. Again E. H. नहा *bathe* is equivalent to the Skr. S. R. स्ना (Pr. एहा). From it E. H. derives the intrans. R. नह् *flow*, for which Skr. offers no equivalent. It is, as if नहा were a trans. C. R., and नह् is to it, as करू *do* is to करा (or कराव्) *cause to do*. On the other hand, E. H. संह् or सट् *combine* is intrans. and equivalent to the Skr. intrans. S. R. संस्था (Pr. संठा or संठ). From it E. H. derives a trans. (or caus.) R. संह् or सट्, which cannot be derived, phonetically, from the Skr. C. R. संस्थापि, Pr. संठाव, etc.

352. *Denominative Roots.* Nouns which are used as roots for the purpose of forming new verbs, are called denominative roots. The practice of thus using nouns is very ancient. Even among the recognised Skr. simple roots, there are many which are really denominative. Pr. and Gd. have considerably added to their number. Theoretically the power of using nouns as roots is unlimited, and a great variety of nouns are actually thus employed upon occasion in Skr., Pr. and Gd.; see examples in M. M. 227—230. Wb. Spt. 60. 65. Wb. Bh. 429. 437. I speak here, however, only of such nouns, as are formally recognised and treated as roots and enumerated as such in *dhātupāthas* (or lists of roots). Such radical nouns or denominative roots 1) always end in ञ्; 2) may be either common nouns or participles (see also Wb. Bh. 429); and 3) belong, as regards Skr., generally to the X<sup>th</sup> class, but occasionally also to the I<sup>st</sup>. In Pr., with its tendency to obliterate class-differences (see § 347), they are all made optionally to belong to the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., to which they belong without exception in E. H. Thus, e. g., the following roots are derived from common nouns in Skr.: R. मार्ज् *scour*, from मार्ज *scouring*, a krit-derivative of the S. R. मृज् *scour*; or R. मार्ग *seek*, from मार्ग *seeking*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. मृग *seek*; both



preserved in E. H. as मङ्ग and मङ्ग. Again Skr. roots derived from participles are amongst others: R. वेष्ट *surround*, from वेष्ट *enclosure*, perhaps a past part. pass. of S. R. विष् or विष् with suff. त; or R. कष्ट *pull* from कष्ट *pulled*, a past part. pass. of S. R. कष् (or कृष्) *rub, pull* with suff. त; both preserved in E. H. as बेष्ट and काष्ट (cf. Cw. 99. Wb. Spt. 107). Examples from the E. H. and Pr. are: 1) roots derived from common nouns: R. जन् *germinate*, from Skr. जन्म *birth*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. जन् *be born*; thus 3. sg. pres. Skr. \*जन्मयति, Pr. जन्मेइ or जन्मइ (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. जमे; again R. धार or ढार or ढाल् *pour*, from Skr. धार *flowing*, probably connected with the S. R. धाव् *run*; Skr. \*धारयति, Pr. धाडेइ or धाडइ (T. V. 3, 1. 14, where it is said to be a substitute of Skr. निःसरति), E. H. धारे or ढारे *he pours*. Again 2) roots derived from participles: R. पलट् or पलट् *turn over*, from Skr. पर्यस्त *turned over*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. Cp. R. परि-अस् *turn over* with suff. त; Skr. \*पर्यस्तयति, Pr. पलट्टइ or पलट्टइ (H. C. 4, 26. 200), E. H. पलटै or पलटै *he turns over*; again R. पीट् *beat*, from Skr. पीट *beaten*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. पीप् *beat* with suff. त; Skr. \*पीटयति or पीटयति (? Spt. 173. Comm.), Pr. पीटैइ (Spt. 173 for \*पीटैइ) or पीटैइ, E. H. पीटै *he beats*. Examples, from the E. H. or Pr., of denominative roots, formed with the pleonastic suff. of the X<sup>th</sup> cl. आपय (Pr. आवे, H. आव, see § 349), are the following. One root derived from a common noun is सुहाव् *be pleasant*, from Skr. सुख *pleasure* (said to be a compound of सु *good* and ख *a mine*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. खन् *dig*), Skr. सुखयति or \*सुखापयति, Pr. सुहावेइ (Spt. 169) or सुहावइ, E. H. सुहावे *it is pleasant*. A root derived from a participle is चिताव् *make known*, from Skr. चित् *known*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. चित् *know* and suff. त; Skr. \*चिन्नापयति, Pr. \*चिन्नावेइ or \*चिन्नावइ, E. H. चितावे *he makes known*.

353. *Compound Roots.* The great diversity and intricacy of the old Skr. system of radical „classes“ must always have formed a formidable obstacle to its being adopted in the language of the common people. An evidence of this fact has been already

noted in § 347, in the decided tendency of Pr. and still more of Gd. to reduce the ten Skr. classes to one. But they made use, besides, of an other remedy, viz., instead of inflecting the root itself, they took some very simple form of a noun derived from it and construed it with the inflected root कृ, *do*. This is still a common practice in modern H., where numerous verbs are formed from (especially foreign) nouns by construing them with the verb कर्त्तु *to do*; thus जमा कर्त्तु *to collect*, बद्ध कर्त्तु *to shut*, ब्रेत् कर्त्तु *to boil*, पास् कर्त्तु *to pass an examination*, मेल् कर्त्तु *to mix*, ध्यान् कर्त्तु *to meditate*, बिचार कर्त्तु *to think* (for बिचारब्, as in English *to make answer for to answer*), etc. Even in Skr., paraphrased roots of this kind are often found; thus न्यक् + कृ *make low, degrade*, चिर् कृ *make long, delay*, etc. (see more examples in M. W. Skr. Lex. under Art. कृ). In fact, any suitable noun might be thus turned into a verb. But it is not of these, that I speak here, but of a special and small class from among them, in which the construction of the noun with the R. कृ has become so firmly established by more or less obscure causes, as to produce, through constant usage, a coalescence of its two component parts (N. + R.) into one single simple form, and the recognition and treatment of this compound form as a simple root. Such roots I designate *compound roots*. Thus there is in Skr. a paraphrased verb स्फुत् + कृ or फुत् + कृ *blow*, whence फुत्करोति *he blows*; this appears in Pr. as फुक्कैर् or फुक्कै and in E. H. as फूकै. In Skr. the two component parts, N. फुत् and R. कृ, are still separate and clearly recognisable, but they have already in Pr. and still more in E. H. coalesced into *one* form, Pr. फुक्क, E. H. फूक् which is now recognised in E. H. as a simple root; in reality it is compound. This process of amalgamation must have been already at work in old times, for among the recognised simple roots of Skr. are found several, which are clearly compound; as बुक्क *bark* (cf. H. C. 4, 169) = बू or वद + कृ; धक्क *destroy* = धक् + कृ or ध्वत् + कृ (acc. sg. neut. of N. दह् or ध्वस्); फक्क *swell* = स्फट् + कृ; चिक्क *pain* = चृत् + कृ; टक्क *bind* = तन् + कृ, etc. There can hardly

be a doubt as to the compound character (as above explained) of such roots; though the exact phonetic process, by which it was produced, may be obscure. The following may be found a probable explanation. It has been shown in § 348, that in Pr. passive roots are often employed in an active sense; and that sometimes they are recognisable by the termination रुङ्, which is occasionally reduced to अङ्. It is probable, therefore, that the Pr. form कङ् or कङ् (as in लोक्कङ् or लोक्कङ् Spt. 173 = Skr. लुक्करोति) is a passive-active form, or identical with the Skr. pass. क्रियते, used actively. There are in E. H. a few forms which support this view. Thus it has the form अने which is both active (*he wears*) and passive or intrans. (*it is worn* or *it wears*); the corresponding Pr. forms would be उअङ्ङङ् or उअङ्ङङ्; and in Skr. we find the form उपध्रियते which is both pass. and act. (VI<sup>th</sup> class). In fact, in this particular case, the properly passive form उपध्रियते has already in Skr. assumed an active sense; for the usual active form of the R. धृ is धर्ति, of the I<sup>st</sup> class. Similarly the R. मृ die is said to be in classic Skr. an active belonging to the VI<sup>th</sup> class (म्रियते). It is, however, really passive with an active sense<sup>1</sup>); for the proper active voice, which has been lost in the classic Skr., but preserved in the Vedic and also in Pr. and E. H., is (like that of R. धृ) 'of the I<sup>st</sup> cl. (मर्ति). It is precisely the same with the R. कृ do. Its Skr. pass. form क्रियते has come to be occasionally (i. e., in compound roots) used in Pr. as an active (of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl.). Its corresponding proper active form is (like that of the Rs. मृ and धृ) कर्ति, of the I<sup>st</sup> class, and, though lost in classic Skr., still preserved in the Vedic and in Pr. (कर्ङ्) and E. H. (करै). But although the Pr. कङ् or कङ् and the E. H. कै have generally assumed an active meaning, their original passive signification is still apparent enough in some cases. Thus E. H. बहकै,

1) The change, in this case, was facilitated by the R. मृ being intrans. Besides, as both the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. and the pass accentuate the suffixal vowel, there is absolutely no difference, externally, between the act. VI<sup>th</sup> cl. म्रियते *mriyâte* and the pass. म्रियते *mriyâte*.

from E. H. R. बह्क् *stray* (i. e., lit. *be turned out, sel., of the right path*) represents the Pr. बह्क्क्वे or बह्क्क्वे and Skr. बह्क्क्वियते; or E. H. उच्चै, of the E. H. root उच्क् *be raised, rise*, representing the Pr. उच्चक्क्वे or उच्चक्क्वे and Skr. (Vedic) उच्चक्क्वियते *he is carried on high*, etc.<sup>1)</sup> It has been stated already that in such compositions the R. कृ was usually constructed with some simple derivative noun. The simplest form of a noun, derived from the simple root, is the root itself; as Skr. R. रुध् *hinder*, N. रुध् *hindrance*. The next simplest is a noun, formed by one of the krit-suffixes त् or ञ्; as Skr. R. च्यु *cease*, N. च्युत् *ceasing*; or R. कप् *pain*, N. कप् *pain*. In constructing such a noun with the R. कृ, it is, if it has the form of the simple root or is formed with the krit-suff. त्, immediately joined with the R. कृ; as N. रुध् *hindrance*, acc. sg. neut. रुत्, whence Cp. R. रुत् + कृ = E. H. रोक् *hinder*; or N. च्युत् *ceasing*, acc. sg. neut. च्युत्, whence Cp. R. च्युत् + कृ = E. H. चुक् *cease*. Or if it is formed with the krit-suff. ञ्, it is joined with R. कृ by means of a connecting vowel, generally ई; e. g., N. कप् *pain*, when Cp. R. कपीकृ = E. H. कसक् *pain*<sup>2)</sup>. It will be seen that in such compounds the initial क् k of the R. कृ or of its inflected form क्रियते is preceded either by a consonant or a long vowel; hence in Pr., according to its phonetic usages, the क् is always doubled, either by assimilating the consonant or shortening the vowel; thus Skr. रुत्-क्रियते = Pr. रुक्क्वे or रुक्क्वे *he hinders*;

1) In the Vedas the R. कृ is also of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., thus 3. sg. pres. parasm. कर्ति, atm. कृते. The latter would be in Pr. क्वे and by transfer into the X<sup>th</sup> cl. (§ 347) क्वे. This may serve as an alternative explanation, if the pass-act. theory given in the text be not accepted.

2) This ई is, probably, the debris of an old case-ending. In Vedic Skr. occasionally ञ् is used, which is also without doubt an old case-ending, such as we see, e g, in Skr. बलात्कृतः lit. *violently treated, forced* (बलात् abl. sg. of बल *violence*); thus Ved. उच्चक्क्वियते *he is carried up* = Pr. उच्चक्क्वे, E. H. उच्चै *he rises*. As these C. Rs. were probably formed in very old times, it was possibly the connecting vowel ञ् rather than ई, which was used in them. However, it makes no practical difference, whether it was ञ् or ई; for in E. H. both are equally reduced to ञ्.

Skr. च्युत्-क्रियते, Pr. चुक्क्रे or चुक्क्रे *he ceases*; Skr. कषीक्रियते = Pr. कसिक्क्रे or कसिक्क्रे *it pains*; indeed the doubling of क् is already insured by the following र् (in क्). In E. H., finally, according to its phonetic laws, the double क् is reduced to single क् (§ 143). Thus Pr. रुक्क्रे = E. H. रोकै (§ 148); Pr. चुक्क्रे = E. H. चुके (§ 146); Pr. कसिक्क्रे = E. H. कसकै (§ 58). This explains the preservation in E. H. of the initial क् of the R. कृ, which, therefore, is an almost unerring indication of the presence of a compound root, in which it now forms the terminal sound; thus E. H. चुक् *cease*, रोक *hinder*, कसक् *pain*. Similarly E. H. चमक् *glitter*, 3. sg. pres. चमकै, Pr. \*चमक्क्रे or \*चमक्क्रे, Skr. \*चमत्क्रियते, comp. of N. चमन् (onomatop.) and R. कृ *do*, etc.

*Note:* Sometimes, though a C. R. does not exist in E. H., nominal derivatives of it do. Thus नक्क *degraded, vile*, from the unused C. R. नक्, Pr. नक्क, Skr. न्यक्क *degrade* = नि-ञ्च-क्.

354. It remains briefly to notice a small number of E. H. roots, which probably belong to the one or the other of the above mentioned two principal classes, but which I am not able satisfactorily to trace to a Skr. origin. They must have been subject to extreme phonetic deterioration. They may be divided into:

1) such as are, probably, primary roots; e. g., टस् *burst*, टूस् *vex*, देस् *shout*, टेल् *remove*, टेक् *sharpen*, टो *handle*, गोप् *cram*, ढो *carry*, तग् *stich*, तक् *be parched*, विज् *be congealed*, तिहुड् or त्योड् or त्योड् *bend*, पत्र् *drip*, पस *skim*, पहुड् or पौड् *repose*, पैना *sharpen*, पो or पोक् or पोह् *make bread or thread*, मूक् *shut*, मुर् *acquire a taste*, लक् *bend*, लट् *be laden*, लिड् or लील् *swallow*, लेट् *recline*, लोट् *turn over, return*, सन् *be mixed, be soiled* and त्र. सान् *mix, soil*, सोड् *review*, हट् *be perverse*, हिक् *loathe*, etc.

2) such as are, probably, secondary roots, and divisible into:  
a) *denominative*; as गोहराक् *call*, हलन् *be kindled*, etc.; — b) *compound*; as तौक् *scold*, टोक् *prevent, challenge*, भटक् *go astray*, etc.; — c) to these may be added a class of roots which end in ल् or ड्

(or रू) or रु; as रुहल् or रुह्र् *walk to and fro* (cf. N. रुहल् f. *service, drudgery*); रुहल् or रुह्र् *stop, remain* (cf. रुह्र् or रुह्र् a *place*); रुकेल् or रुकेल् or रुकोल् *shove* (cf. रुक्का or रुक्का a *shove*); रुहल् *pass agreeably, be amused* (cf. R. रुह् *flow*); रुसिल् *be dazzled* (cf. Pr. R. रुसि H. C. 4, 203 = Skr. रुसि); रुगह् *quarrel*; रुथह् *be dragged* or रुथह् *draggle*; रुतह् or रुतेह् (lit. *kick*) *insult, exhaust by labour* (cf. रुतह् or रुतह् a *kick* and रुतह् an *old shoe*), रुपह् *spring* or रुपह् *attack suddenly* (cf. रुप् *quick*); रुपह् *be flattened* or रुपह् *flatten* (cf. R. रुप् or रुप् *press* and N. रुप् a *bow*); रुपह् *slip* or रुपह् *chase* (cf. रुपि or रुपि an *iron scraper* or *knife*); रुपह् *adhere* or रुपह् *enclose, fold* (cf. N. रुप् *palm of the hand hollowed so as to hold water*), रुसह् or रुसिह् or रुसिह् *drag* (cf. R. रुस *rub*); रुकोह् *scratch* (cf. रुक् or रुक्का *claw, a handful*). The forms with a penultimate long vowel are, as a rule, trans.; those with a short one, intrans. These roots, however, are not properly E. H. or E. Gd., but introduced from W. Gd. It will be shown (in § 476) that in W. Gd. there are causal roots in रुल् or रुला (W. H.), रुउ or रुवाउ (G.), रुरु or रुरा (S.); e. g., W. H. रुठला or रुठाल् *cause to sit*, G. रुवाउ *cause to eat* (Ed. 114), S. रुवाउ *cause to grieve*, रुवाउ *cause to wound* (Tr. 256. 257). It seems probable, that these W. Gd. causals and the above mentioned (W. Gd.) secondary roots have an identical origin. There is, moreover, a curious analogy in Pashtu (see Tr. in J. G. O. S. XXXIII, 7 ff.). It has a class of secondary roots in *ēd* (infinit. in *ēdal*), which are, as a rule, intrans.; e. g., *bahēd flow* (cf. E. H. रुहल्), *matēd be broken* (cf. Skr. मृष्ट *rubbed*); *kēd be done*; but occasionally trans.; e. g., *āvērēd hear*, *blōsēd torment*, *puštēd ask* (cf. Skr. पृष्ट *asked*). Occasionally the primary root exists also, as *zang* or *zangēd swing*, *kr do* and *kēd be done*; just as in E. H. रुप् and रुपह् *flatten*. And further, the causal roots may be made with *ēd* in Pashtu<sup>1</sup>).

1) Trumpp explains the Rs. in *ēd* as being compounds with *kēd be done*. This might suit the intrans., but not the trans. and caus. Rs. in *ēd*; moreover the R. *kēd* itself requires to be explained, for it is clearly a derivative of the R. *kr do*.

The origin of these roots is very obscure. Possibly they are denominative roots, derived from nouns which are themselves again derived from others by the secondary or pleonastic suff. अल्, इल्, ञ्, etc. (cf. §§ 209. 245) or वट् (cf. § 285). Or perhaps they may be compound roots, formed from the Skr. R. वत् (Pr. वट्), of which the terminal ट् (or गट्, एट्, एङ्) is the sole remnant, as क् (of R. कृ, Pr. क्क) is in the other compound roots. Thus Skr. घर्षे वर्त्तते *he is occupied in rubbing, he drags* = \*घर्षवर्त्तयति den. of \*घर्षवर्त्त, Pr. \*वस्त्वट् = \*वस्त्वट् = \*वस्त्वट् = E. H. वसेटै or वसेटै. At all events, in some cases, these roots have an alternative form, ending in क्, thus कपट् and कपक्; चपट् and चपक्; लपट् *cling* and लपक् *spring*: cf. also E. H. औचट् and औचक् *suddenly*.

355. There is also in E. H. a very small number of what may be called *tatsama* roots, viz., denom. roots formed from tats. nouns. Some are comparatively modern formations. Thus गरुन् *thunder* (Skr. गरु); त्याग् *abandon* (Skr. त्याग); धूप् *perfume* (Skr. धूप); भोग् *enjoy* (Skr. भोग); लोम् *be enamoured* (Skr. लोम), etc.

### THIRD SECTION. INFLEXION OF NOUNS.

#### FIRST CHAPTER THE SUBSTANTIVE.

##### 1. FORMS OF THE SUBSTANTIVE.

356. Every subst. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in dictionaries, and by which it is generally known. It is, as a rule, the only one admissible in good or literary language. The other two forms are more or less vulgar. They are made by adding to the short form the pleon. suff. of the fourth and sixth sets of the first group. as explained in §§ 199. 200 (q. v.). E. g., masc. sh. f. मोत् *friend*, lg. f. मितवा or °वाँ, red. f. मितौवा or °वाँ or मितौ; fem. sh. f. खाट् *bed*, lg. f. खटिया or °याँ, red. f. खटियवा or °वाँ;

masc. sh. f. बेटा *son*, lg. f. बेटवा or °वाँ, red. f. बेटोवा or °वाँ or बेटो; fem. sh. f. सीता *Sītā*, lg. f. सितिया or °याँ, red. f. सितियवा or °वाँ; in इ; masc. sh. f. मुनि *sage*, lg. f. मुनिया or °याँ; rel. f. मुनियवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. आँखि *eye*, lg. f. आँखिया or °याँ; red. f. आँखियवा or °वाँ; in ई; masc. sh. f. भाई *brother*, lg. f. भइवा or भैया or °याँ; red. f. भइयवा or भैयवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. धूरी *axle*, lg. f. धुरिया or °याँ; red. f. धुरियवा or धुरीवा or °वाँ; in उ; masc. sh. f. तर् tree, lg. f. तर्वा or °वाँ, red. f. तर्अवा or तर्नवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, lg. f. पतोहुवा or °वाँ; red. f. पतोहुअवा or पतोहुवा or °वाँ; in ऊ; masc. sh. f. नाऊ *barber*, lg. f. नउवा or नोवा or °वाँ, red. f. नउअवा or नौअवा or नऊवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. बहू *daughter-in-law*, lg. f. बहुवा or °वाँ; red. f. बहुअवा or बहवा or °वाँ, etc.

*Note.* Sometimes the W. H. long and red. forms are used; as कन्हैया or कन्हई *krishna*, रमै or रमैया *Rām*.

357. Many subst. (especially among those in अ) admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. Most of them, however, (especially those in इ and उ) exist in one of these forms only. The weak form is the original one; the other is made by adding to it the pleon. suff. of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196 (q. v.). Thus 1) in अ or आ; masc. भेइ or भेडा *ram*, नाय् or नाया *forehead*, बास् or बासा *dwelling*, बाल् or बाला *child*, etc.; fem. भेइ or भेडी *ewe*, लाठ् or लाठी *staff*, मूठ् or मूठी *fist*, etc.; in इ or ई; masc. very rare, e. g., ज्ञान (ज्ञानि) or ज्ञानी *wise man*; fem. बाति or बाती *wick. light*, बहिनि or बहिनी *sister*, etc.; in उ or ऊ; masc. very rare, e. g., पोल् or पील् *elephant*; fem. बहु or बहू *daughter-in-law*, पतोहु or पतोहु *daughter-in-law*. 2) Only in अ; masc. सोनार् *goldsmith*, कहार् *porter*, देव *god*, बाय् *tiger*, बैल् *ox*, घर *house*, नाम् *name*, फूल् *flower*, पेट् *stomach*, पेइ *tree*, etc.; fem. बात् *word, event*, नाँक् *nose*, नीँट् *sleep*, etc. 3) Only in आ; masc. लरिका or होकरा *boy*, बनिया *merchant*, घोरा *horse*, कँठा *thorn*, कुत्ता *dog*, मोछा *footstool*, etc.; fem. only tats., as दुर्गा *Durgā*, सीता *Sītā*, or semitats., as किरपा *mercy*, etc. 4) Only in इ, rarely; masc. generally tats., as मुनि *a Muni*, or semitats., as रिखि *a Rishi*, etc.; fem. आगि *fire*, आँखि *eye*, etc. 5) Only in ई; masc. धोबी *washerman*,



माखो *gardener*, तेलो *oilman*, हाथो *elephant*, नातो *grandchild*, भाई *brother*, बहिनोई *brother-in-law*, कोळी *leper*, पानी *water*, मोती *pearl*, घी *clarified butter*; fem. घोरी *mare*, बिल्ली *cat*, लरिकी or झोकरी *girl*, माई *mother*, टोपी *hat*, मोरी *drain*, माखो *fly*, etc. 6) Only in उ; rarely, masc. tats. तर् *tree*, गुरु *teacher*, etc.; fem. *deest*. 7) Only in ऊ; masc. नाउ *barber*, पहरा *watchman*, हिन्दू *a Hindū*, घालू *potato*, पेढू or खाउ *glutton*, etc.; fem. मेहरारू *woman*, जोगरू *wife*, जलू *leech*, बालू *sand*, etc.

*Note:* On the meaning of these various forms, see § 201.

## 2. GENDER.

358. There are only two genders, the masculine and the feminine. No practically workable rules can be given to recognise the gender of a subst. by its termination; excepting, that short forms in आ (exc. tats., like दुर्गा) are always masc.; e. g., घोरा *horse*, हाँडा *pot*, गोला *ball*, जूता *shoe*, etc., and that such short forms in ई, as have a synonymous masc. in आ, are always fem.; e. g., घोरी *mare*, हाँडी *pot*, गोली *bullet*, जूती *shoe*, etc. As a rule E. H. subst. retain the gender which they had in Skr.; but Skr. neut. become masc. in E. H. This affords, on the whole, a safe guide for those who can use it. Where there is a natural gender, that of course, determines the grammatical gender also. For the rest, the gender must be learned by practice.

359. The difficulty of determining the gender of E. H. words by their termin., is easily explained. Compare §§ 42 to 53. The termin. ई and ऊ must be uncertain, because they are contractions of the Mg. Pr. termin. masc. इए or उए, fem. इआ or उआ; thus Pr. fem. घोडिआ *mare* = E. H. घोरी; but Mg. Pr. masc. तेलिए *oilman* is likewise = E. H. तेलो; again Mg. Pr. fem. बालुआ *sand* = E. H. बालू, but Mg. masc. बिच्छुए *scorpion* is also = E. H. बिच्छू. — The E. H. termin. इ and उ must be uncertain, because they were so even in Pr. and Skr., where their nom. sg. in ई and उ (Pr.) or इ, उ (Skr.) may be of either gender. — On the other hand, since the Pr. termin. आ, whether masc. or

fem., always becomes अ in E. H. (e. g., Pr. masc. राजा or राय king, E. H. राय or रै; Pr. fem. वरा word, E. H. वात्), no E. H. short form in अ can be fem. (always excepting tats., which have not passed through Pr.); and since every final E. H. अ of a short form stands for a Mg. masc. अट्, therefore all E. H. short forms in अ must be masc. Similarly, since every final E. H. ई of a short form, which corresponds to a synonymous masc. short form in अ, stands for a Pr. fem. इमा, all such E. H. short forms in ई must be fem. — Finally the termin. अ of E. H. long and redundant forms must be uncertain, because it is a contraction of the Mg. Pr. gen. termin. masc. आह्, fem. आअ (§§ 369, 2. 365, 1); e. g., E. H. नतिया grandchild = Mg. नत्तिआह् (Skr. नप्तृकः, H. C. 1, 137); but E. H. बुद्धिया old woman is also = Mg. बुद्धिआअ. — The number of words, which are masc. or neut. in Skr., but fem. in E. H., is limited; and in the case of most of them the change had already taken place in Pr. Thus (see Vr. 4, 26. H. C. 1, 35. S. C. 1, 1. 53) Skr. n. अक्षि eye, Pr. n. अच्छि or f. अच्छो or \*अक्खो, E. H. f. अँखि, Skr. m. रश्मिः cord, Pr. m. or f. रस्ती, E. H. f. रस्ती<sup>1</sup>); Skr. m. अक्षलि handful, Pr. m. or f. अक्षलो, E. H. f. (also m.) अक्षलि; Skr. बलिः offering, Pr. m. or f. बलो, E. H. f. बली; Skr. m. विधि (good) conduct, Pr. m. or f. विही, E. H. f. बिही; Skr. n. पृष्ठम् back, Pr. n. पिट् or f. पिटी, E. H. f. पोद्; Skr. m. कुक्षि belly, Pr. m. or f. कुच्छो, E. H. f. कोङ् or कोख्; Skr. n. चौर्यम्, Pr. n. चोरिअ (Vr. 3, 20) or f. चोरिआ (Spt. 210), E. H. f. चोरी<sup>1</sup>). Again Skr. m. ग्रन्थि knot, Pr. m. or f. गंठो (H. C. 1, 35), E. H. f. गँठ् (also m.); Skr. m. बाहु arm, Pr. m. बाहू or f. बाहा (H. C. 1, 36. S. C. 1, 1. 54), E. H. f. बाह् or बाँह्; Skr. n. अन्तस्त्व in-testines, Pr. f. अंती (in Ap. अंत्रडी H. C. 4, 445. T. V. 3, 4. 69), E. H. f. अँत्; Skr. n. अस्थि or अस्थिकम् bone, Pr. n. अट्टिअं (cf. Spt. 100) or f. अट्टी (H. C. 2, 32), E. H. f. अठो. To these may

1) The Pr. fem. चोरिआ is really a different word, i. e., = Skr. चोरिका (cf. Wb. Spt. 45); so also the E. H. fem. रस्ती is really derived from the masc. रस्ता; see §§ 257. 262.

be added, as examples of what seem to be purely E. H. changes, E. H. f. अग्नि *fire*, Skr. m. अग्निः, Pr. m. अग्नि (Vr. 5, 18. S. R. fol. 9<sup>b</sup>); E. H. f. देह *body* (but S. m. देह), Skr. m. देहः, Pr. m. देहो (Spt. A, 63); E. H. f. सोह् *oath*, Skr. m. शपथः or n. शपथम्, Pr. m. सवहो (Vr. 2, 15) or n. सवह (Spt. 361); E. H. f. बिंदू or बिंदी or बूंद or बूंदी *drop*, Skr. m. बिन्दुः, Pr. m. बिंदू or n. बिंदुं (H. C. 1, 34 S. C. 1, 1. 52); E. H. बाई *wind*, Skr. m. वायुः, Pr. m. वाउ (Vr. 5, 18)<sup>1</sup>). The strong E. H. forms बिंदी (or बूंदी) and बाई seem to be diminutives (Pr. \*बिंदिन्ना, \*बाइन्ना) and to presuppose Pr. fem. forms \*बिन्दा, \*बाया; just as Pr. fem. बाहा and masc. बाहू *arm*. Curious anomalies are, E. H. वस्तु *thing* (S. regularly tadbh. वयु fem. Tr. 105) and धातु *metal* (also वस्तु and धातु), which are masc., but are sometimes used as fem., though they are tats, which always keep their original gender, in this case n. and m. respectively in Skr. Of words in which the gender has changed from fem. in Skr. to masc. in E. H., there is, I believe, only one; and the change took place in Pr.; viz., Skr. fem. प्रवृष्ट *rainy season*, Pr. m. पाउसो (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 1, 31. S. C. 1, 1. 50), E. H. m. पाउस् or पावस्<sup>2</sup>). As regards the change of Skr. neut. to E. H. masc., it had already taken place in Pr., in the case of all neut. ending in the cons. न् and न् (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 32. Wb. Bh. 404. 420); thus Skr. n. \*कर्म (base कर्मन्) *work*, A. Mg. m. कम्मे (Bh. 163. 167) or Mh. कम्मो, E. H. m. कम्; Skr. n. यशः *renown*, A. Mg. m. जसे (Bh. 420) or Mh. जसो, E. H. m. जस्; Skr. n. उरस् *breast*, A. Mg. m. उरे, E. H. उर; Skr. n. पयस् *milk*, A. Mg. m. पेये, E. H. m. पय or पै; Skr. n. चक्षुस् *eye*, Pr. m. चक्खू (H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51, also n. चक्खुं), E. H. m. चक्ख, etc. Sometimes also the change took

1) E. H. f. तौत् *string* is not = Skr. m. तन्तुः (as Bs II, 174 after Tr. 89 says), but = Skr. f. तन्त्री — The E. H. बाई *wind*, however, is more probably = Skr. f. वातिः.

2) The other word mentioned by the Pr. Gramm., m. सर्त्तो = Skr. f. सर्त्तु, occurs in E. H. only as a fem. semitats. सर्त्तु. — There is, however, also a Skr. m. प्रवृष्टः.

place in the case of neut. in अ (Skr. nom. sing. अम्, see H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1. 1. 51), especially in Mg. (Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399. 408-429) and in Ap. (H. C. 4, 445. Ls. 461-476); thus Skr. n. कुलम् *family*, Pr. n. कुलं or m. कुलो, Ap. m. कुलु (H. C. 4, 361), E. H. m. कुल्; Skr. n. दुःखम्. A. Mg. n. दुःखं or m. दुःखे (Bh. 190. 191), E. H. m. दुःख्, Skr. n. नयनम् *eye*. Pr. n. पात्रपां or m. पात्रपा or पात्रपो. E. H. m. नयन् or नैन्; Skr. n. वचनम् *word*, Pr. n. वचपां or m. वचपा or वयपा, Ap. वयपा (H. C. 4, 387), E. H. वयन् or वैन; Skr. n. लोचनम् *eye*. Pr. n. लोचण or m. लोचपा or लोयपा, E. H. m. लोयन्; Skr. n. हृदयम् *heart*, Pr. n. हिम्र (Vr. 1, 28) or Mg. m. हिय (Bh. 394. also हउक्के) or Mh. हिम्रो (Urv. 23, 10 in Pl. Diss. 5). E. H. m. हिया, Skr. n. धनम् *wealth*, Mg. m. धपो (Vr. 11, 11) or Ap. धपा (H. C. 4, 358). E. H. m. धन्; Skr. n. शिरस् *head*, Mh. n. सिरं (H. C. 1. 32), but Ap. m. निर (H. C. 4, 445), E. H. m. सिर. In Gd. (exc. M, G. and exceptionally W. H.) the Pr. tendency to change neut. into masc. is extended to all neut., thus Skr. n. दाम (base दामन्) *string*. Pr. n. दामं (H. C. 1. 32), but E. H. m. दाम् (sometimes even fem.); Skr. n. गृहम् *house*, Pr. n. घर. M. n. घर, but E. H. m. घर; Skr. n. धृतम् *clarified butter*, Pr. n. विश्रं. M. n. श्रौ, but E. H. m. श्रौ, Skr. n. दधिकम् *sour milk*. Pr. n. दहिम्र, M. n. दहौ, but E. H. m. दहौ, Skr. n. पानीयम् *water*. Pr. n. पाणिम्रं (Vr. 1, 18), M. n. पानी, but E. H. m. पानी; Skr. n. मौक्तिकम् *pearl*, Pr. n. मोत्रिचं (Spt. 314), M. n. मोती. but E. H. m. मोती; Skr. n. मस्तिस्कम् *head*. Pr. n. मत्तिचं, M. n. माती, but E. H. m. मायी, Skr. n. सुवर्णकम् *gold*, Pr. n. सोष्ट्रं or नाष्ट्रं (cf. Spt. 194), O. H. सोनय, M. n. सोने, but E. H. m. सोना; Skr. n. अश्रुकम् *tear*. Pr. n. अंसुचं, M. n. अंसू, but E. H. m. अंसू (O. H. अंसुच in Chand Devagiri 22); Skr. n. युगम् *yoke*. Pr. n. जुचं, M. n. जू, but E. H. m. जू or strong form जुचः; Skr. (st. f.) n. कर्तव्यकम् *doing*. Pr. n. करिचुचं, Ap. n. करेवुड (H. C. 4, 438) or करिवुड, W. H. n. करिचौ or m. करिचौ. O. m. करिचा, E. H. (wk. f.) m. करिच or कर्व.

360 *Affinities*. As regards the gender of nouns, E. H. occupies an intermediate position. The M. and G. have preserved the three genders of the Skr. and Pr. Again B. and O. distinguish

no gender at all. But E. H. has at least two genders, masc. and fem. Generally speaking it agrees in that respect with W. H., P., S. and N., though traces of the old neut. survive in W. H. in the infinitives in अन्नौ and इन्नौ or अन्नौ, as indicated by the final anunásika. — All the above mentioned E. H. instances of change of gender are common to W. H. and, as a rule, to the other Gds. also.

### 3. NUMBER.

361. There are only two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plur. of nouns, which signify *rational beings*, is formed 1) generally by adding the noun लोग् *people*, without any change in the sing. noun, or 2) less commonly by using the same form of the noun as in the sing. Thus *disciples* may be either चेलालोग् or less frequently चेला, from sing. चेला; or *daughters* बेटेलोग् or बेटे, from sg. बेटे. The plur. of any other being or thing can, generally, be formed only in the second way. Thus *horses* is घोरा but not घोरांल; *words* is बात, not बातलोग्, from the sing. घोरा and बात. In such cases, if the noun be in the nom. case, the context must decide its number. The plural, formed with लोग्, I shall call the *compound*, the other the *simple*.

*Exception.* A few nouns optionally form anomalous plurals, as तन् *man*, pl. तने; मनुक् *man*, pl. मनइ.

362. The termination of the subst. suffers no change in the sing. nor in the nom. and acc. *proper* of the plur., but in the oblique cases of the plur. the suff. अन्, इन्, उन् are added to subst. in अ or आ, इ or ई, उ or ऊ respectively. In the case of the comp. plur. they may be added either to the noun itself or, as is more common, to the plur. sign लोग्. The form thus made, I shall call the *oblique plural*; that of the obl. cases of the sing. and of the nom. and acc. *proper* of the (simple) plur., the *oblique sing.*; and that of the nom. sing., the *direct* form. See examples in § 379.

*Exception.* Subst. in ई, signifying *inanimate* objects, do

not make the oblique plur. (with इन्) in the short, but only in the long and red. forms; see examples in § 379.

363. *Affinities.* 1) In E. H. the nom. and acc. *proper* of the simple plur. of all subst. are identical with the obl. form of the sing.: the reason of which will be explained in § 369. The same, in principle, is the case in all Gds., except in O. and, partially, M. In the latter the fem. and neut. subst. have a special dir. form of the plur., whilst in O. there is no simple plur. at all (exc. in the plur. sign माने, see below Nro. 2. 3). But the B. and N. are peculiar in adding to the obl. sg. a special case-affix to denote its nom.-plur.-application: viz., B. र्ता, N. र्हा, and N. has the further peculiarity of using an archaic obl. sg. in हे or ह (see §§ 364, 3. 365, 6). Thus E. H. ob. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला *disciples*. W. H. obl. sg. चेल्ले, nom. pl. चेल्ले; B. obl. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला-र्ता, N. old obl. sg. चेलाहे or चेलाह, nom. pl. चेलाहे-र्ह or चेलाह-र्ह, etc.; for other examples see §§ 364, 3. 369, 1 — 2) The E. H. has both a simple and a comp. plur., the former for all subst., the latter (as a rule) for those only which denote *rational beings*. Formerly the O. also had, for subst. denoting rational beings, a simple plur. which, in the case of ञ-bases. ended in र् (see Bs. II. 198, e. g., कुमार pl. of कुमार *boy*); but now the comp. plur. (made with माने) only is used. For all other subst. the O. has no plur. at all (see Sn. 14). None of the other Gds. possess a comp. plur.; B. using the simple plur. for rational beings only (S. Ch. 44. 53), the rest of the Gds., for all subst. alike. The comp. plur. is made, in O. with माने, obl. f. मानन्. in E. H. with लोग्, obl. f. लोगन्. Thus nom. pl. E. H. चेला or चेला-लोग् *disciples*, O. चेला-माने; dat. pl. E. H. चेलन्-के or चेला-लोगन्-के, O. चेला-मानन्-कु. It should be observed, however, that, for the purpose of emphasizing the plur. meaning, a periphrastic plur. may be formed in all Gds. for any subst. whatsoever, by appending to the sing. some suitable collective noun, such as गण् *troop*, वर्ग *class*, सकल् or सब् *all*, etc. — 3) All Gds. have an obl. f. of the simple plur. (see

table, below), exc. the N., B. and, apparently, G. which use the form of the nom. pl. in the obl. cases also. Thus E. H. nom. pl. चेला, obl. चेलन्; H. H. चेले, obl. चेलो, etc., but G. nom. and obl. चेलात्र or (variously spelled) चेलाउ or चेलात्रो. However, in G. the final *anunásika* (Pr. *anusvára*), which usually distinguishes the obl. plur. (see § 368, 6), may have been dropped. Where there is no simple plur., as in O., there can be, of course, no obl. plur. But the O. and E. H. comp. plur. signs माने and लोग् (see Nro. 2) form a regular obl. pl. मानन् and लोगन्. As to the N. and B., see § 364, 2. 3. — 4) As regards the sing., the general tendency of the Gds. is to assimilate the obl. to the dir. form. In the E. Gd. the assimilation is complete, no subst. (of whatever termin.) having its obl. differing from its dir. form. In W. Gd. (exc. S.) and N. Gd., it is almost complete, the only exceptions being strong nouns in ञा. In S. the obl. form of masc. nouns in उ and ञो, and of com. gen. nouns in ई and ऊ is different from the direct. In S. Gd. the two forms differ in most nouns of whatever termination. It must, however, in all cases be understood, that the obl. f., though *now* it may outwardly be the same as the dir., is not really identical with it, but has a different origin, as will be shown in § 365. Thus nom. sg. A. Mg. सामिर् or सामिञ् = dir. f. M. and E. H. सामी, or nom. sg. Mh. सामिञ्चो, Ap. सामिउ = dir. f. S. सामी *lord*; and gen. sg. A. Mg. सामिञ्चाह् = obl. f. M. साम्या, E. H. (lg. f.) समिया; or gen. sg. Ap. सामिञ्चहो or ०हु = obl. f. O. H. सामिञ्चह्, S. सामिञ्च, W. H. and E. H. सामी. Again nom. sg. A. Mg. घोउर् or घोउञ्च = dir. f. M. and E. H. घोडा, or nom. sg. Mh. घोउञ्चो, Ap. घोउउ = dir. f. S. घोडे; and gen. sg. A. Mg. घोउञ्चाह् = obl. f. M. घाड्या (for \*घोड्या), E. H. (lg. f.) घोडवा; or gen. sg. Ap. घोउञ्चहो or घोउञ्चहे = obl. f. O. H. घोउञ्चह् or O. P. घोउञ्चहि, G., W. H., E. H. घोडा, P., H. H. घोडे. — 5) The subjoined tables give a comparative view of the various terminations of the Gd. dir. and obl. forms. Observe, that where a form is not ascribed to any particular Gd., it belongs to all; and where no gender is mentioned, it is common.

*Direct forms singular*

of weak bases	in अ	अ; exc. S., O. H., O. P. उ m., अ f.
	in इ	इ; exc. M., H. H. इ m. n., इ or अ f.
	in उ	उ.
of strong bases	in आ	E. Gd., H. H., P. आ m., Br. आ or ओ m., Mw., S., N. ओ m., G. ओ m., उँ n., M. आ or उ m., ऐँ or उँ n., O. H. ओ or अय m. अयँ n.
	in ई	ई; exc. M. ई m. f., ईँ n., O. H. ई m., इय f.
	in ऊ	ऊ; exc. M. ऊ m. f., ऊँ n., G. उ c. g.

*Direct forms plural in M.*

of weak bases	in अ	आ f., ऐँ n.	of strong bases	in आ	ईँ or ऐँ n.
	in इ	ई f.		in ई	या f., येँ n.
	in उ	deest		in ऊ	वा f., वेँ n.

*Oblique forms singular*

of weak bases	in अ	अ; exc. B. अ or ए, M. आ m. n., ए f., O. H. अ or अह or अहि, O. P. अ or अहि.
	in इ	इ; exc. M. ई, O. H. इ or इह or इहि, O. P. इ or इहि.
	in उ	उ; exc. M. ऊ, O. H. उ or उह or उहि.
of strong bases	in आ	B., O., E. H., Mw. आ m., Br. आ or ए m., H. H., P., S. ए m., M. या or आ m. n., G. आ m., आँ n., O. H. अअह or अअहि m. n.
	in ई	ई; exc. S. इअ, M. या m. n., ये f or ई c. g., O. H. इअह or इअहि.
	in ऊ	ऊ; exc. S. उअ, M. आ m. n., वे f. or उ c. g., O. H. उअह or उअहि.

*Oblique forms plural*

of weak bases	in अ	E. H. अन्, H. H. ओँ, Br. ओँ or अन् or अनि, Mw., M. आँ, P. आँ m., ईअँ f., G. ओ, S. आँ or ऐँ or अनि c. g., उनि f., O. H. आन् or अन् or अन्ह or अन्हि.
	in इ	E. H. इन्, H. H. इयोँ, Br. इयोँ or इन् or इनि, Mw. याँ, P. इअँ, G. इओ, M. ईँ, S. इअँ or इऐँ or इनि or इअनि or इउनि, O. H. इन् or इन्ह or इन्हि.
	in उ	E. H. उन्, H. H. उओँ, Br. उन or उनि, Mw., P. उअँ, G. उओ, S. उनि, M. ऊँ, O. H. उन् or उन्ह or उन्हि.

N. B., in B., O., N. *deest* throughout.



of strong bases	in अ	P. इअँ m., S. अँ or ऐँ or अनि m., G. आबू (or आओ) m., अँ n., M. यँ or अँ m. n.	the rest as in the weak bases.
	in ई	Br. इयोँ or इयन् or इयनि or इन् or इनि, P. ईअँ, G. ईओ, M. यँ or ईँ.	
	in उ	Br. उओँ or उअन् or उअनि or उन् or उनि, P. उअँ, S. उअँ or उऐँ or उअनि or उनि, M. वँ or उँ.	

*Obl. forms used as nom. plur.*

of weak bases	in अ	B. अ-रा or ए-रा, N. अहे-न् or अह-न्, E. H. अ, H. H. अ m., ऐँ f., Br., O. H. अ m., ऐँ f., Mw. अ m., अँ f., P. अ m., इअँ f., S. अ m., अँ or उँ f., M. अ m., G. अ m, ओ c. g.	
	in इ	B. इ-रा, N. इहे-न् or इह-न्, E. H. इ, H. H., Br. इ m., इयँ f., Mw. इ m., यँ f., P. इ m., इअँ f., S. इ m., इउँ f., G. इ m., उओ c. g., M. इ c. g.	
	in उ	B. उ-रा, N. उहे-न् or उह-न्, E. H. उ, H. H., W. H., P. उ m. उअँ f., S. उ m., उँ f., G. उ m. or उओ c. g., M. उ.	
		N. B., in O. <i>deeest</i> throughout.	
of strong bases	in अ	B. आ-रा, N. आहे-न् or आह-न्, E. H., Mw., S. आ m., H. H., P. ए m., Br. आ or ए m., G. आ or आबू m., अँ or ओँव n., M. ए or उ m.	
	in ई	B. ई-रा, N. ईहे-न् or ईह-न्, E. H. ई, G. ईओ, H. H. ई m., इयँ f., Br. ई m., ईँ or इयँ f., Mw. ई m., यँ f., P. ई m., ईअँ f., S. ई m., ईयँ f., M. ई m.	
	in उ	B. उ-रा, N. उहे-न् or उह-न्, E. H., S. उ, H. H., W. H. उ m., उअँ f., P. उ m., उअँ f., G. उओ or उ c. g., M. उ m.	
		N. B., in O. <i>deeest</i> throughout.	

*Note:* It will be observed, that in W. Gd. the obl. plur. of weak nouns in इ and उ generally adopts the obl. termin. of strong nouns in ई and उ, and vice versa in E. H. the obl. plur. of strong nouns in अ, ई, उ the obl. termin. of the weak nouns in अ, इ, उ.

364. *Derivation of the plural signs.* 1) The O. माने or, shortened, मान is, probably, identical with the E. H. plur. *मानइ men* (§ 361, exc.; from Skr. मानव *man*; not मान *measure*, as Bs. II, 199), and is a plur. noun with the old termination ए, obl.

अन् (see § 363, 2). The E. H. लोग् *men* (Skr. लोक § 102) is also a plur. noun, as shown by its obl. f. लोगन् (§ 363, 2), and, like मान्, is shortened for लोगे. The shortened form मान् is not used with rational beings (see Sn. 11). — 2) The B. is generally said to form a comp. plur. with the pl. sign दिग्, which is sometimes (see Bs. II, 200) believed to be none other than the Skr. दिक् *region, side*. But there can be little doubt, that this identification is a mistake. For a) the B. दिग् ends in (quiescent) ऋ, while the Skr. दिक् does not; b) a final Skr. क् would not become ग् in either Pr. or Gd.; c) the Skr. दिक् is merely the nom. sg. of the base दिष्, while the B. दिग्, if anything, is an obl. f., i. e., equal to the Skr. gen. sg. (see § 366) which is दिष्: (Pr. दिसो or rather दिसाद्, cf. H. C. 1, 19. 3, 30); d) the sg. दिष् (or nom. दिक्) is not a collective noun and, therefore, could not serve to form a plur.; on the other hand e) in the plur. (like माने, लोग) it would be Skr. दिष्ः, Pr. दिसाञ्चो, which would not produce the B. दिग्. I am inclined to believe, that दिग् is not a real word, but merely a compound of two case-affixes. The ordinary B. gen. pl. ends in देर्. This I divide into दे (base) and र् (case-aff.), just as in the gen. sg.; thus देवदेर् of *gods* = देवदे-र्, just as देवेर् of *a god* = देवे-र् (see § 365, 6). Here देवदे, like देवे, is an obl. f.; its dir. f. would be देवदा (or देवद); and, in fact, the two forms, thus deduced, are the same as the P. gen. sg. देव-दा and its obl. f. देव-दे. It should be observed that the B. uses the gen. sg. to serve as a plur. base (see § 369); its nom. pl. देवे-र् *gods* is but the st. f. of its gen. sg. देवे-र् of *a god*. Similarly it uses an other (now obsolete) gen. sg. देव-दा, to serve as the pl. base of the obl. cases, which are made by adding certain case-affixes. Before the latter, as usual, the base is inflected, i. e., देव-दा becomes देव-दे, and with the gen. aff. र् it is देव-दे-र्. With the dat. aff. के it ought to be देव-दे-के; but के has a tendency to change to ने (just as in W. H. among the *Mairs* the gen. aff. are गो, गा, etc. for को, का; in N. गरू to *do* for करू) and दे to become दि (just as the B. and E. H. dat. aff. के is in O. कि); hence it is देव-दि-ने

(or देवदिग्गे, as it is commonly spelled, see S. Ch. 58, with two ग्ग, to compensate for the shortening of ए). Similarly with the loc.-aff. ते or के-ते, it is देव-दि-गे-ते (just as, e. g., in H H dat.-acc. उस-के-तई<sup>३</sup> to him, lit. up to him). In course of time this origin was forgotten and an imaginary noun दिग्ग formed, and henceforth treated like a real noun. Thus a dat. दिग्ग-के and a gen. दिग्गे<sup>३</sup> was made. The form दिग्गे<sup>३</sup>, however, is, according to S. Ch. 50 not commonly used in speaking, which points to a surviving consciousness on the part of the people of the unfitness of the formation. The occurrence of the ordinary P. gen.-aff. दा in B., at the two furthest extremities of the Gd. area, is no doubt remarkable; but it is by no means the only fact of its kind. Thus there is the same peculiar auxil. past tense in the O. वेला he was and in S. बिओ, P. वा; and indeed the ordinary B. and O. gen.-aff. रू occurs also in the distant Mw. रौ (see § 377, 1). In each case, these words are almost entirely absent in the intermediate Gds.; though occasionally वो and दा are met with in W. H. (see Kl. 70. 157), and वा and व्यो are the regular forms in H. H. and N. respectively, and ह occurs in the plur. of N. (see Nro. 3). It will be shown also in § 377, 3, that the B. instr.-aff. दिया is connected with the gen.-aff. दा. — 3) There is a close analogy between the N. and B. plur. The former is made by adding हेह or हह to the sing. But these plur. signs are not, as it has been supposed, nouns, but are compounded of the old gen. or obl. termin. हे or ह (see § 365, 6) and the gen.-aff. ह, which is identical with the B. gen.-aff. रू, but has preserved the old termin. उ. In fact, the N. plur. termin. हेह is identical with the B. gen. termin. एरू and the B. plur. termin. एरा; the latter being the st. f., the other two wk. forms. Thus N. देवहे-ह or देवह-ह gods = B. देवे-रा (or gen. देवे-रू). The B. ए is but a contraction of the older form अहे or अहि. In the O. Gd. the gen. or obl. sg. in अहे or अहि or अह or (shortened) ए was used as a nom. plur. (see § 369); e. g., जने men = जनहि lit. of man scl. multitude; and in order to make it a plur. base capable of declension, the declinable

gen.-aff.  $\bar{r}$  or (st. f.)  $\bar{r}r$  (a curtailed nomin. base, § 377) was added. Thus the N.  $\bar{r}n\bar{h}-\bar{r}$  (originally a gen. sg., = Ap. Pr.  $\bar{r}n\bar{h}o$  के $\bar{r}$ ) is now a plur. base, which can be regularly declined; e. g., gen.  $\bar{r}n\bar{h}-\bar{r}-ko$  of *men*, dat.  $\bar{r}n\bar{h}-\bar{r}-lai$  to *men*, etc. Similarly in B.; only instead of declining the plur. base  $\bar{r}n-\bar{r}$ , it substitutes in the obl. cases an other plur. base  $\bar{r}n-\bar{d}$  or  $\bar{r}n-\bar{d}$ , which was also originally a gen. sg. Thus gen.  $\bar{r}n-\bar{d}-\bar{r}$  of *men*, dat.  $\bar{r}n-\bar{d}-\bar{r}o$  to *men*, etc. But, as in the case of the B.  $\bar{d}i\bar{g}$ , the true nature of the N.  $\bar{h}e\bar{r}$  or  $\bar{h}r$  is now forgotten, and it is supposed to be a real noun; see also § 369, 1.

365. *Derivation of the obl. terminations.* It will be seen from the table of obl. termin. (§ 363), that they are divisible into two great types, of which those of the M. and S. are respectively most characteristic, and which can be best distinguished in the sing. In M. the sg. obl. forms end in a long, in S. in a short vowel. Thus M. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m.  $\bar{a}$ , f.  $\bar{e}$ , m. f.  $\bar{i}$ , m. f.  $\bar{u}$ , and (st. f.) m.  $\bar{ya}$ ,  $\bar{va}$ , f.  $\bar{ye}$ ,  $\bar{ve}$ ; again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f.  $\bar{a}i$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{u}$ , and (st. f.) m. f.  $\bar{y}i$ ,  $\bar{v}i$ . But in S. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. f.  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{u}$ , and (st. f.) m. f.  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{e}$  (=  $\bar{a}$ ),  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{u}$  (or in the other Gds. contracted  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{u}$ ); again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f.  $\bar{a}i$  or  $\bar{e}$  (in W. H.  $\bar{a}i$ ,  $\bar{e}i$ ), and (st. f.) m. f.  $\bar{i}$  or  $\bar{u}$ ,  $\bar{a}i$  or  $\bar{u}$  (in W. H.  $\bar{i}$  or  $\bar{u}$ ,  $\bar{a}i$  or  $\bar{u}$ ). To the S. type belong the W. and N. Gds.; to the M. type, of course, the S. Gd. (i. e. M.), though exceptionally, a few forms of the S. type have found admittance into M.; viz., the M. strong obl. forms in  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{u}$ . The E. Gds. again are a mixture of both; for their short (incl. weak and strong) forms are of the S. type, and their long forms of the M. This double character can be best seen in E. H. — The original of the Gd. oblique form is the Pr. genitive (see § 366). The obl. f. of the M. type goes back to the M. gen.; that of the S. type to the Ap. gen. — 1) *Deriv. of the Mg. type.* The suff. of the gen. sg. are in Mg. Pr.  $\bar{sa}$  (or  $\bar{sa}$  = Skr.  $\bar{sa}$ ) or  $\bar{h}$  (Vr. 11, 12. H. C. 4, 299), which are added indifferently to all three kinds of bases in  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  of whatever gender (see § 367).

Before ह the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. gen. termin.: 1) अस्त, इस्त, उस्त and 2) आह, ईह, उह or, with strong bases, 1) अस्त, इस्त, उस्त and 2) आह, ईह, उह. In M. (representing the old Dk. Pr. of the Mg. Pr. type, see Introd.) the 1<sup>st</sup> set becomes (§§ 143. 147) आत्, ईत्, उत् or (st. f.) वात् (for अयात् or इयात्), वात् (for उयात्), and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set (dropping ह<sup>1</sup>) आ, ई, उ or (st. f.) या (for अया or इया), वा (for उया). In the E. H. (= old A. Mg. Pr.) only the 2<sup>nd</sup> set occurs; viz., (lg. f.) अवा, इवा, उवा (with euph. व् and व्). Both sets are preserved in the M. dat., which is identical with the old gen. (see Vr. 6, 64); thus M. देवास् or देवा to a God = Dk. Pr. देवस्त or देवाह, Skr. देवस्य. But, in M., the first set is also preserved in its proper gen. sense in the so-called post-position साठी, which is really a compound of the gen. termin. स् and the post-position आठी (= Ap. Pr. अट्हि, Skr. अर्थे for the sake of); thus \*M. देवासाठी lit. for the sake of God, i. e. देवास् आठी = Dk. Pr. देवस्त अट्हि, Skr. देवस्य अर्थे. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set is used as the termin. of the ordinary M. and E. H. obl. form, and as such retains its old gen. sense. Thus M. dat. देवा लाई lit. for the benefit of God = Dk. देवाह लाह्णि, Skr. देवस्य लाभे; or (lg. f.) M. देवा लाई = Dk. देवाह लाह्णि, Skr. देवस्य लाभे; or E. H. dat. देवा के lit. at the side of God, A. Mg. देवाह कहि, Skr. देवस्य कले. — 2) The suff. of the gen. sg. of fem. nouns in आ, ई and उ is in Pr. ए (=Skr. यान्) or, shortened, इ or अ (Vr. 5, 22. 23. H. C. 3, 29. 30). The form अ is, evidently, the latest, whence it passed into Gd. Thus the latest Mg. Pr. gen. termin. are: आअ, ईअ, उअ or, with strong bases, इआअ, उआअ. In M., these become ए (for आय with euph. व्), ई and उ (dropping अ), and (st. f.) ये, वे (for याय, वाय); and in E. H., (lg. f.) इया, उया or उवा (dropping अ and inserting euph.

1) As to the Gd. tendency to drop a final ह, see § 32. In the O. H. of Chand shāh king is often spelled सा, and sīh lion सी; e. g., करी आनि साहाब सा बन्धि गोरी, Revatāṭa 43; or रा चावड नैतसी Devagiri 51 for साहाब साह and नैतसीह.

वृ and वृ). These M. and E. H. termin. occur in their obl. forms. Thus M. obl. f. जीभे of a tongue, contr. for ड्क. जीभाय or जिम्भाय or जिम्भाइ or जिम्भाए = Skr. जिह्वायाः, of M. जीम्, Dk. जिम्भा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिह्वा. — 3) There are some M. strong masc. and fem. nouns in ई and ऊ, the obl. form of which ends also in ई and ऊ instead of in या m. (ये f.) and वा m. (वे f.). Thus m. विंचू scorpion has obl. f. विंचवा or विंचू; m. हत्ती elephant has obl. f. हत्ती (not हत्त्या); f. घोड़ी mare has obl. f. घोड़ी, (not घोड़ये), f. सासू mother-in-law has obl. f. सासवे and सासू. It is just possible, that here ई and ऊ may be contractions of वा, ये and वा, वे respectively; but it is much more probable that they are Ap. Pr. forms which have been mixed up in M. with Dk. Pr. forms (see Nro 6)<sup>1</sup>). The same remarks apply to the E. Gd. obl. forms in आ, ई, ऊ of short-form nouns in आ, ई, ऊ. Thus E. H. obl. f. घोड़ा of a horse might be contracted from A. Mg. gen. घोडआह; but it is much more probably a contraction of the Ap. Pr. घोडआहो. — 4) The suff. of the gen. pl. are in Mg. Pr. पां or पा (Vr. 5, 4, 4, 16. H. C. 3, 6. 1, 29 = Skr. नाम्) and हँ (H. C. 4, 300), which are added indifferently to bases in अ, इ and उ of whatever gender (see § 367), and before which the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. Pr. termin.: 1) आपां, ईपां, ऊपां and 2) आहँ, ईहँ, ऊहँ, or, with strong bases, 1) अआपां, इआपां, उआपां and 2) अआहँ, इआहँ, उआहँ. In M. the 1<sup>st</sup> set becomes आंना, ईंना, ऊंना<sup>2</sup>) or (st. f.) वांना (for अवान or इवान), वांना

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1) That both the Mg. and Ap. gen. have contributed to the M. obl. forms, can be clearly seen from the following example: Skr. nom. घोटकः, gen. घोटकस्य becomes, in M., nom. घोडा, obl. घोड्या; analogously Skr. वर्त्मसर्कः should be, in M., nom. वाटसर्ता, obl. वाटसर्वा, but it becomes वाटसर्त्, obl. वाटसर्त्ता. The reason is, that the former represent Mg. forms: nom. घोडर्, gen. घोडआह; the latter Ap. forms: nom. वट्सर्त्त, gen. वट्सर्त्तह or °हो.

2) These forms are usually divided into आं + ना, ईं + ना, ऊं + ना, and ना is considered to be an aff., and the rest to be the ordinary obl. f. This is possible, as ना might be a modification of the ordinary M. dat. aff. ला, analogous to the G. sg. and pl. dat. aff. ने. But in that case,

(for उन्नान), and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set becomes (by elision of ह् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels) अँ, ईँ, उँ or (st. f.) यँ (for अयँ or इयँ), वँ (for उवँ). In E. H. the first set becomes (by shortening the initial vowel) अन्, इन्, उन्, or (lg. f.) अवन्, इवन्, उवन्, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set (lg. f.) अयँ, इयँ, उयँ (with euph. व् and य्). In O. H. (Chand and Kabir). however, examples of the 1<sup>st</sup> set with a long vowel still occur; e. g., महिलान् of *women*, द्रव्यान of *riches*, गुरुन् to *teachers* (Bs. II, 219. 207. 282). In M., the 1<sup>st</sup> set is, just as in the sing., preserved in the dat. (= old gen.); thus M. देवाना to *Gods* = Dk. देवाणां, Skr. देवानाम्. In E. H. the 1<sup>st</sup> set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl., with the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. देवन् मे lit. *in the midst of Gods* = A. Mg. देवाणा मञ्जि, Skr. देवानां मध्ये. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl. in M. and obl. sg. in E. H.<sup>1)</sup>, also retaining the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. M. देवँ ठाईँ lit. *in the place of Gods* = Dk. देवाहँ ठाणहिं, Skr. देवानां स्थाने, or (lg. f.) M. देव्वँ ठाईँ = Dk. देववाहँ ठाणहिं, Skr. देवकानां स्वः; or (lg. f.) E. H. देववँ मे *in a God* = A. Mg. देववाहँ मञ्जि, Skr. देवकानां मध्ये. — 5) The masc. nouns in ईँ and उँ, mentioned in Nro. 3 as having an obl. sg. in ईँ and उँ for या, वा, similarly have an obl. pl. in ईँ and उँ, which might be contractions of यँ and वँ, but more probably are Ap. forms (see Nro. 7). Thus हत्ती *elephant* has obl. pl. हत्तीँ (not हत्तयँ), विंचू *scorpion* has obl. pl. विंचवँ or विंचूँ. — 6) *Deriv. of the S. type.* The suff. of the gen. sg. are, in the Ap. Pr., हो and हे or, shortened, हु or हि (H. C. 4, 338. 336. 351 and 4, 350 341. 352. K. I. 30. 34. 36. 35. 29 in Ls. 451. 462), which are added alike to bases in अ, इ, उ of whatever gender (see § 367). Thus there are two sets of Ap. termin.; viz. 1) अहो, इहो, उहो or अहु, ईहु, उहु

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one would expect ना to be used also in the sg., which is not the case. On the whole, I think it more probable, that the whole is *one* suff., to which, however, a mistaken popular etymology has given an anomalous final अत; the forms ought to be अतँ, ईतँ, उतँ.

1) This confusion of sg. and pl. forms may be also otherwise observed in Gd., see § 367, 5.

and 2) अहे, इहे, उहे or अहि, इहि, उहि or, with strong bases, 1) अग्रहो, इग्रहो, उग्रहो or अग्रहु, इग्रहु, उग्रहु and 2) अग्रहे, इग्रहे, उग्रहे or अग्रहि, इग्रहि, उग्रहि. In old Gd. (O. H., O. P.) the 1<sup>st</sup> set becomes अह, इह, उह or (dropping ह) अ, इ, उ, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set अहि or ए (contr. for अहि = अइ), इहि, उहि, or in strong bases, 1) अग्रह, इग्रह, उग्रह or आ (for अग्र), इग्र, उग्र, and 2) अग्रहि or आग्र (for अग्रइ) or ऐ or ए, इग्रहि, उग्रहि. The 1<sup>st</sup> set (in ह) is still found in the O. W. H. of Chand, the 2<sup>nd</sup> set (in हि) in the O. P. of the Granth (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), in the O. H. of Kabir, Tulsí Dás, etc. and in the O. B. of Vidyápati, etc., in their proper sense of the gen. sg.; e. g., गोचार परह चारै सु गोइ । *a herdsman tends the cattle of an other* (Chand 28, 62), or बोल बोलहु अविचारह । *you speak a speech of inconsiderateness* (Ch. 28, 50), or चहुबानह पास । *by the side of the Chahuván* (Ch. 28, 33). Again राम नाम लै बेराधारा ऽ सो तै ले संसारहि पारा ॥ i. e., *so thou mayest reach the farther shore of the world* (Kabir Ram. 75, 3), or जीवहि मरन न होइ ॥ i. e., *of the soul there is no dying* (Kabir Ram. 22, 6). Again प्रणउँ पुर नर नारि बहोरी । ममता जिन पर प्रमुहि न थोरी ॥ i. e., *concerning which the pride of the Lord is not small* (Tulsí Dás, Bal. 10), or होइहि संतत पियहि पियारी ॥ *there will be offspring of the beloved one of the beloved* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), or को गुण दोषहि करै बिचार ॥ i. e., *who takes account of virtue and vice* (T. Dás, Bal. 30). In the sense of the dat. (= old gen.) हि is very common in O. H.<sup>1)</sup>; thus रंगअवनि सब मुनिहि दिवाई ॥ i. e., *he showed all the decorations to the sage* (T. Dás, Bal.), or आपु नुबराजपद रामहि देउ ॥ i. e., *give the heir-apparentship to Rám* (T. Dás Ayodh. 5); also in O. B., e. g., आनहि to another (see Bs. II, 229). Both ह and हि also occur as the termin. of the obl. f.; e. g., क्यूो सम बान ततारह । *he spoke with the Khán Tartár* (Chand 28, 58), or ततारह उपरह । *upon the Tartár* (Ch. 29, 19); or आदिहि ते सब कथा सुनाई *he narrated the whole story from the beginning* (T. Dás

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., बहु विधि राम शिवहि समुकावा । परवती कर जन्म सुनावा ॥ i. e., *in many ways Rám admonished Shiva and narrated the story of the birth of Parvati* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), etc. See also Kl. 65. 283. 286 and § 367, 3,



in Bs. II, 212). These examples contain also instances of the curtailed form of the gen.; thus राम नाम लै *taking the name of Rāma*, प्रपाडं पुर नर नारि *I salute the men and women of the town*, पियारि संतत (for पियारिञ्च) *offspring of the beloved one*, etc. In modern Gd. both sets occur only in their curtailed forms (with one exception in N., see below): 1) अ, इ, उ and 2) ए or, in strong bases, 1) आ, इअ or ई, उअ or उ and 2) आय् or ऐ or ए. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set is still preserved in the B. and O. dat. (= old gen.; especially in words denoting inanimate objects; but generally in poetry and *theṭh bhāshā*; see S. Ch. 46, 2. 59, 4. 62. 63. Sn. 14. 15); thus B. and O. घरे *to a house* = O. Gd. घरहि, Ap. Pr. घरहे, Skr. गृहस्य; B. दोने *to the poor*, O. Gd. दोनहि, Ap. दीणहे, Skr. दीनस्य; B. तामाय् *to copper*, O. Gd. तामाहि or तामअहि, Ap. तम्बअहे, Skr. ताम्रकस्य, etc. But both sets are used in all Gds. (with the exceptions in Nros 1—5) as the ordinary termin. of the obl. sg., and as such retain their old gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gds. in the following manner. The contracted weak form ए is confined to the gen. and loc. sg. and nom. pl. of B.; thus B. gen. sg. देवे-र lit. *done of God*, O. Gd. देवहि कर, Ap. देवहे केर, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (see § 377); loc. sg. देवे ते *in God*; nom. pl. देवे-रा *Gods*, O. Gd. देवहि करा, Ap. देवहे केरउ, Skr. देवस्य कृतकः scl. सङ्गः (see § 364, 2). N. has preserved even the full old form (in हे or ह) in its nom. pl.; thus N. देवह-र or देवहे-र *Gods*, O. Gd. देवह कर्, Ap. देवहे or हो केर, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (scl. सङ्गः). The contr. st. f. आ occurs in B., O., Mw. and G.; E. H. has आ and ए, Br. आ and ऐ (i. e. आ in subst., ए or ऐ in adj.); P. and S. have ए; thus gen. sg., B., O. घोडा-र, Mw. घोडा-रो, E. H. घोड़ा कै, Br. घोडा कौ, G. घोडा नो, P. घोडे दा, S. घोडे तो *of a horse*, O. Gd. घोडअह or °हि करौ or करौ, Ap. घोडअहो or °हे केरउ, Skr. घोटकस्य कृतकः; again E. H. भले कै, Br. भलै कौ *of good*, O. H. भल्लअहि क°, Ap. भल्लअहे क°, Skr. भद्रकस्य क°. The uncontr. st. f. इअ and उअ are possessed by S. only; the contr. ई and उ by all other Gds.; thus loc. sg., E. H. etc. हाथी मे, but S. हथिअ मे lit. *in the midst of the elephant*, O. Gd. हथिअह माँही°, Ap. हथिअहो मडकिं, Skr. हस्तिकस्य मध्ये; or E. H. etc. बिडू मे, but

S. विष्णु मेँ *in the midst of the scorpion*, O. Gd. विष्णुह म°, Ap. विष्णुग्रहो म°, Skr. वृश्चिकस्य म°, etc. The weak forms अ, इ, उ are common to all Gds; thus dat. sg., O. नर्कु, B., E. H. नर्के, Br. नर् कै, Mw. नर् नै, G. नर् ने, P. नर् नूँ, N. नर् लार्ह, S. नर् ले lit. *by the side of the man*, Skr. नरस्य कक्षे. — 7) The suff. of the gen. plur. are, in the Ap. Pr., हं, हुं and हिं (H. C. 4, 339. 340. 337. cf. 347. 351. K. I. 31. 32. 28 in Ls. 451), which are added indifferently to bases in अ, इ, उ of whatever gender (§ 367). Thus there are three sets of Ap. Pr. termin.: 1) अहं, इहं, उहं, 2) अहुं, इहुं, उहुं, 3) अहिं, इहिं, उहिं or, with strong bases, 1) अग्रहं, इग्रहं, उग्रहं, 2) अग्रहुं, इग्रहुं, उग्रहुं, 3) अग्रहिं, इग्रहिं, उग्रहिं. In O. H. the 3<sup>d</sup> set is still found in the sense of the dat. (= old gen.); thus मातृपितृहिं पुनि यह मत भावा *this counsel, again, pleased (her) parents* (T. Dās. in Kl. 286); or दीन्ह असीस सबहिं सुखमानी *he gave a blessing to all of happy import* (T. Dās, Bal.); or जो तुमहिं सुता पर नेहूँ lit. *if to you there is love for your daughter or if there is love of you for your daughter*<sup>1)</sup>. In modern Gd., ह is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; thus 1) अाँ, ईँ, ऊँ, 2) औँ or ओँ, (इहुँ *deest*), ऊँ, 3) ऐँ or ऐँ, ईँ, (उहिं *deest*) or, in strong bases, 1) अाँ, इयाँ or याँ, उआँ or वाँ, 2) औँ or ओँ, इयोँ or योँ or इयूँ, उओँ or उओँ or ऊँ, 3) ऐँ or ऐँ, इऐँ or ईँ, उऐँ. Most of these forms serve as the termin. of the ordinary obl. plur., and, as such, retain their original gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gds., as follows. The forms अाँ (wk. or st.), इयाँ or याँ, उआँ or वाँ occur in S., P. and Mw.; the forms औँ or ओँ (wk. or st.), इयोँ or योँ, उओँ or उओँ in Br. and H. H.; the forms ऐँ (wk. or st.), इऐँ, उऐँ in S., and the st. forms ईँ and ऊँ in M. Thus loc. pl.; S., P., Mw. नराँ मेँ lit. *in the midst of men*, Ap. पार्ह मज्जहिं, Skr. नराणां मध्ये; Br. नराँ मेँ, H. H. नरोँ मेँ, Ap.

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., तब रामहिं बिलोकि बैदेही *then Vaidelī having beheld Rāma* (T. Dās, Bal.); रामहिं is here the plur. majestatis; but the pl. हि is often used for the sg. हि, see § 367, 5.

नरुं म<sup>०</sup>; S. नरुं मे<sup>०</sup>, Ap. पारुहिं म<sup>०</sup>; or in st. f., S., P., Mw. घोडौ मे<sup>०</sup>  
*in the midst of horses*, Ap. घोडग्रहं मरुहिं, Skr. घोटकानां मध्ये; Br.  
 घोडौ मे<sup>०</sup>, H. H. घोडौ मे<sup>०</sup>, Ap. घोडग्रहं म<sup>०</sup>; S. घोडौ मे<sup>०</sup>, Ap. घोडग्रहिं म<sup>०</sup>,  
 etc. Again M. dat. pl. हन्तौ ला lit. *for the benefit of elephants*,  
 Ap. ह्यिग्रहिं लमहि, Skr. हस्तिकानां लाभे, etc. The rest of the forms  
 are used as termin. of the nom. pl.; see § 369<sup>1</sup>). — 8) I add  
 a few more examples to illustrate the preceding remarks: *Weak*  
*bases in अ*: masc. or neut., जल *water*; gen. sg., Skr. जलस्य, 1) Mg.  
 Pr. (a) जलश्र or (b) जलाह, M. (a) जलास् or (b) जला; 2) Ap. Pr.  
 (c) जलहो or (d) जलहे, O., Gd. (c) जलह or (d) जलहि, M. Gd. (c)  
 जल (in all) or (d) जले (in B. and O.). Fem. जिह्वा *tongue*, gen. sg.  
 Skr. जिह्वायाः, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जिह्माए or जिह्माइ or जिह्माश्र or जिह्माय  
 (with euph. य्), M. (a) जिभे; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) जिभहो or (c) जिभहे,  
 O. Gd. (b) जीमह or (c) जीमहि, M. Gd. (b) जीम (in all) or (c) जीमे  
 (in B., O.). Gen. plur., Skr. जलानाम्, जिह्वानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जलापां,  
 जिह्वापां or (b) जलाहं, जिह्माहं, M. (a) जलाना, जिभाना or (b) जलौ,  
 जिभौ, E. H. (a) जलन्, जीमन्, Br. (a) जलन् or जलनि, जीमन् or जीमनि,  
 S. (a) जलनि, जीमुनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) जलह, जिभहं or (d) जलहुं, जिभहुं  
 or (e) जलहिं, जिभहिं, O. H. (e) जलहिं, जिभहिं, S., P., Mw. (c) जलौ,  
 जिमौ, Br. (d) जलौ, जीमौ, H. H. (d) जलौ, जीमौ, S. (d) जलै, जिभै. —  
*Strong bases in अ*: masc. or neut., ताम्रक *copper*; gen. sg., Skr.  
 ताम्रकस्य, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तम्रश्र or (b) तम्रयाह (with euph. य्); M.  
 (a) तौव्यास् or (b) तौव्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) तामवा (with euph. व्);  
 2) Ap. Pr. (c) तम्रहो or (d) तम्रहे, O. Gd. (c) तौव्याह or (d) तौव्याहि,  
 O., E. H. (c) तामा, W. H., N., G. (c) तौव्या, B. (c) तामा or (d)  
 तामाव्, P., H. H. (d) तौवे, S. (d) टामे. Fem., see fem. strong bases in इ.  
 Gen. plur., Skr. ताम्रकानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तम्रयापां or (b) तम्रयाहं,  
 M. (a) तौव्याना or (b) तौव्यां, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) तामवन् (with euph. व्)  
 or (b) तामवां (but used in the sg.); E. H. has also the anomalous  
 short form तामन्, Br. तौवन् or तौवनि, S. टामनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c)  
 तम्रहं or (d) तम्रहुं or (e) तम्रहिं, P., Mw. (c) तौवौ, S. (c) टामौ,  
 Br. (d) तौवौ, H. H. (d) तौवौ, S. (e) टामे. Fem., see fem. strong

1) Some of them are also used to form the loc., instr. and abl. sg.  
 or pl. in S., P. and M.; see §§ 367, 2. 376, 3. 378, 3.

bases in इ. — *Weak bases in इ*: masc. or neut., कवि *poet.*; gen. sg., Skr. कवेः (lit. कविस्व); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कविप्र or (b) कवीह, M. (a) कवीस् or (b) कवी; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहो or (d) कविहे, O. Gd. (c) कविह or (d) कविहि, M. Gd. (c) कवि (in all). *Fem.* भिन्नि *wall*; gen. sg., Skr. भिन्नाः or भिन्नेः (lit. भिन्नस्व), 1) Mg. Pr. (a) भिन्निप्र or (b) भिन्नीह, M. (a) भीतीस् or (b) भीती; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) भिन्निहो or (d) भिन्निहे, O. Gd. (c) भीतिह or (d) भीतिहि. P., S. (c) भिति, B., O., E. H., W. H., G. भीत. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. कवीनाम्, भिन्नीनाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कवीणां. भिन्नीणां or (b) कवीहं, भिन्नीहं, M. (a) कवीना, भीतीना or (b) कवी, भीती, E. H. (a) कविन्, भीतिन्, Br. कविन् or कविनि, भीतिन् or भीतिनि, S. कविनि, भितिनि or (lg. f.) भित्तिनि or भित्तिनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहं, भिन्निहं or (d) कविहुं, भिन्निहुं or (e) कविहिं, भिन्निहिं, O. H. (e) कविहिं, भीतिहिं, in M. Gd.; only the long forms occur; viz. Ap. Pr. (c) कविहं, भिन्निहं or (d) कविहुं, भिन्निहुं or (e) कविहिं, भिन्निहिं, M.w., P., S. (c) कवियौ, Br. (d) कवियौ, H. H. (d) कवियौ, भीतियौ, S. (e) कविर्, भिन्निर्. — *Strong bases in इ*: masc. or neut., मालिक *gardener*; gen. sg., Skr. मालिकस्व; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिप्र or (b) मालिह, M. (a) माल्यास् or (b) माल्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) मलिया; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिहो or (d) मालिहे, O. Gd. (c) मालिह or (d) मालिहि, S. (c) मालि, E. H. etc. (c) माली. *Fem.* घोटिका *mare*; gen. sg., Skr. घोटिकायाः, Ap. Pr. (a) घोडिहो or (b) घोडिहे, O. Gd. (a) घोडिह or (b) घोडिहि, S. (a) घोडि, E. H., M., etc. (a) घोडी. The Mg. forms exist only in M. monosyllabic words and E. H. long forms: as स्त्रिका *woman*; gen. sg., Skr. स्त्रिकायाः, Mg. स्त्रिया or \*स्त्रिया or \*स्त्रियाय, M. स्त्रिये, E. H. स्त्रिया (tats.); similarly E. H. (lg. f.) घोडिया. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. मालिकानाम्, घोटिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिणां, घोडिणां or (b) मालिहं, घोडिहं, M. (a) माल्याना, घोड्याना or (b) माल्या, घोड्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) मलियन्, घोडियन् or (b) मलिया, घोडिया (but used in the sing.); Br. (a) मालियनि, घोडियनि, S. (a) मालिनि or माल्यनि or मालिनि or माल्युनि, घोडिनि or घोडिनि, etc., E. H. has also the anomalous short forms मालिन्, घोडिन्, Br. and S. मालिनि, घोडिनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिहं, घोडिहं or (d) मालिहुं, घोडिहुं or (e) मालिहिं, घोडिहिं, S. (a) मालिना or माल्या, घोडिना or घोड्या, M.w. (a) माल्या, घोड्या, P. (a) मालीना, घोडीना

(with anomalous ई), Br. (d) मालिगौँ, घोडिगौँ, H. H. (d) मालिगोँ, घोडिगोँ, S. (e) मालिगैँ, घोडिगैँ. — *Weak bases in उ*: masc. or neut., गुरु teacher; gen. sg., Skr. गुरोः (lit. गुरुस्व); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलुग्र or (b) गुलूह, M. (a) गुरल्च् or (b) गुरल्; 2) Ap. Pr. (e) गुरुहो or (d) गुरुहे, O. Gd. (c) गुरुह or (d) गुरुहि, M. Gd. (c) गुरु (in all). *Fem.* like masc. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. गुरुणां; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलूण or (b) गुलूह, M. (a) गुरल्ना or (b) गुरल्, E. H. (a) गुरुन्, Br. (a) गुरुन् or गुरुनि, S. (a) गुरुनि; 2) short forms *desunt* in Gd.; in their place the long forms are used: Ap. Pr. (e) गुरुग्रहं or (d) गुरुग्रहं or (c) गुरुग्रहि, P. (c) गुरुग्रह, Mw. (c) गुरुग्रह, Br. (d) गुरुग्रह, H. H. (d) गुरुग्रह, O. H. (e) गुरुग्रहि or गुरुग्रहि. *Fem.* like masc. — *Strong bases in उ*: masc. or neut., वृश्चिक scorpion; gen. sg., Skr. वृश्चिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुग्र or (b) विच्छुग्रह, M. (a) विच्छास् or (b) विच्छा, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) विच्छुग्र or विच्छुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुग्रहो or (d) विच्छुग्रहे, O. Gd. (c) विच्छुग्रह or (d) विच्छुग्रहि, S. (c) विच्छुग्र, E. H. (c) विच्छु, M. (c) विच्छु. *Fem.* बालुका sand; gen. sg., Skr. बालुकायाः; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) बालुग्र or बालुग्रह or बालुग्रह, M. (a) बालु, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) बालुग्र or बालुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) बालुग्रहो or (c) बालुग्रहे, O. Gd. (b) बालुग्रह or (c) बालुग्रहि, S. (b) बालुग्र, E. H., etc. बालू. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. वृश्चिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुग्रहणं or (b) विच्छुग्रहण, M. (a) विच्छुग्रहण or (b) विच्छुग्रहण, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) विच्छुग्रन् or (b) विच्छुग्रह (but used in the sing.), Br. विच्छुग्रन् or विच्छुग्रनि, S. विच्छुग्रनि; E. H. has also the anomalous short form विच्छुग्र, Br. and S. विच्छुग्रनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुग्रहं or (d) विच्छुग्रहं or (e) विच्छुग्रहि, P. and S. (c) विच्छुग्रह, Mw. (c) विच्छुग्रह, Br. (d) विच्छुग्रह, H. H. (d) विच्छुग्रह, \*S. (e) विच्छुग्रह. *Fem.* like masc. — G. is peculiar in dropping the final *anunásika* in the obl. plur. of masc. and fem. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. देवो Gods for \*देवो, Ap. देवहुं; fem. जीभो tongues for \*जीभो, Ap. जिम्भहु; again in strong bases: G. masc. obl. pl. घोडाव or घोडाउ<sup>1)</sup>

1) These forms are sometimes spelled with final ओ, as घोडाओ (so in Ed. 36. Bs. II, 189), the really correct spelling is with उ or व्, as written for me by a Pandit. But it is quite customary now in Gd., to spell the same final sound as उ or व् or ओ; thus in W. H. देउ or देव् or देओ god, चहाउ or चहाव् or चहाओ attack.

*horses* for \*घोडाउँ, Ap. घोडाहुँ; fem. पोयीउ *books*, Ap. पोथिअहु. According to H. C. 4, 351, even in the Ap. Pr., fem. nouns have no final anuswára. But G. retains it in neut. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. सोनौँ or सोनौँउ, Ap. सोणअहुँ. On the other hand, it adds it anomalously in the sg. neut.; as G. obl. sg. सोनौँ *gold* for \*सोना, Ap. सोणअहो.

366. *Origin of the obl. form.* 1) The Gd. obl. f. is identical with the Skr. and Pr. gen. case. For a) it has been already shown (§ 365) that the suff. of the former can be phonetically traced back to those of the latter. b) It will be shown in §§ 375—378, that the Gd. case-affixes are, in reality, nouns (generally in the loc. case); as such they must be constructed with the gen. of the noun, which they govern; hence it follows that the obl. f., in which the latter is always put, when it takes a case-aff., must be the old gen.; e. g., E. H. नरन् मे बाटै *he is in the midst of men*, O. H. नरन्ह महि बाटै, Pr. नराणां मन्त्रि वट्टइ, Skr. नराणां मध्ये वर्तते. c) Pr. Gramm. state expressly (H. C. 4, 422. T. V. 3, 3. 56) that the word केर्, which is the same as the E. H. gen. aff. के or कर् or O. H. केर्, is constructed with the gen., whence it follows that the obl. form, with which those gen. aff. are constructed, is the old gen. d) It can be shown, that Pr. has a tendency to substitute the gen. in the place of all other obl. cases and to make it the *one, universal inflexion*. This proves that the obl. form, which is the one, universal inflexion in Gd., must be the old gen. In Pr. this is but an other instance of its general tendency to produce uniformity of grammatical forms. Two instances of this have been already noticed; the one in regard to roots (§ 347), the other referring to bases (§ 205). Here we have a third instance, affecting the *cases*. In Skr. there are, generally, seven cases or inflexions: the nom., acc., instr., dat., abl., gen., loc. In Pr. the dat. has (almost) entirely disappeared, and its place been taken by the gen. (Vr. 6, 64. H. C. 3, 131); but there is a tendency to substitute the gen. for the other obl. cases also, so as to leave only two inflexions, the nom. and gen. This is

expressly stated by Pr. Gramm. (H. C. 3, 134. T. V. 2, 3. 39). In the Ap. Pr. that process of substitution is especially marked. Its gen. suff. are expressly stated to form the abl. (compare H. C. 4, 336. 337. 341. 351 with 4, 338. 340) and the loc. (H. C. 4, 340) also <sup>1</sup>). In Gd. there are only two inflexions left, the direct form or nomin., and the obl. form or gen. But in order to obviate the necessary ambiguity of this uniformity, Gd. adds different affixes to the obl. form, to indicate the particular *case*, in the sense of which the obl. form is to be understood. Thus the obl. form with कै means the gen., with से the instr., with मे the loc., etc. In this way the original seven cases are re-established in Gd. — 2) It should be observed, however, that since there are in the Ap. Pr. several gen. suff. for the sing. (हो and हे) and the plur. (हं, हुं, हिं), several obl. forms are possible in the Gds. and do actually exist in most of them. In the latter case, one of them is used as the *general* obl. form and always constructed with case-aff.; but the other constitutes a *special* obl. form for one or, at most, two cases, and, as a rule, takes no affix. Thus there is in G. and Mw. the *general* obl. f. sg. in आ = Ap. gen. in अहो, and the *special* obl. f. sg. in ऐ or ए = Ap. gen. in अहे; e. g., G. instr. घोडा पे or घोडे *by a horse*; Mw. loc. घोडा माँ or घोडे *in a horse*. — 3) It is curious to observe that the levelling process noted just now, has a tendency, both in the Ap. and in Gd., to reduce the whole declension to *one inflexion*, by substituting (§ 369) the obl. form even for the dir. form or nom. case. The cause, possibly, was their similarity; thus in the Ap. the nom. sg. would be देवओ or देवउ *god* (Skr. देवकः), the gen. sg. देवहो or देवहु; whence, by inserting an euph. ह in the nom., the two forms would be easily assimilated.

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1) Exceptionally all these cases are preserved in Pr.; thus the dat. sg. in the sense of „for the sake of“ (H. C. 3, 132. 133), as देवाय *for the sake of god*; in the Ap. Pr., the abl. sg. in आदु or आउ (Ls. 461), and the loc. sg. in इ (H. C. 4, 334 = Skr. ए). The abl. sg. in आउ survives even in S. poetry (Tr. 118).

367. *Distribution of the Pr. gen. suff.* The ordinary Pr. suff. of the gen. sg. is स्स and of the pl. णं. There are also the suff., sg. ह, pl. हँ which are peculiar to Mg., and sg. हो or हे, pl. हं, हुं or हिं which are peculiar to Ap. 1) The ordinary Pr. suff. are derived from the Skr. sg. स्य, pl. नाम् (i. e. नृ + आम्). In Skr., नाम् is added to all three kinds of bases in ञ, इ and उ; but स्य is added only to ञ-bases. In Pr. both ण and स्स, and similarly the special suff. ह, हं, etc., are added to all three kinds. In Vr. 5, 8. H. C. 3, 10 स्स and णं are apparently limited to *a*-bases, but the succeeding rules Vr. 6, 60. H. C. 3, 124 extend them to *i*- and *u*-bases also; and this is born out by Pr. literature. Hence there can be no doubt, that the Mg. ह and हं and the Ap. हो, though apparently limited by H. C. 4, 299. 300. 338 to *a*-bases, in reality belong to *i*- and *u*-bases also. This is born out by the evidence of modern Gd.; and, moreover, it is expressly affirmed by K. I. and Mđ. Thus H. C. 4, 336. 338 gives हो to the gen. and abl. of masc. (always incl. neut.) *a*-bases; and हे to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases (4, 341)<sup>1</sup>). Again K. I. (30. 34 in Ls. 451. 462) gives हो to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases; and हे (29. 36) to the abl. of all masc. bases and to the gen. of masc. *a*-bases. Again both H. C. (4, 350) and K. I. (35) give हे to the gen. and abl. of all fem. bases. Lastly Mđ. gives both हो and हे to the abl. of all masc. and fem. bases<sup>2</sup>). These conflicting statements really supplement each other, as shown by modern Gd. It should be remembered, 1) that the abl. and gen. are identical in Ap. Pr. (as, indeed, they ge-

1) H. C. 4, 336 gives हु as the abl. suff. of *a*-bases, but this is merely a shortening of हो, which is given by Mđ. (see next footnote). As to the gen. of *i*- and *u*-bases, H. C. is silent; which seems to indicate, that it may be हो by the analogy of *a*-bases, and हे by the usual identity of the gen. and abl. of cases.

2) Mđ. says: उसेस्तु हे हो च ॥ उत्तः स्थाने हेहौ च स्यातां ॥ रुक्महे पडिदु । रुक्महो ॥ (अग्निहे) । अग्निहो ॥ आलाहे । आलाहो ॥ i. e., the abl. sg. has हे or हो, as „he is fallen from a tree, from fire, from a girl“. On the gen., I cannot find any rule, which would seem to show that it is identical with the abl.



nerally are even in Skr.), and 2) that the Ap., no doubt, varied slightly in the localities of the different grammarians. The general result is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हो and हे were used to form both the gen. and abl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. — The case of the Ap. plur. suff. हं and हुं is similar. In H. C. 4, 339. 340 हं is ascribed to the gen. and हुं to the abl. (4, 337. 341) of all masc. bases, and हुं (4, 340) also to the gen. of masc. bases in *i* and *u*. Again K. I. (31. 32) gives हं to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. (33) of masc. bases in *i* and *u*, and हुं to the abl. (28) of masc. bases in *a*. Lastly Mḍ. allows both हं and हुं to all masc., both in the gen. and abl.<sup>1)</sup> As regards the fem. bases, both K. I. and Mḍ. are silent, which really means, that their gen. and abl. do not differ from those of the masc. (and neut.). This is confirmed by H. C. 4, 351, who gives to the fem. gen. and abl. the suff. हु, which is either the same as the sg. gen. and abl. suff. हु or हो (H. C. 4, 336. 338), or identical with the pl. gen. and abl. suff. हुं dropping the anuswāra. The general result again is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हं and हुं are used to form both the gen. and abl. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. And this is born out by the state of the modern Gḍs. — 2) As to the Ap. pl. suff. हिं, both H. C. (4, 347) and Mḍ.<sup>2)</sup> ascribe it to the loc. and instr. plur. K. I., by his silence (Ls. 463), probably implies the same thing; since हिं was already the instr. pl. suff. in the Mh. Pr. (Vr. 5, 18). But it appears to have been used also for the gen. plur. This is, perhaps, the true reading

1) Mḍ. says: हंहुं भ्यसः ॥ भ्यसो हंहुमो स्यातां ॥ रुक्खहं पडिदु ॥ परहुं चलिदु ॥ बाहुल्यात् ॥ रुक्खाहिंतो ॥ परेसुतो ॥ सुपो वा ॥ ग्रामो वा ॥ हंहुमो स्यातां ॥ वम्मणाहं ॥ वम्मणाहुं ॥ ब्राह्मणानामित्यर्थे ॥ वम्मणाणां ॥ i. e., the abl. pl. takes हं or हुं; as „it fell from the trees“, „he came from foreign (countries)“; also the loc. and gen. pl. take हं and हुं, as „of Bráhmans“.

2) Mḍ. says. हिंभिस्त्रिसुपां ॥ त्रिषेपां हिं स्यात् ॥ पुरिसहिं ॥ वपाहिं ॥ बहुहिं ॥ i. e., all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* take हिं in the loc. and instr. plur., as „in or by men, in or by forests, in or by wives“.

in K. I. 32 (Ls. 451. 464), where हे is given for the gen. plur. Again both H. C. (4, 340) and Md. (see footnote 1, p. 205) allow the gen. suff. हं and हुं to the loc. plur. also; vice versa, the loc. suff. हिं may have been allowed to the gen. At all events, in O. Gd., हिं is found as a suff. of the dat. (= old gen.); and in M. Gd. (S.) it appears as the obl. pl. suff. र्हं (contr. for अहिं); see examples in § 365, 7. Indeed the term. अहिं seems to occur in the contracted form र्हं even in the Ap. Pr.; though as a term. of the instr. sing. (see H. C. 4, 343. K. I. 23. 24). The examples in Md. are: वषारं *by a forest*, बालारं *by a girl*, अग्निरं *by fire*, वाउरं *by wind*; they would be equal to \*वषारहिं, \*बालारहिं, \*अग्निरहिं, \*वाउरहिं. Here र्हं can hardly be = Skr. term. एन (as Ls. 461); for the latter would not be added to fem. bases in अ. Moreover, as will be shown in Nro. 3, the sing. term. अहि is similarly contracted to र्ह. It may, also, be added that the pl. term. अहिं is similarly used as a term. of the loc. sing. (see K. I. 26. 27. Ls. 451. 463), as घरहिं or घरे or घरि *in a house*. In Gd., this practise of using the pl. suff. for the sing. is sometimes extended to all plur. suff. हं, हुं, हिं; see Nro. 5. — 3) The Ap. sing. suff. हो is sometimes shortened to हु (H. C. 4, 336. 351); thus H. C. has रुक्खहु, but Md. (see footnote 2, p. 204) रुक्खहो *from a tree* or *of a tree*; sometimes even to ह, according to Ls' conjecture of K. I. 34 (Ls. 462); e. g., अग्निरहो or अग्निरह *of fire*; sometimes even ह is dropped (H. C. 4, 345). In the form हु it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and expresses the abl. In the form ह it is often found in the O. W. H. of Chand, and expresses the gen., abl., loc., act., acc.-dat.; thus *gen.* in गोचार परह चारै सु गोइ। i. e., *the herdsman tends the cows of an other* (28, 62), or *सेन भीमह करि किनिय।* i. e., *he dispersed the Army of Bhima* (38, 41), or *चरुगो उदै क्रूरह बलिय।* i. e., *he marched at the rise of mighty Saturn* (27, 47), or *वन नूय मृग सिंघह रू गत।* i. e., *in the forest is plenty of deer, lions and elephants* (27, 13); *abl.* in फूलह सुधार धर। *having adorned the body with flowers* (38, 37) or *तब सुनंत परधानह पुडिय।* i. e., *then he asked good counsel of the Premier* (28, 88);

loc. ज्ञाने किं ऋकसह मान दिन । *just as in the sky the measure of day*, i. e., *the sun* (26, 25), or न्याय तौ कलह न किञ्चै । i. e., *justice is not done in the Kali age* (28, 41); act. बिसलह राज कवि पुच्छ कथ । i. e., *Visala rāja told the whole story* (1, 82) or तप चु ईडि तुम्हरह । i. e., *the Tuar has abandoned asceticism* (28, 55); acc. अनंगपालह बुलाइय । i. e., *he has called Anangpala* (28, 9), or अनंगेसह लैआउ । i. e., *bring ye Anangesa* (28, 77). The form without ह is the common one in M. Gd.; see § 365, 6. — 4) The Ap. sg. suff. हे of the gen. and abl. is sometimes also used as a loc. suff., e. g., एताहे *now*, lit., *in that*, scl. *time* (H. C. 2, 134; the same एताहे is an abl. from that, H. C. 3, 82. 83), or एतहे *in this*, तेतहे *in that*, scl. *place* (H. C. 4, 436). But, as a rule, it is shortened to हि, when it expresses the loc. (H. C. 4, 341. 352), e. g., कलिहि *in the Kali age*; and after *a*-bases ह् may be elided, as पच्छइ *behind, after* (H. C. 4, 420 for \*पच्छहि), अगाइ *before* (H. C. 4, 391), एम्बइ *thus* (H. C. 4, 420), but commonly the term. अहि (or अइ) is contracted to ए (H. C. 4, 334), e. g., तले *below* for \*तलइ or \*तलहि<sup>1</sup>). In this contracted form ए, it is also used in the Ap. Pr. to express the instr. sg. (of fem. nouns)<sup>2</sup>); see H. C. 4, 349. 333. K. I. 38 and Mđ. स्त्रियां च ए च स्यात् ॥ बुद्धि। धेनु। पाइ। बहु। बाला। i. e., fem. bases also take ए (viz. besides ए, as बालाए), as *by intelligence, by a cow, by a river, by a wife, by a girl*; contr. for \*बुद्धिअहि, \*पाइअहि (Skr. नदिकायाम्). In the form हि it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth, to express the gen., abl, dat. and acc. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXV); also in O. H., to express the gen., abl., loc., dat. and acc.; thus *gen.* in राजहि तुम पर प्रीति विशेषी *there is a special love of*

1) This ए is usually considered to be the Skr. and (Mh Pr.) loc. suff. ए; but that old suff. is hardly likely to have survived so long; and has been, indeed, worn down to इ in Ap. (H. C. 4, 334); e. g., Ap. तले or तलि *below*; the former = Ap. तलहि, the latter = Skr. तले.

2) This cannot be the Mh. Pr instr. suff. ए; for that suff. had already in the Mh. Pr. been (optionally) worn down to इ or अ, and, moreover, requires the lengthening of the final vowel of the base (Vr. 5, 22); thus the instr. sg. of नदी *river* is in Mh. Pr. पाईए or पाईइ or पाईअ, but in the Ap. पाइए.

*the king for you* (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *abl.* को किहि वंसहि उपज्यौ (Chand I, 167 in Bs. II, 211), or गुरुहि पूछ करि कुलिविधि राजा *the king having enquired from the Guru performed the family rites* (T. Dás in Kl. 65); *loc.* in किहि काज रिखि आयौ घरहि *for what cause, Rishi, hast thou come into the house* (Chand I, 45 in Bs. II, 211); *dat.* बहु विधि चेरिहि चादर देइ *in many ways he shows honor to the bond-maid* (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *acc.* मुनि रघुवरहि प्रसंस *the sage extolled Raghubar* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); see other examples in § 365, 6. The contr. form *ए* is used in B. and O., to express the *dat.-acc., loc. and instr.*; as घरे *to or in or by a house* (see S. Ch. 59, 4. 62. Sn. 15); and in B. even for the *nom.* (S. Ch. 56, see § 369). In G. and Mw. it is used to express the *instr. (or act.) and loc.*; thus G. घरे, Mw. घरै *by or in a house* (Kl. 66, a. Ed. 31, 87. 34, d); in H., P., S. it is used for the *loc.*; thus घरे *in the house* (Ld. 12, 37. 77, 133. Tr. 120, 7). — 5) The Ap. Pr. *gen. plur.* suff. are sometimes used in the *sing.* Thus in the Ap., the suff. *हिं* (or the term. *अहिं*), which commonly expresses the *loc. or instr. pl.* (H. C. 4, 347) is often used for the *loc. sg.*; see K. I. 26. 27 (in Ls. 451. 462); e. g., सुरहिं or सुरे or सुरि *in a god*; and, in the contracted form *एँ*, for the *instr. sg.* (H. C. 4, 343, see Nro. 2); e. g., अगिएँ *by fire* for \*अगिअहिं (Skr. अग्निकेन). In O. H. the suff. *हिं* is as often used for the *dat., acc. and loc. in the sing. as in the plur.*; thus *dat.* in कहु केहि रंकहिं करौ नरेसु, i. e., *say, what pauper shall I make a king* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); *loc.* in निज लोकहिं विरंच गये देवन्ह इहै सिखाइ i. e., *Brahmá, having taught this the gods, went to his own world* (T. Dás in Kl. 122); *acc.* in रामहिं प्रेम समेत लखि सखिन समीप बुलाइ i. e. *beholding Ráma with affection she called near her friends* (T. Dás in Bál.), etc. Similarly it occurs in M., in the contracted form *ईँ*, both in the *loc. sg. and plur.* (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); as घरोँ *in a house or in houses* for \*घरहिं; and, in the contracted form *एँ*, in the *instr. sg.* (Man. 17, 45. 28, 66); e. g., घरेँ *by a house* for \*घरहिं<sup>1)</sup>. Also E. H.

1) This explains why the M. *instr.* in *एँ* is seldom used except with the postpositions *करूँ* or *कइँ* (Man. 28, note 1); for it is really a *gen.*

and W. H. occasionally have it, in the contr. form ऐँ or ऐ, in the loc. sing.; as पाइँ or पाइँ *behind, after* for \*पच्छहिं (see § 77, exc.). Again the suff. हुँ (or term. अहुँ) which in Ap. Pr. expresses the abl. and loc. plur. (H. C. 4, 340), is used in S. for the abl. sg. in the forms अउँ or ओँ or उँ (Tr. 118), in P. for the abl. or, occasionally, loc. sg. in the form ओँ (Id. 12, 37), and in W. H. for the loc. sg. in the form उ; thus S. घरउँ or घरौँ or घरँ, P. घरौँ *from a house*, or P. पाइँ, W. H. पाइँ *behind, after*, for \*ग्रहँ, \*पच्छहुँ. Again the suff. हँ (or termin. अहँ), which in the Ap. expresses the abl. and loc. plur. (see Nro. 2), is used in M. for the loc. both of the sing. and plur. in the contr. form अं (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); e. g., घरँ *in a house* or *in houses*, for \*ग्रहँ; also occasionally in E. H. and W. H.; e. g., E. H. इहाँ, W. H. यहाँ *here*, lit. *in this*, scl. *place*, for \*एहँ (Skr. ईदृश); in S. it forms the abl. sing. (Tr. 117, 5); e. g., घरँ *from a house*, मंकाँ *from within*, for \*मत्कहिं. Lastly the Mg. Pr. gen. plur. suff. आहँ (H. C. 4, 300) is used in E. H. for the obl. sing.; thus घोडाँ (कै *of*) *a horse*, for Mg. घोडाआहँ; see § 365, 4. — 6) The gen. sg. suff. हो and हे are also used in Ap. Pr. and Gd. to express the nom. and voc. sg. or pl.; see § 369.

368. *Origin of the gen. or obl. suffixes.* 1) The Skr. gen. sg. suff. स्य becomes in Pr. स्स (Vr. 5, 8) according to the usual phonetic laws (Ls. 274. 275; see §§ 150. 137). But though स्स is the common form, yet in the pronouns Pr. already shows a tendency to reduce it to स and to lengthen the preceding vowel (see § 150, 2); e. g., gen. masc. कास = कस्स *of whom* (Vr. 6, 5. H. C. 3, 64); neut. कीस *why* = \*किस्स (Ls. 326); fem. कीसे = \*किस्से (Vr. 6, 6. H. C. 3, 64). In Gd. this process is extended to all gen., including those of nouns, as may be seen in M. (see § 365, 1); in Br. the two pronom. gen. तास *of which*, तास *of him* (Kl. 122. 133) are its only relics. Besides स्स (K. I. 30 in Ls. 451)

or obl. form, and as such naturally takes a postposition; see § 366, 1; if it were, as commonly supposed, identical with the old Skr. instr. in एन, the addition of the postpos. would be very superfluous and anomalous.

the Ap. Pr. has स्तु or सु: in the latter case with or without the lengthening of the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 338. 358. K. I. 30); though it is not clear, how the final उ arose. Traces of this Ap. form have survived in the O. H. and Br. pronom. gen. तासु, ज्ञासु; e. g., तासु किन्नी चंद कहिय of him the glory Chand has told (Chand 1, 46 in Bs. II, 316, see Kl. 122. 133) The O. W. H. of Chand has occasionally nominal gen. in अत्त (perhaps = Ap. अत्तु); e. g., पुत्री वरी उतेन दिति । पहिलै वगस पुत्र ॥ i e.. a daughter has married in Ujanland, first the son of Panga (25, 22). The O. P. of the Granth appears to have a gen. in अत्ति (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). — 2) The Skr. स्व, however, also changes in Pr. to ह् or हि, with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. Ls. 398); the conj. स्त् becoming ह्, as in the fut. suff. हामि, हिद् for स्वामि, स्वति (Vr. 7, 12. 13). and the vowel being lengthened by way of compensation. The form ह् is limited to the Mg. Pr. (Vr 11, 12), and हि to the abl. case (Vr. 5, 6), which is identical with the gen.<sup>1)</sup>. Thus Pr. abl. वच्चाहि from a calf (lit. gen. of a calf), Mg. Pr. gen. वच्चाह् of a calf, Pr. गिरिहि from a mountain, गुरुहि from a teacher (H. C. 3, 124). The Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हे is, probably, an other modification of the Skr. स्व (cf. Ls. 462), which, because of its final र् being heavy, does not lengthen the preceding vowel; as वच्चाहे, गिरिहे, गुरुहे<sup>2)</sup>. In O. Gd. it is shortened to हि (as वच्चाहि. गिरिहि, गुरुहि), the gen. character of which is shown by its being especially used for the dat (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 6. 267, 4) or generally for the obl. in connexion with case-aff. which require the gen. (see § 366, 1. b). In that particular kind of Apabhramṣa (probably Gujarāṭī or Marwārī) which is treated by H. C. 4, 350, this shortened obl. or gen. suff. हि was, in the case of masc. and neut. nouns, confined to the loc. sing., probably because the alternative gen. suff. हो or हु (see Nro. 3) were used in the gen.

1) It may be observed that even in Skr. the abl. takes the gen. suff. अत् in the case of all bases, exc. those in अ.

2) Exceptionally the vowel is lengthened in Mh. Pr., e. g., एत्ताहे from that (H. C. 3, 82), but Ap. Pr. एत्तहे (H. C. 4, 420) = Skr. इतः or एततः.

(incl. dat. and abl.). — 3) There is an other Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हो or shortened हु (H. C. 4, 336. 338)<sup>1)</sup>, which, however, has no connection with the Skr. स्य. Its origin is obscure. Ls. 462 identifies it with an assumed Skr. suff. स्य. It seems more probably to be identical with the Skr. abl. plur. suff. भ्यस्, which in Pr. would regularly change to भ्यो or हो (cf. Pr. जीहा or जिह्वा *tongue* in H. C. 2, 57 and § 120) and easily serve as a gen. suff. also. In the Ap. of H. C. 4, 351 हु actually occurs as an abl. and gen. plur. suff. The change of „number“ would be analogous to that in the case of the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हितो which is used in the sing. also (see H. C. 3, 8. 9, see also § 367, 5). — 4) The Skr. gen. plur. suff. नाम् becomes in Pr. पां or पा (Vr. 5, 4) with the lengthening of the preceding vowel; as Skr. वत्सानाम्, Pr. वच्छापां *of calfs*. This form has survived in M., E. H., Br. and S., see § 365, 4. — 5) The Skr. gen. pl. suff. नाम्, however, also changes in Pr. to पंहं or पह्, हं and हँ, the last with, the former two without the lengthening of the preceding vowel. The process is quite regular; a) Skr. न् is doubled, and the preceding long vowel shortened, as in Pr. लक्ष् = Skr. स्याणुः, Pr. तुपिहक्को = Skr. तूष्णीकः, Pr. युल्लो = Skr. स्यूलः, etc. (H. C. 2, 99, see Ls. 143. 276); b) the Pr. ष् is changed to पह् (see § 161 and Ls. 271); c) Pr. पह् *nha* is changed to हं *ham* (projecting the *anusvāra*, for *nha*), or to हँ, prolonging, in the latter case, the preceding vowel, to compensate for the loss of the *anusvāra* (see §§ 143. 149). Thus, e. g., Skr. °आनाम् is in Pr. \*अषं = अपहं = अहं = आहँ. The form पंहं is added in Pr. to numerals only, as पंचपहं *of five* = Skr. पञ्चानाम् (H. C. 3, 123), and exceptionally to pronouns, as कइपहं *of how many* = Skr. कतौनाम् (H. C. 3, 123). The form हँ is added also to nouns, especially in Mg. Pr. (H. C. 4, 300). The form हं is used only in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 339). In Gd. all three forms are used

1) Observe that in the Ap. of H. C. the gen. suff. हो (H. C. 4, 338) becomes हु when used for the abl. (H. C. 4, 336); just as the gen. suff. हे (H. C. 4, 350) becomes हि when used for the loc. (H. C. 4, 352).

with nouns (see § 365, 4. 7); though ऋ or ण is limited to E. H., Br. and S. — 6) There is also an Ap. Pr. gen. pl. suff. हुं (H. C. 4, 340), the origin of which is obscure. Ls. 463, 11 derives it from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. सुन्तो (Vr. 5, 7). It may possibly be identical with the Ap. Pr. gen. and abl. suff. हु (see Nro. 3), to which, being both plur. and sing., perhaps an inorganic *anusvāra* was added, to distinguish better its plur. character by making a pair हु, हुं analogous to the other two pairs of Ap. suff., sg. ह, pl. हं, and sg. हि, pl. हिं. — 7) There is, lastly, an Ap. plur. suff. हिं (H. C. 4, 347) or हे (K. I. 32 in Ls. 451). Ls. 310, 3 identifies it with the Skr. pl. instr. suff. भिम्. It is more probably identical with the Skr. abl. suff. भ्याम्<sup>1</sup>), which would regularly change in Pr. to हें or हिं (for ङे or ङि), and easily come to be used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. (K. I. 32) and instr. or loc. (H. C. 4, 347) of the plur. Its gen. character is shown by its being still used in O. Gd. for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 7. 367, 2. 5), and in S. for the act. (= old instr.) and obl. generally; thus O. H. dat. नरहिं *to men*, S. act. नरे by *men* or obl. नरे खे *to men*.

369. *Derivation of the direct terminations.* 1) A comparison of the various Gd. terminations of the obl. sing. and plur. with those of the dir. or nom. plur. will show at once that the latter are always identical with the former. Sometimes it is some obl. form of the sg., sometimes (apparently) of the pl.; again sometimes it is an obl. form of the same Gd., sometimes of an other, which is thus used for the nom. plur.; but in every case it is *some one* obl. form. To this rule the M. fem. and neut. nouns form the only exception. For example compare the following weak forms: a) *masc.*, the S. nom. pl. जन *men* with the S. obl. sg. जन *man* (nom. sg. जनु), and the E. H. nom. pl. जने (§ 361, exc.)

1) Even in Skr. the suff. भ्याम् is used for the instr. and dat. also, similarly the pl. abl. suff. भ्यस् for the dat. and, in the modified form भिम्, for the instr.; there is also a dat. sg. suff. भ्यम् in Skr., as तुभ्यम् *to thee*. — If हुं be rightly identified with सुन्तो, हिं might be derived from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हितो (Vr. 5, 7).



with the B. obl. sg. *ज्ञे*; b) *fem.*, the Br. nom. pl. *ज्ञीमे* or *ज्ञीमे* *tongues* with the S. obl. pl. *ज्ञीमे*; the Mw., P. and S. nom. pl. *ज्ञीम* or *ज्ञीम* with the S. obl. pl. *ज्ञीम*; the S. nom. pl. *ज्ञीमू* with the abl. sg. (really obl. pl., § 367, 5) *ज्ञीमू*; the W. H., P. nom. pl. *मिन्निव* *walls* with the S. obl. pl. *मिन्निव*; the S. nom. pl. *मिन्नि* with the S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) *मिन्नि* (or *मिन्*), etc. Again strong forms: a) *masc.*, P., H. H., M. nom. pl. *घोडे* *horses* with the P., H. H. and S. obl. sg. *घोडे*; the B., O., E. H., W. H., S., G. nom. pl. *घोडा* *horses* with the B., O., E. H., W. H., G. obl. sg. *घोडा*; b) *neut.*, the G. nom. pl. *सोन* *goldpieces* with the G. obl. sg. *सोन*; c) *fem.*, the W. H. and P. nom. pl. *घोडिव* *mares* with the S. obl. pl. *घोडिव*; the S. nom. pl. *घोडि* with the S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) *घोडि*; the W. H. nom. pl. *पोथी* *books* (Kl. 64, 130) with the P. loc. pl. *पोथी* *in books*<sup>1</sup>); the W. H. and P. nom. pl. *सासुअ* *mothers-in-law* with the S. obl. pl. *सासुअ*, etc. It will be observed, that in the case of fem. nouns the dir. pl. is identical with the obl. pl., but in the case of masc. and neut. it is the same as the obl. sg. The difference, however, is probably in appearance only. For, no doubt, the pl. obl. forms when employed as dir. pl. are used as sing., just as in the S. abl. and M. loc. (see § 367, 5). There can be no doubt, that these so-called nom. plur. forms are *elliptic* phrases, which must be filled up by supplying some collective noun, as *लोग* *people*, *गन* *troup*, etc. The E. H. practice of forming the plur. by the addition of such a collective noun, illustrates this theory (§ 361). Such nouns would require the principal word to be in the *gen.* case; and this explains the use of the obl. form, which is the same as the old *gen.* (§ 366). In B. it is actually the *gen. sg.* (not merely the obl. f.), which is used to form the plur.; e. g., B. obl. f. *देवे*, *gen. sg.* *देवे-र* *of a god*, nom. pl. *देवे-रा* *gods*; here *रा* is merely the strong form of *र*; see § 364, 2. Similarly in N. the plur. is an archaic form of the *gen. sg.*, composed of the

1) The form *पोथी*, both in the nom. and loc. pl., is a contraction for *पोथि* = Ap. *पोथिहि*.

gen.-affix *र* (for *कृ* or *के*, § 377) and the O. Gd. gen. sg. in *हे* or *ह* (§ 365, 6). Thus O. Gd. gen. or obl. sg. *देवहे* or *देवह*, N. nom. pl. *देवहे-रु* or *देवह-रु* *gods*; see also § 364, 3. Thus the H. H., P. or S. nom. pl. *घोडे* *horses* is really as much as Ap. Pr. *घोडअहे* scl. गणु = Skr. घोटकस्य गणाः, lit. *a troop of horse*. The nom. pl. of nouns in *इ*, *उ*, *ई*, *ऊ* is, of course, of the same character; though it does not come out so strikingly. — 2) The obl. sg. is sometimes even used to form the nom. sing. Thus always in the long forms: e.g., E. H. nom. sg. *रामवा* or *रामवाँ*, M. *राम्या* (for \**रामया*) *Rāma* = obl. form E. H. *रामवा*, or *रामवाँ*, M. *राम्या* = A. Mg. or Dk. Pr. gen. sg. *रामवाह* or pl. *रामवाहँ* (see § 365, 1. 4)<sup>1</sup>). But sometimes also in masc. short forms; viz. in B. weak forms in *अ*, and B., P., Br. and H. H. strong forms in *आ*. Thus in B. the nom. sg. may be *देवे* *a god*, *घोडाय्* *a horse* (for the usual *देव*, *घोडा*), both obl. forms = O. Gd. gen. sg. *देवहि*, *घोडाहि* (§ 365, 6); see S. Ch. 56, where these nom. are described as loc. Again P. or Br. or H. H. nom. sg. *घोडा* *a horse* = O. Gd. gen. or obl. sg. *घोडाह* or *घोडअह*, Ap. Pr. *घोडअहो*. With these exceptions, the nom. sg. of short forms in all Gds. is simply a modified form of the Pr. nom. sg., as explained in §§ 40—54. Thus S., G., Mw. *घोडो*, Br. *घोडो* = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. *घोडउ*, Pr. *घोडओ*; E. H., B., O., M. *घोडा* = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. *घोडअ* or *घोडइ* or *घोडए* (Vr. 11, 10) = Skr. घोटकः; again E. H., B., O., M. *देव* *a god* = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. *देव* or *देवि* or *देवे*; W. H., P., G., N. *देव* or S., O. W. H., O. P. *देवु* = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. *देवु*, Pr. *देवो*, Skr. देवः. — 3) The nom. pl. of fem. and neut. nouns in M. is identical with the old Pr. nom. pl. The suff. of the nom. pl. neut. is in Pr. *इं* (Vr. 5, 26 = Skr. नि), before which the final vowel of the base is lengthened; in the Ap. Pr. it is also *इं*, but without lengthening the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 353). Hence the termin. are in Mh. Pr. *आइं*, *ईइं*, *ऊइं*, in Ap. Pr. *अइं*, *इइं*, *ऊइं*, or with strong bases *अअइं*, *इअइं*, *उअइं*. These be-

1) Not = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. *रामए*; for *ए* could not well become *आ*; and it would not account for the final *anunāsika* in E. H.

come in M.  $\ddot{e}$  (इइ and उइ *desunt*) or, with strong bases,  $\ddot{e}$  or ई,  $\ddot{e}$ , वे. Thus M. घरे *houses*, Ap. घरइ, Pr. घराइ, Skr. गृहाणि; M. वांसरे *calves*, Ap. वच्छउअइ, Skr. वत्स; M. केली *plantains*, Ap. केलअइ, Pr. कयलअइ (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदरकाणि; M. मोतं *pearls*, Ap. मोत्तिअइ, Pr. मोत्तिअइ, Skr. मोक्तिकानि; M. अंस्रे (or अंसवे), Ap. अंसुअइ, Pr. अंसुअइ, Skr. अञ्जुकाणि. — 4) The suff. of the nom. plur. fem. is in Pr. ओ or उ or may be dropped altogether (Vr. 5, 19. 20); so also in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 344. 348). Thus M. ज्ञोमा *tongues* (nom. pl. of ज्ञोम), Pr. जिम्मा or जिम्माउ or जिम्माओ, Skr. जिह्वा; or M. घोड्या *mares*, Pr. घोडिआ or घोडिआउ or घोडिआओ, Skr. घोटिका; or M. सास्रा (or सासवा) *mothers-in-law*, Pr. सासुआ or सासुआउ or सासुआओ, Skr. श्रुत्युकाः. — 5) The use of the gen. sg. (or obl. form) for the nom. sg. or pl. is expressly taught by Mđ. for the Ap. Pr. As this is a point of some importance, I will quote his rules on the subject. They are: a) उत्स्रमोः सुमोहत् स्यात् चन्दु । राउ । अग्निउ । महुउ, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331), i. e., *a*-bases have *u* in the nom. and acc. sg., as *moon, king, fire, honey*; b) होच्च सुमोर् हो च स्यात् रुक्खहो i. e., they have also *ho* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 338) in the nom. and acc. sg., as *tree*; c) सो पुस्य अत ओ कूचित् सप्यो i. e., masc. *a*-bases have sometimes *o* (cf. H. C. 4, 332), as *serpent*; d) जसो हे च रुक्खहे । वालाहे *a*-bases have also *हे* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 350) in the nom. plur., as *trees, girls*; e) स्त्रियाम् उच्च जज्ञसोः वालाउ चकाराद् वालाहे i. e., fem. *a*-bases have *u* (cf. H. C. 4, 348) or *हे* in the nom. and acc. plur., as *girls*; f) इ नपुंसके दीर्घो वा नपुंसके जज्ञसोर् इ स्यात् प्राग् दीर्घो वा वणाइ । वणाइ । मुहइ । मुहुइ i. e., neut. bases have *im* in the nom. acc. pl., and the preceding vowel may be long, as *woods, honeys*. — 6) It may be further observed, that the voc. sg. and pl. throughout the Gds. is identical with some one Gd. form of the obl. sg. or nom. pl. Thus in *masc.*; E. H. obl. sg., voc. sg., nom. pl. alike घोडा (*of a horse, oh horse, or horses*); H. H. and P. obl. sg., voc. sg. and nom. pl. alike घोडे; voc. pl. H. H. घोडे, P. घोडिउ (= \*घोड्यु or \*घोडउ); S. nom. pl. and voc. sg. घोडा, voc. pl. घोडा or घोडउ or घोडे; G. obl. sg. and voc. sg. घोडा, nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडाउ or घोडाव् (or घोडाओ); M. obl. sg. घोड्या,

nom. pl. घोडे, voc. sg. घोड्या or घोडे. So also in fem. nouns<sup>1</sup>). The identity of the voc. sg. and pl. with the obl. sg. and nom. pl. is expressly taught by Pr. Gramm., who ascribe the two suff. of the gen. sg. हो and हे to the voc. Thus Md. states: सम्बुद्धौ सो हे च ॥ स्त्रियाम् इत् एव ॥ बालाहे । पाइहे ॥ चकारान् महाराष्ट्रीवच् च ॥ i. e., the voc. sg. of fem. only takes *he*. The Mh. Pr. forms would be बाले, पाइ. The latter forms alone are enjoined by K. I. 17, 18 (in Ls. 450), who does not identify them with the Mh. Pr. forms. In this he is correct; for बाले is a mere contraction for बालहे or बालहि; and पाइ has dropped the suff. हे or ह, just as in the obl. or gen. sg (cf. H. C. 4, 345). The form ए is preserved in P. fem. nouns; as जिभे *oh tongue*, मावे *oh mother*, पीए *oh daughter*; but also extended to masc. sg.; as घोडे *oh horse*, and to masc. pl., as देवे *oh gods*. Again Md. continues: त्रिषु हो जसः ॥ त्रिषु जसो हो स्यात् ॥ हक्खहो । वपाहो । पाइहो ॥ i. e., the voc. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* takes *ho*. So also H. C. 4, 346 and K. I. 29 (in Ls. 450). In M. Gd. the suff. हो becomes उ (for हु) or अ (for ह), which are contracted with a preceding अ to ओ or आ respectively; e. g., P. voc. pl. घोडीउ *oh marcs* = घोडिअहु (with ई for इअ) = Ap. घोडिअहो; or S. नरो or नरा *oh men* for \*नरउ or \*नराअ = \*नरहु or \*नरह, Ap. पार्हो. Gd. extends the contr. form अ even to the sing.; e. g., P. voc. sg. देवा *oh god*, but voc. pl. देवे *oh gods*; the former being derived from Ap. देवहो, the latter from Ap. देवहे. Indeed, as such it is noticed by K. I. 26 (in Ls. 450) as already occurring in the Ap. Pr. The general result seems to be, that in the Ap. Pr. both हे and हो or its modifications are used to form both the voc. sing. and the voc. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* whether masc., fem. or neut.

#### 4. CASE.

370. There are seven cases, viz. nominative (incl. vocative), accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative.

<sup>1</sup>) Exceptionally, the voc. pl. is the same as the obl. pl.; e. g., Mw. nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडो *oh horses* or (*of*) *horses*.

The nom. serves also as the voc., and in that case some interjection, as हे, रे or अरे, is generally prefixed; e. g., nom. राम् *Rāma*, voc. हे राम् *oh! Rāma*; nom. बेटा, voc. अरे बेटा *oh! son*; nom. दुर्गा, voc. रे दुर्गा *oh! Durgā*, etc. The E. H. has no (eighth) case of the „agent“, or (as I shall call it) *active case*.

371. *The active case.* The absence of the act. case in E. H. is a point of great importance, as it helps to determine its affiliation or position with regard to the other Gd. languages. This case is one of the main features that distinguish the W. and S. Gds. from the E. Gds. The latter are without it; the former possess it. E. H., therefore, as not having the act. case, belongs to the E. Gd. group, and is more nearly allied to B. and O., than to W. H. — The rationale of the act. case is as follows. The old organic past tenses active of the Skr., mostly very complicated forms, were in Pr. already disused (cf. Wb. Spt. 63) with a few fragmentary and rare exceptions (cf. Vr. 7, 23. 24. H. C. 3, 162. 163). The inconvenience of this want was obviated by the simple expedient of giving to the sentence the passive construction; thereby turning the subject or nom. case into the instr. case and the past tense act. into the past part. pass. This method of expressing the past act. was already much used in Skr.; and in Pr. it has become the common one; thus „they have not devoured that“ may be in Skr. ते एतद् न अचेहः or in pass. constr. तैर् एतद् अनाचोषाम्; but in Pr. only the latter तेहिं एअं अणाइषं (cf. H. C. 3, 134). But there is yet a simpler way of using the pass. constr.; viz., by employing the past part. pass. in an *act. sense*, whereby the change of the nom. case into the instr. in the subj. becomes unnecessary. This practise may have originated from the use of the past part. pass. of intrans. verbs in an *act. sense*, which is very common in Skr.; as अहं गतः *I went* for अहं जगाम. In Pr. it is already found occasionally extended to trans. verbs (cf. Gl. in J. G. O. S. XXVII, 492), as *Setub.* 6, 51 अढत्ता दीसितं पिसिअर्च्छाया the shadows of the night-walkers began to be seen (Skr. निशिचर्च्छाया दृष्टम् आरब्धाः), and intrans., *ibid.* 8, 30 दीसितं पउत्तं

सेउब्रंधस्स मुहुं *the head of the bridge began to be seen*, or *ibid.* 7, 71  
 ब्रविण्डं वउत्ता पवंगा *the monkeys began to be taken*, etc. Now of these  
 two methods of using the past part. pass. to supply the past  
 tense act., the former, i. e., *the real pass. constr. with the subj. in*  
*the instr. case*, was adopted by the W. and S. Gds., while the  
 other, i. e., (what I may call) *the pass-act. constr. with the subj.*  
*in the nom. case*, was chosen by the E. and N. Gds., and, of  
 course, these latter make the past part. pass. to agree in number  
 and gender with the subj. Thus „*they have not eaten that*“ is in  
 E. H. ईलोग् उ न खैलेन्, in W. H. इन्हो ने व्ह न खायौ. Here खैलेन्  
 is the 3<sup>d</sup> plur. masc. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. (formed from the past part. pass.  
 खैल् or खायल्, see § 307), agreeing with the nom. ईलोग् and  
 governing the acc. उ; while खायौ is the nom. sg. masc. (of the  
 past part. pass. खायौ) agreeing with व्ह and governed by the  
 instr. or rather act. इन्हो ने. — It has been stated already  
 (§ 366, 1. d) that the tendency of the later Pr. was to substi-  
 tute the gen. for every other case. Thus the example of the  
 gen. in the place of the instr., given by H. C. 3, 134, is तेसिं  
 एअं अणाइअं, where तेसिं is the gen. plur. (= Skr. तेषाम्) for the  
 instr. तेहिं (= Skr. तेभिः)<sup>1)</sup>. It has also been stated (*ibid.*) that  
 this Pr. tendency has become in Gd. an absolute law, and also, that  
 the Gd. so-called obl. form is identical with the old Pr. gen.  
 Hence, as regards the W. Gd. and S. Gd., their method of ex-  
 pressing the past tense act. by means of the *real pass. constr.*  
*with the subj. in the instr. case*, may now be stated thus, that  
 they express it by means of the *past part. pass. with the subj.*  
*in the obl. form* (= old gen.-instr.). Now there is every reason  
 to believe, that this was once the universal usage in the whole  
 of the W. and S. Gd.; that is, that in the pass. constr. the  
 mere obl. form was used without the addition of any affix (ने or

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1) His other examples are. धपास्स लडो for धपोष लडो *acquired with money*, or चिरस्स मुक्का for चिरेण मुक्का *long delivered*; here the gen.-instr. has not the sense of the act.

नेँ). Thus in the O. H. (of Chand, Kabir, Behári Lál, etc.) the aff. never or very rarely occurs<sup>1</sup>). In O. S. it cannot have been used; for it does not exist even in the M. S. Nor was it used in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI); nor, as far as I can ascertain, in O. M. (see Man. 138) and O. G. Even in the modern S. (Tr. 113, 3) and Mw. (Kl. 66, 132. a) it is always omitted; also, as a rule, in G. (Ed. 87) and not, unfrequently, in Br. (Kl. 287, 543) and P. (Ld. 7, 22. 73, 119). Indeed, it may be said to be really confined to the literary forms of the Gḍ. languages and, therefore, to be comparatively modern. Such, at all events, is the case with Hindí, where it is confined to the H. H. (or Urdu) and originated at the same time with the literary cultivation of the language. The latter took place in the sixteenth century around the centre of the Moghul empire in Western Hindústán. In the low dialects of those parts the following dat. aff. are in use, G. नेँ, Mw. नेँ, P. नेँ; and it so happens that in G. the same aff. नेँ is also used as an aff. of the act. case in the pass. constr. It may be concluded, therefore, that the founders of the H. H. adopted what they found current as a dat. aff. in their regions for the act. case also. It should be remembered, that the mere obl. f. which originally was the act. case was often outwardly not to be distinguished from the nom. This was too inconvenient for a literary language which necessarily aims at grammatical precision. Seeing, then, two dat. aff. current in different parts of their neighbourhood (viz., कौँ or को in Br., नेँ or ने in Mw.) they assumed one (ने) for the act., while they reserved the other (को) for the dat.; and thus, as will be seen, any confusion between the act. and the dat. in H. H. was avoided. Possibly, the dat. aff. ने was already employed, in some cases, by the common people (as in G.) to signify the act., and thus a precedent was

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1) It must be remembered, that in many cases the obl. f. happens not to differ from the dir. or nom.; thus in Pr. R. 1, 49 (in Bs. II, 267) दुन and रान are not nom., but obl. f., just as तिन and त्रिहि in the other cited verses.

afforded. The choice of the dat. aff. to supply an affix of the act. must have been felt to be natural; for it has merely the general sense of „referring to“. An affix, having such a vague and general meaning, might well be employed to express any relation in which a noun may stand in a sentence. — This theory of the identity of the act. aff. with that of the dat., with which I entirely agree, was, I believe, first propounded by Beames (II, 270). The common theory of its identity with the Skr. instr. termin. एन or ना can hardly be seriously maintained, and has been well refuted by the same writer (ibid. 266). — It should be mentioned, that G. and Mw. employ a special obl. f. in ए or ऐ for the act. case sing., their general obl. f. ending in ञ, see § 366, 2; while S. uses its general obl. f. for the act. case also. — The various act. case-aff. are: H. H. ने, Br. नेँ, M. sg. नेँ or pl. नीँ, P. नै, G. ने or णे, N. ले. The aff. योँ in G. and हीँ, सीँ or प्रीँ in M. do not belong to the act., but to the instr. or abl., just as से in E. H. (see §§ 372. 376). — N. alone has the curious anomaly of using the act. case with ले together with the act.-pass. constr.; i. e., of constructing the subj. like the W. Gds., but the verb like the E. Gds. (see § 487).

*Note:* On the derivation of the act.-dat. affixes see § 375.

372. All cases, exc. the nom. and acc. (*proper*) are formed by adding to the obl. form of the noun certain affixes which are the same for both numbers. These are the following: instr. or abl. से *by, with or from*; dat. के *to*, gen. कै, के or करू, करे *of*, loc. मे *in*. The acc. proper is identical with the nom.; but commonly, as in all Gds., the dat. is substituted for the acc. See paradigms in § 379.

*Note:* The following aff. are also sometimes used: dat. कहं, abl. सोँ or सेन or ते or योँ, loc. मेँ or म or माँ or माँक or माँहीँ.

373. For the gen., there are two sets of aff.: 1) कै and के, 2) करू and करे. Of these two sets, nouns (i. e., subst., adj., and numer.) may affix only the former (कै, के), while pron. may



take either pair at pleasure. Of the two members of each pair the former (कै, करू) are used when the governing word is in the nom. or acc. proper; the latter (के, करे) when it is in any obl. case. The number and gender of the governing word make no difference in this respect. Thus घरू कै सामी आवत् बा *the master of the house is coming*; घरू के सामी से कहहू *tell ye the master of the house*; घरू के लोग आवत् बाटै *the people of the house are coming*; घरू के तिरियालोगन् के बुलावहू *call ye the women of the house*. Again ई-बोकू or ओकै घरू बाटै *this is his house*; उ.ए करे or ए के घरू मे बाटै *he is in his house*; उ.ए करू or ए के पोयी बाटै *those are his books*; उ.ए करे or ए के पोयी मे पढेला *he reads in his book*.

374. *Affinitics*. Besides the want of the act. case (§ 370), E. H. shows its affinity to E. Gd., as against W. Gd., also in the government of the gen. aff. In the W. Gd. the form of the aff. changes not only with the case, but also with the number and gender of the governing word; it is for the *nom. sg. masc.* Br. कौ, H. H. का, Kn. को, Mw. रौ, G. नो, P. दा, S. तो; *obl. 'sg. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा or रै, G. ना, P. दे, S. ते; *nom. sg. neut.* G. नू; *obl. sg. neut.* G. नाँ; *nom. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. तो; *obl. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. ते or तिन्न; *nom. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव्, P. दे, S. ता; *obl. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव्, P. दे or दिन्न, S. ते or तनि; *nom. pl. neut.* G. नाँ or नाव्, *obl. dto.*; *nom. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीन्न, S. तू or तिउ; *obl. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीन्न, S. ते or तनि or तुनि or तिन्ननि or तिउनि (see Ld. 7. Tr. 129). The S. Gd. and N. Gd. follow the W. Gd. practice; thus *nom. sg. masc.* M. चा, N. को, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. का; *nom. sg. neut.* M. चे, *obl.* चै or च्या; *nom. sg. fem.* M. चो, N. की, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. की; *nom. pl. masc.* M. चे, N. का, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. का; *nom. pl. neut.* M. ची, *obl.* चे or च्या; *nom. pl. fem.* M. च्या, N. की, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. की (see M. 27. 41). On the other hand, in B. and O. the form of the gen. aff. never changes; not even, as in E. H., with

the case. — The case-aff. have a great variety of forms in the different Gds.; they are exhibited in the subjoined table.

	B.	O.	E. H.	H. H.	Br.	Mw.
dat. acc.	के	कु or कि	के	को	कौँ	नै
abl. instr.	हइते	रु, करु	से	ने	सौँ	सूँ
gen.	रु	रु, करु	कै, करू	का	को	रो
loc.	ते	रै, करे	मे	मेँ	मेँ	माँ
act.	—	—	—	ने	ने	obl.

	G.	P.	S.	M.	N.
dat. acc.	ने	नूँ	खे	ला	लाई
abl. instr.	थो	ते	खोँ, खाँ	सोँ, होँ, हूँ, ऊँ	संगँ
gen.	नो	दा	जो	चा	को
loc.	माँ	मै	मेँ	तूँ	मा
act.	obl. or ने	नै	obl.	नेँ	ले

Besides these affixes which are allotted to particular *cases*, there is a large number of others, which are used to modify the noun in various senses which may, in a general way, be referred to the dat., abl. or loc. These may be divided into two classes, according as they are or are not added to the obl. form of the noun by means of the gen. aff. In the former case, I shall call them *postpositions*, in the latter, *affixes*. Many of them, however, belong to both classes, sometimes in the same, sometimes in different languages; e. g., E. H. बदे is a postpos. in के करू बदे *what for*, but an aff. in केहू बदे *what for*; again लये or लिये is a postpos. in E. H., W. H. घरू के लये or लिये *for the sake of the house*, but an aff. in S. घरू लइ (Tr. 404). The following list contains most of these aff. or postpos.; their meanings (indicated by numbers) generally are; *for* or *to* 1, *till* or *up to* 2, *with* 3, *by* 4, *from* 5, *in* or *at* 6. Thus a) (Skr. लग्), B. लागत् or O. B. लागि, E. H. लग्, लगि 2, W. H. लागि 1, S. लगे or लगि 1, G. लगी 1, M. लागीँ or लागुनि 1, N. लागी 1; b) (Skr. लब्ध), E. H. लिये 1, W. H.

लये or लए or लये<sup>०</sup> or लो<sup>०</sup> or लो<sup>०</sup> 2, P. लई 1, S. लाइ or लइ 1, G. लोथे 1, M. ला 1, N. लाई 1; c) (Skr. स्थान), B. ठाई<sup>०</sup> 1, थेके 5, O. ठा-रे 1, ठा-रु or ठु<sup>०</sup> or ठाउ<sup>०</sup> 5, E. H. थो<sup>०</sup> 5, W. H. थो<sup>०</sup> 5, G. थो 5, P. थो<sup>०</sup> or थो<sup>०</sup> or O. P. थावहु or थो or थो<sup>०</sup> 5, ठाइ or थानि 1, N. थाजि 5 or 6, M. ठाई<sup>०</sup> 6; d) (Skr. कर्ण), W. H. कने or कनै or कानो or कणि 1, P. कनी 1, G. काने 1, S. काणे or काणि or कने or कनि 1, कन<sup>०</sup> or कनो<sup>०</sup> 5; e) (Skr. पक्ष), B. पक्षे or पाके, E. H. पाही<sup>०</sup>, W. H. पै, P. पाहो<sup>०</sup> 5; f) (Skr. कक्ष), B. काहे or के 1, O. कु or कि 1, E. H. के or कैह<sup>०</sup> 1, Br. को<sup>०</sup> 1, H. H. को 1, O. H. कहं or कहुं or कहूं or काहुं 1, O. P. कह or कहु or कउ or को or कू or कूं 1, S. खे 1 or ख<sup>०</sup> or खो<sup>०</sup> 5; g) (Skr. तरित?), B. तक् 2, ते 6, E. H. तक् 2, ते 5, W. H. तक् or तलक् or ताई or तई<sup>०</sup> 2, ते or ते<sup>०</sup> 5, P. ताई<sup>०</sup> or तोकु or तोकुर or तेडी 2, ते or उतो<sup>०</sup> or उता<sup>०</sup> 5, S. ताई or तोई<sup>०</sup> or तोडी or तोपी 2, ता<sup>०</sup> or तो<sup>०</sup> 5, ते 6; h) (Skr. वार्त), E. H. बाटे 1, S. बटे 1, बाटा<sup>०</sup> 5, G. बते 1, N. बाट 5; i) (Skr. वरे), E. H. वरे 1, M. वरून 5; k) (Skr. कार्य), E. H. काज 1, O. H. काज 1; l) (Skr. कृत), S. करे or करि 1, M. कर्न 5, कर्ता<sup>०</sup> 1; m) (Skr. श्रय), M. आठी<sup>०</sup>; n) (Skr. सङ्ग), B. सने 3, E. H. सन् or सने or सन् or सेनी 3, W. H. सणि 1, P. सणे 1, S. सांगे or सांग<sup>०</sup> 1, सेणु or साणु 5, N. सँग 5; o) (Skr. सदृश), Mw. सर<sup>०</sup> or सार<sup>०</sup> 1, S. सार<sup>०</sup> 1, G. सार<sup>०</sup> 1; p) (Skr. समाधा?), W. H. सूधी 2, S. सूधी<sup>०</sup> 5; q) (Skr. भवेन्त<sup>०</sup>), B. हइते 5, O. H. हुंतो or हूंतो 5, N. भन्दा 5; r) (Skr. कृत्वा), B. करिया 4, E. H. करू or करि 4, W. H. करि or करके 4, P. करके 4; s) (Skr. दद्या), B. दिया 4; t) (Skr. पाप्म), E. H., W. H. पास 6, P. पास 6, पासो<sup>०</sup> 5, S. and G. पासे 6, M. पासो<sup>०</sup> 6, पसून् 5; u) (Skr. पर), B. परू or परे 6, E. H. परू or परि 6, W. H. परू or परि or पै 6, P. परू 6, परो<sup>०</sup> 5, S. परे 6, पर<sup>०</sup> or परो<sup>०</sup> 5; v) (Skr. मध्य), B. मध्य or मध्ये or माके 6, E. H. माक् or माहो<sup>०</sup> or मे<sup>०</sup> or मे or मा or म 6, W. H. मे<sup>०</sup> or मो<sup>०</sup> or मा<sup>०</sup> or माय<sup>०</sup> or मई or माहै 6, O. H. मधि or मडि or मकि or माँक or मङ्क or माहै<sup>०</sup> or माहो<sup>०</sup> or माही or महि or मै<sup>०</sup> 6, O. P. मै or माहि 6, S. मके or मे<sup>०</sup> 6, मा<sup>०</sup> or मो<sup>०</sup> 5, G. मा<sup>०</sup> 6, O. M. माती 6, M. मध्ये<sup>०</sup> 6; w) (Skr. अभ्यन्तर), B. भितरू or भितरे 6, E. H. and W. H. भीतरू 6; x) (Skr. कउ), M. कडे 6, कडून् 5; y) (Skr. मस्त), S. मये 6, G. माटे 1, N. मावि 6; z) (Skr. सिर्स्), P. सिर् 6, S. सिरे 6; aa) (Skr. वृत्त्य), W. H. बीच् 6, P. विच् 6, O. P. विचि 6, S. विचे 6; and others.

375. *Derivation of the dat. affixes.* 1) In B. there is a dat. postpos. काहे (§. Ch. 62, 215) meaning lit. *near*; and the O. H. has a dat. aff. कहँ or कहुँ or कहूँ or काहूँ, which often also means *near, by the side of*; e. g., ऋधि सिधि संपति नदी सुहाईँ । उमगि अवध अवधि कहँ आईँ ॥ i. e., *fair rivers of prosperity, success, wealth, overflowing came near to the sea of Avadh* (see Bs. II, 253 where some more examples will be found). This points to the Skr. loc. कत्ते *at the side of* as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be कच्चे (as in B.), or \*कक्कले or \*कक्कलहु (see § 378) or probably \*कहे or \*कहि or \*कहहुँ (or \*काहहुँ, see § 116). The latter would contract in O. H. to कहूँ (or काहूँ), and in M. W. H. to कोँ or (with the loss of *anunásika*) in H. H. को. The former, कहि, contracts in E. H. and B. to के (see S. Ch. 49) and is shortened in O. to कि (Sn. 13). Similarly the O. कु (Sn. 13) is a shortened form of the H. H. को (= कहूँ). The S. खे has arisen from कहे or कहि by the metathesis of ह्, just as in भैल् *buffalo* for बहिस or महिस, गधा *donkey* for गद्दा (Pr. गद्दह H. C. 2, 37). — 2) Again the G. has the dat. postpos. लीये *for* (Ed. 115) and W. H. लये or लयेँ or लए (Kl. 273, 508), H. H. लिये, S. लाइ or लइ (Tr. 404), P. लई. These are identical with the past part. G. लीये, W. H. लयो, H. H. लिया (see § 307) = Skr. लब्धः *obtained, benefited*. This points to the Skr. loc. लब्धे lit. *for the benefit of* (lat. *commodo*) as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be \*लहिए or \*लहिअहिँ or (eliding ह्) लइए or लइअहिँ, whence contr. W. H. लये or लयेँ or P. लई, and still more contr. ले or \*लैँ. The form ले exists in N. as an act. aff. (§ 371); but लैँ and ले further change to Mw. नैँ and G. ने, which latter is used in W. H. as an act. aff. (§ 371). The change of ल् to न् occurs also in the B. नेउन् (S. Ch. 189) and O. नेबा (Sn. 36) *to obtain* = H. H. लेना, E. H. लेब्. The contraction of लये to ले is like that of the Br. भये or हये to भे or हे *they were* (Kl. 225, 438. 201). Another Ap. loc. would be \*लहिअहुँ or \*लइअहुँ (see §§ 307. 378, 3) which would contract to \*लयूँ or लौँ or लोँ. The last two forms exist in W. H. in the sense of *up to, until*. From लोँ arises the P. dat. aff. लूँ. Those forms of this dat. aff.

which have आ, as N. लाई, S. लाइ, M. ला, are probably to be referred to the Ap. Pr. loc. लाहि or लाहे, Skr. लाभे lit. *for the benefit of*. — 3) There is another set of dat. postpos. which has been much confused with the preceding one, though it is of an entirely different origin; viz. E. H. लग् or लगि, W. H. लगि, S. लग् or लगि, G. लग्गी, N. लागी, M. लागी, H. H. लग्. It means *up to, until, or on account of, for*, and is derived from the Skr. loc. लग्गे lit. *in contact with*. In the Ap. Pr. it is लग्गे or लगि, whence the Gd. लग्गे or लगि or लग् or लगि; or Ap. Pr. लग्गहि, whence the Gd. लागी or \*लागी or लग्गी<sup>1</sup>). P. has also the abl. postpos. लागी and S. लाक् (Tr. 401, ?लाग्?) *from up* = Ap. Pr. abl. लग्गहु. — 4) The dat. postpos., B. ठाई and O. ठा-रे, are clearly the same as the Ap. Pr. loc. ठापि or ठापो, Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; B. also uses the tats. स्थाने itself. — 5) The M. आठी (in the so-called postpos. साठी, see § 365, 1) is = Ap. Pr. loc. आठहि, Skr. अर्थे lit. *in the interest of*. — 5) The B. पाके (for पाके, see § 145, note), E. H. and W. H. पाही or पै, P. पाह् (Ld. 74) are = Ap. loc. \*पक्खे or \*पाहे or \*पाहहि, Skr. पक्षे lit. *at the side of* (see § 116); B. also uses the tats. पक्षे; and P. has also an abl. postpos. पाहो (Ld. 74) = Ap. \*पाहु. — 6) The set, W. H. कणि (Km., see Kl. 69) or कने (Br.) or कनै or कानी (Mw.), P. कनी, S. कने or कनि or काने or कानि (Tr. 401. 407), G. काने, which is also used in the lit. sense of *at the side of*, is = Ap. loc. कखे or कखहि and probably (as Tr. 401) = Skr. कर्णे or कार्णे (lit. *at the ear or belonging to the ear*, i. e., *side*). — 7) The forms, B., E. H., W. H. तक् or तलक्, W. H. तई or ताई, P. ताई or तीकु or तोकु or तेडी (Ld. 76. 126), S. ताई or तोई or तोडी or तोपी (Tr. 399) meaning *up to, till, to, I believe, form one set, together* with the abl. aff., W. H. ते, ते, P. ते, उतो, उता (Ld. 77), S. ता, तो (Tr. 400), meaning *from up to*, and the loc. aff., B., P., S. ते

1) The O. M. लगुनि or लगोनि is the conj. part. of the same verb, = Pr. लगिऊपा; so also might be the G. लग्गी = Pr. लगिगि; but not (as Bs. II, 260. 261) the M. लागी, on account of the final *amunāsika*.

on, upon (S. Ch. 49. Ld. 77. Tr. 400). I am inclined to connect them with the Skr. past. part. तर्तित (or उत्तर्तित, of the R. तृ) *passed to*, hence *up-to, upon, from-upon*. The loc. तर्तिते would become Ap. तर्तिर् or \*तर्त्तिर् (see § 124) and contract to Gd. ते, just as Gd. ले arises from लहिर्, etc. (see above Nro. 2). The elements क्, कु I take to be the dat. aff. कि, कु (as in O.), and the elements डी, णी to be pleon. suff. (see § 209). — 8) The set, Mw. सार or सार, S. सार, G. सार, which mean lit. *conformable to* (Tr. 400) and thence *for the sake of*, I connect with the Skr. सदृश *like*, Ap. obl. (or loc.) सदिह or सदिह (cf. § 292). — 9) The dat. aff., W. H. सणि (Km., see Kl. 69), S. सणि (Tr. 407), meaning *on account of, for, together with the abl. aff., E. H. सन् or सेने or सेन् or सेनी with, from, P. सणो with* (Ld. 74), S. साणु or सेणु *with* (Tr. 401), N. सणि *from*, S. सणि *on account of* (Tr. 407), I connect with the Skr. सङ्गे, which may mean *in company with* (from R. सम् + ग्) or *in attachment to* (from R. सञ्ज्). The conj. च् would readily pass into छ् or न्, cf. पक्ष for पञ्च (H. C. 2, 43. Wb. Bh. 403, see also p. 21). — 10) The W. H. सूधी (Kl. 69) *up-to, till* and S. सूधी *along with* (Tr. 401), the former a loc., the latter an abl., I would connect with some derivative of the R. समाधा (Ap. \*सवड or \*सडड), meaning *collected, adjusted, whence with or up-to*. — 11) The dat. aff., E. H. वाटे, S. वटे (Tr. 402), G. वते (Ed. 115), meaning *for or instead*, and the abl. aff., N. वाट्, S. वटि *from* (Tr. 402), I connect with the Skr. वार्त्त (or वर्त्त or वृत्त) *welfare, Pr. वट् or वत्त* (cf. H. C. 2, 29. 30), loc. वार्त्ते lit. *in favor of, for, whence in place of, instead*. — 12) The dat. aff. E. H. वरे and the abl. aff. M. वरन् are derived from the Skr. वर *boon, advantage*. — 13) The E. H. कान् is the Pr. loc. कन्ते, Skr. कार्ये *for the work or sake of*. — 14) The S. करे or करि is contracted for \*करिर् = Skr. कृते *for the sake of*, and the corresponding abl. aff. is the M. करन्; similar is the M. dat. aff. करित् which is apparently a loc. sg. of the pres. part. (see §§ 300. 307). — 15) As to the relics, in M., of the organic dat. in आस्, ईस्, उस् sg. and आना, ईना, उना plur., see § 365, 1. 4.

*Note:* I think the identification of the S. खे with \*कहे more consonant with Gd. analogy (see § 132, note) than Trumpp's theory that खे = Skr. कृते, by the loss of र् and consequent aspiration of क् (i. e., कृते = कृते = खिर् = खे Tr. 115). For this process there is, I believe, no analogy in Gd. The examples, to which Tr. refers (मिर्धन् *tabor*, हिर्ध *heart*, for Skr. मृद्ङ्ग *a drum*, हृद् *heart* Tr. V.), are not analogous. For 1) र् has *not* disappeared, and 2) it has aspirated the *following*, not the preceding cons.; whereas, in the case of खे, it is the preceding cons., and र् has disappeared. According to the adduced analogy, Skr. कृते would become किर्ये, not खे. There is *one* really analogous case in Pr. in the adverbial suff. त्र, for which Pr. has त्व (e. g., Pr. एत्त or एत्तु *here* = Skr. अत्र), but the case is unique, and the identification of त्व with त्र (Ls. 251) is, to my mind, doubtful, see § 469. — Beames' remarks on my theory (II, 258) are founded on a misunderstanding. I hold that both the W. H. को and the B. काड़े are the same words, in as much as both are various modifications of the same Skr. words; and that the H. form represents a later phase of phonetic development than the B. form, in as much as B. has preserved the aspirate cons. of the Pr., while H. has worn it down to the simple aspirate ह् (in कहुँ) and even dropped it altogether (in कोँ, को); but not, that the one is actually derived from the other. The H. form comes after the B. *phonetically*, though not *historically*; only in this sense can one be said to be *derived from* the other.

376. *Derivation of the abl. and instr. affixes.* 1) Pr. has the instr. suff. हितो and सुतो (Vr. 5, 7), both in the plur. (H. C. 3, 7), but हितो also in the sing. (H. C. 3, 8). Of these the former contracts to M. होँ, the latter to E. H., W. H. सोँ, Mw. सौँ, G. स्रौँ; similarly as the 3. pl. pres. termin. Skr. अन्ति, Pr. अन्ति contracts in Gd. रैँ or रेँ or ईँ (see § 497, 2 f.). In the Ap. Pr., there is an abl. aff. होतओ or होतउ (H. C. 4, 355), which appears in O. H. (Chand) as हुंतो or हूँत<sup>1</sup>). These forms

1) हूँत् is a wk. f. = Ap. Pr. होतु or हुंतु.

are really part. pres. of the verb भू to be (cf. H. C. 3, 180). The modern B. has still an abl. aff. हृत्ते, and N. भंदा, which are part. pres. (cf. S. Ch. 148, and see § 300), representing the Pr. forms ह्वन्तो and भवन्त or भन्त (cf. H. C. 4, 60 ह्वन्ति and H. C. 4, 365 भन्ति = Skr. भवन्ति *they are*). The rationale of this usage may be explained (as Bs. II, 237) „by supposing the idea to be that of having previously been at a place, but not being there now, which involves the idea of having come away from it“; thus Ap. तह्वाँ होन्तइ आगदो (H. C. 4, 355), O. H. तह्वाँ हुन्तो आयो, N. तह्वाँ भंदा आयो, B. ओया हृत्ते आइल् *from there* (lit. *being there*) *he has come*. The Ap. and O. H. forms are *direct*, i. e., *he who is there* (lit. *the there being*) *has come*; the B. and N. forms are *oblique* and may be taken as loc., i. e., *in being there he has come*. Possibly the ordinary Pr. suff. ह्वितो and भुन्तो may be also pres. part. of the Rs. भू *be* and अस् *be* respectively, slightly modified for हुन्तो (cf. H. C. 4, 406 ह्वन्ति<sup>1</sup>) and संतो (cf. H. C. 1, 37). Just as हुन्तो or हुन्तो (H. C. 4, 61) have become ह्वितो, so संतो or भुन्तो may become संतो; and this form appears to exist in the N. सित्<sup>2</sup>), and in the S. से<sup>3</sup> (Tr. 401), E. H. and H. H. से, G. प्रो and M. सी<sup>3</sup> or प्री<sup>3</sup>). The S. सी<sup>3</sup> (Tr. 401) I would similarly derive from संतो which is still used by S., in the form संदो, as a gen. aff. (Tr. 129), or from संते which is still used in E. H. as an adv. part. *on being* (see § 488, note). — The Pr. suff. ह्वितो and भुन्तो are used for the

1) Pr. has a tendency to change अ to इ in the suff. वन्ति of the 3. pl. and वन्तो of the part. pres., see Wb. Bh. 404. 428, and B. has इते in the pres. part. for E. H. अते (§ 300).

2) With त् for न्त्, as in the M. 3. pl. pres. अत् for Pr. वन्ति, and in the E. H. pres. part. in अत्, B. इत् for Pr. वन्तो (§ 300).

3) The M. सी<sup>3</sup> or प्री<sup>3</sup> cannot be divided (as Bs. II, 272) into स् + ई<sup>3</sup>, the former being the termin. of the (Pr.) gen. sg., the latter the Pr. instr. plur. suff. हिं; thus M. देवासी<sup>3</sup> = देवास् or देवस् + हिं. No doubt, modern M. case aff. (like ने<sup>3</sup> in त्याच्या ने<sup>3</sup> *by him*) may be added to a gen.; for they are relics of what were formerly full nouns. But ई<sup>3</sup> is not an aff., but the relic of an old suff.; see at the end of this paragraph.



instr. only, but the Ap. aff. होतउ for the abl. also; similarly हो<sup>०</sup> and हो<sup>०</sup> are confined, in M., to the instr., but in the other Gds. the corresponding aff. express both the instr. and abl. Thus instr. in E. H. ओह् से कइल् गइल् *done by him or with it*, but abl. in तहाँ से आइल् *come from there*. They never have in E. H. strictly the sense of „in company with“; thus *gone with him* is not ओह् से गइल् but ओह् के संग गइल्; but they appear to be used so occasionally in S. (Tr. 403), e. g., वर पुनहू से<sup>०</sup> पलकु *return with Punahū a moment*; and, of course, the instr. easily admits of this sense. — The Pr. हितो (H. C. 3, 7. 8) and the Ap. होतउ (H. C. 4, 372. 373) are used both in the sing. and plur.; but हितो was in Pr. originally confined to the plur. (Vr. 5, 6. 7), and the M. हो<sup>०</sup> is so still; on the other hand, both M. and all other Gds. extend सो<sup>०</sup>, से<sup>०</sup>, etc. to the sing. also, while the corresponding Pr. सुतो<sup>०</sup> is limited to the plur. — The M. abl. aff. हून् or, curtailed, ऊन् can not well be derived from the Pr. हितो (as Ls. 311. Bs. II, 234. 236); though it may be (like the O. H. हूत्) traced to the Ap. होतउ (or rather the wk. f. होतु) by the change of न् to न्, as in the S. suff. अति of the 3. plur. pres. for Pr. अति. Indeed this derivation would hardly admit of a doubt, but for the fact, that in O. M. the aff. is हूनि or हूनियाँ, which points to its being a conj. part., the suff. of which is in O. M. उनियाँ or उनि and in M. M. ऊन् (see § 491). Accordingly it would be equal to होउन *having been*. Similarly N. uses the conj. part. देखि *having seen* as an abl. aff.; e. g., ताँहाँ देखि निस्को *he came out from there*, माँक् देखि *from the midst*. But very possibly (as Bs. II, 236 suggests) some confusion may have taken place between the abl. aff. हून् and the conj. part. होउन; and, on the whole, the identification of हून् with हुतो seems most to commend itself<sup>1)</sup>. — 2) As regards the other groups of abl. and instr. aff. or postpos., the B. ठाँइ

1) With Bs.' identification (II, 272) of the M. हो<sup>०</sup> with Pr. हिं and of the H. सो<sup>०</sup> or से with Skr. समं (II, 274) and with Ls.' derivation (310) of हितो from हिं + तस् I cannot agree.

(S. Ch. 229) and O. ठा-र् or ठाडं or ठुं (Sn. 13) are derivatives of Skr. स्थान, ठाँइ or ठा (र् is the abl. aff.) being = Ap. loc. ठाणि, and ठाडं or ठुं = Ap. abl. ठापाहु. Identical with these, only substituting ढ् for ह् (cf. H. C. 4, 16) is the other set: N. बाजि, P., E. H., W. H. यो (Ld. 77), G. यो (Ed. 115), all = Ap. loc. बाणि; and O. P. बावहु or यो or यो, M. P. यो = Ap. abl. बापाहु; in the B. घेके (S. Ch. 62. 230) and G. वकी the aff. के and की are super-added. — 3) The explanation of the set of instr. aff., E. H. सन्, सने, सेन्, सेनी, S. साणु or सेणु *with*, and of the abl. aff., E. H. ते, ते, P. उतो, S. तो or तो, has been given in § 375. So also that of the M. abl. aff. कर्न् and वर्न्, and of the N. ब्राट, S. बटाँ. Others, as M. पासून्, P. पासो, and P. परो, S. पराँ or परो, and S. माँ or मो or मकाँ and S. मयाँ, will be explained in § 378. — 4) There are also some relics of the old organic instr. or abl. Thus M. has an instr. sing. suff. र् (Man. 17), which is the Ap. instr. sg. suff. रं (H. C. 4, 342), probably contracted for अहिं (see § 367, 5); e. g., M. देवे by a god, Ap. देवे, for \*देवहिं. Again M. has an instr. pl. suff. र्, which is contracted from the Ap. instr. pl. suff. अहिं (H. C. 4, 347); e. g., M. देवी by gods = Ap. देवहिं. Again there are the abl. sg. suff. अँ and अडं or ओ or उँ in S. (Tr. 117, 5) or ओ in P. (Ld. 12) which are the same as the Ap. abl. plur. suff. अहं and अहुं (H. C. 4, 337. 339, see § 367, 5); e. g., S. घरँ from a house = Ap. Pr. घरहं, or S. घरडं or घरौ or घरँ, P. घरौ = Ap. घरहुं.

377. *Derivation of the gen. affixes.* The O. H. possesses a gen. aff., which in the weak form, dir. and obl., sing. and pl., is केरू m., केरि f., and in the strong form, masc, dir. sg. केरा (E. H.) or केरो, केरौ (W. H.), obl. sg. and dir. pl. केरे (E. H. and Br.) or केरा (Mw.); fem., dir. and obl., sg. and pl. केरी. The same forms exist also in O. P. (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and in O. G., which latter adds the st. form neut. sg. केहँ, pl. केराँ (see Bs. II, 283). Thus masc. sg. केरू in सो सुग्रीव केरू लघु धावन, i. e., *it is Sugriva's little messenger* (T. Dás, Lanhá) or मिटै न जीवन्ह केरू कलेसा *the pain of the creatures is not removed* (T. Dás in KL 72); fem. sg. केरि in सीता केरि कर्हु

रखवारी, i. e., *keep a watch of Sītā* (T. Dās in Kl. 72); masc. sg. dir. करे in एक नारि ब्रत रघुपति करे, i. e., *to have one wife is the rule of Raghupati* (T. Dās, *Lanka*), or करे in को तेरा पुत्र पिता तू काको मिय्य भ्रम जग करे, i. e., *who is thy son, whose father art thou, (such questioning) is a delusion and error of the world* (Kabīr, *Suravālī* 12), or करे in दौरे गज ग्रंथं चाहवान करे *blindly ran the elephant of the Chāhuvān* (Chand 20, 141); masc. sg. obl. करे in आखर करे वषत मेँ बंदे किस का करोगे दीदार् *at the time of the end, oh friend, to whom will you look up?* (in Kabīr's *Rekhtās*); masc. pl. dir. करे in ये किरौट द्रपकंधर करे *these are the diadems of Ravana* (T. Dās, *Lankā*), or करे in ज्ञानह्वी करे तरंग ततो ने तट माँ जाइ कूप खादे रे *having left the waves of Ganges he goes on to the bank and drinks from a well* (Narsingh, *Kāvya* 2, 4 in Bs. II, 283); fem. sg. dir. करे in सुनि कठोर वाणी कवि करे *having heard the stern voice of the monkey* (T. Dās, *Lankā*), etc. Some more examples will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI, 127. 128. Bs. II, 281—284. Kl. 72. On referring to the rules for the treatment of adj. (§§ 381. 384. 386) it will be seen, that these gen. aff. करे etc., are treated exactly like adj. This remark applies also to the other sets of gen. affixes. The O. H., namely, possesses also another set, which is merely a slightly modified form of the former. It consists of the weak forms, 'dir. and obl., sg. and plur., कर म., करी f. Thus masc. dir. sg. कर in कौन रंग है जीव को ता कर करहु विवेक *what is the pleasure of life, of that make investigation* (Kabīr, *Ramainī* 24), or चरि ज्ञाति कर रोष *the wrath of the warrior-caste* (T. Dās, *Lankā*); or plur. सब कर स्रानु सुकृत फल बीता *to day the fruit of the good deeds of all has passed away* (T. Dās *Ayodhyā* 343 in Bs. II, 279); fem. sg. dir. करि in सु भट सीसन विन किन्निय । हय किन्निय विन नरनि । सेन भीमह करि किन्निय॥ *lit. the warriors without heads he made, the horses he made without men, the army of Bhīma he dispersed* (Chand, *Somabadhā* 41). For some more examples, see again my Ess. I, Bs. and Kl. *ibidem*. This set is preserved in E. H., which adds the corresponding strong forms, masc. dir. sg. करा, obl. sg. and nom. pl. करे, fem. sg. and pl., dir. and obl. करी. They are confined,

however, to the pronouns (see § 439). They occur also in O., but are limited to the plur., in connection with the plur. sign मानन् (obl. f. of माने § 363, 2); thus gen. देव-मानन्-कः of gods, where कः is both masc. and fem., sing. and plur.; again loc. or dat. देव-मानन्-करे to gods and abl. देव-मानन्-कः from gods, where करे and कः are the regular O. dat. and abl. of कः (cf. O. हाते to or in a hand, हातु from a hand of हात् hand, see Sn. 15). In the sing., O. curtails कः, करे, कः into र, रे, ह respectively, e. g., जन-र of a man, but जन-मानन्-कः of men; जन-रे to a man, जन-ह from a man. Again B., N. and Mw. possess only these curtailed forms; viz., B. the wk. f. र in the gen. (e. g., sg. जने-र of a man, pl. जन-दे-र of men; sg. चेला-र of a disciple, pl. चेला-दे-र of disciples, see § 364, 2), and the st. f. रा in the nom. pl. (e. g., जने-रा men, lit. (multitude) of man; चेला-रा disciples, see § 369); N. the weak f. ह in the nom. pl. (e. g., जनहे-ह or जनह-ह men, चेलाहे-ह or चेलह-ह disciples, see § 364, 3); Mw. the st. f. रो m., री f. (e. g., जन-रो घर the house of a man, जन-रै घर in the house of a man, जन-रा घर-नै to the house of a man, जन-रा घर the houses of a man, जन-री बात or बातें the word or words of a man). Similarly in Mw. and E. R., the conj. part. कः is curtailed to र (e. g., मर-र having died = H. H. मर कः, see § 491)<sup>1</sup>). On the other hand, र may be elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; whence arise the st. forms का or को or कौ m., की f., के or का obl., for करा or करो, etc., and the weak forms कै or के or shortened कि or क comm. gen. for करि or कर. Thus masc. dir. sg. in प्रान् इन-कै दुष मुक्कै his life departs from pain (Chand 26, 2); fem. dir. sg. in सुनुहु विभीषण प्रभु-कै रीती। hear, o Vibhūshan, the lord's custom (T. Dās, Sundara 298 in Bs. II, 278); masc. dir. sg. क in प्रेम-क गुण कह्य सब कोइ every one will say (it is) the quality of love (Vidyapati, Pad. in Bs. II, 281); fem. dir. sg. in पितु चायसु सब धर्म-क टीका (to obey) a father's command is the crown of all virtue (T. Dās, Ayodhya 334 in Bs. II, 283); masc.

1) Similarly औ and is shortened in E. H. to अ and curtailed in N. to र; e. g., पिया र and they were.

obl. sg. क in हरि सु उरै हिन-क महि *Hari can save in an instant* (Chand 1, 60 in Bs. II, 283) or फुटल बाँधुलि कमल-क संग *the bāndhuli has flowered with the lotus* (Vidyapati in Bs. Ind. Antiq. Febr. 1873). In the E. H., as a rule, the weak forms कै and के only are used. The former, however, is now constructed only with dir., the latter with obl. forms (e. g., जन के घर *the house of a man*, but जन के घर मे *in the house of a man*); perhaps by way of assimilation to the W. H. obl. के, if the E. H. obl. के is not actually identical with it. The st. forms का or को sometimes occur already in O. Gd.; thus कौ in कंठसोभ बर इंद्र कौ । नाम क्यौ परवान ॥ *the name of this verse is truly called Kantasobha* (Chand 27, 31); fem. की in कया मंड चुहुआन की कहि *they well told the story of Chahuān* (Chand 27, 22); obl. के in सूकर खान के जन्मै धरई । जो गुरु केरी निंदा करई, i. e., *he will take the births of a swine and dog who causes the disgrace of his teacher* (in Kabir's Rekhtās). They are the ordinary gen. aff. in W. H. (exc. Mw.) and H. H. Lastly there is an example of a fem. st. f. किय in कया तंपि ससीवृत्त किय । अब कहत कया विस्तार किय । जो राजन दूतन करिय ॥ *narrating the story of Sasivritta, he now tells the story in detail, which the messengers of the kings had told* (Chand 25, 41); and the corresponding masc. occurs, e. g., in the O. P. abl. aff. किछु (Tr. A. Gr. CXXV) which is a regular Ap. \*Pr. abl. of किछो<sup>1</sup>). There can hardly be a doubt, *prima facie*, that all these various sets of gen. aff. are merely different modifications of the same original form. Turning to Pr., we find the 1<sup>st</sup> set not unfrequently occurring in the following forms: 1) in the wk. f. sg. केरो or केह m., केरी f., केरं or केह n.; st. f. sg. केरओ m., केरिआ f., केरअं or केरउं n., or (specially in Mg. Pr.) केरको etc. or केलके etc. They are treated in every way like adj., i. e., they are fully declined in conformity with the governing subst. Thus masc. केरो in H. C. 2, 147. 148; n. केरं in H. C. 2, 99. 148; masc. केरओ in एसो कबु अलंकारओ अज्जआ केरओ *this surely*

1) It is quite analogous to the above mentioned O. abl. aff. कह, which is a curtailed form of the Ap. abl. करहु or करे.

is the ornament of the lady (Mrchh. act. 4. Skr. श्रयायाः श्रलङ्कारः); fem. in मम केलिका बढवालिका my turn of slaughter (Mrchh. act. 10. Skr. मम बढपारी); neut. in कस्स केरकं एदं पवहणं whose is this conveyance (Mrchh. act. 6. Skr. कस्य प्रवहणम्) or तुम्हं केरुं धणु your wealth (H. C. 4, 373. Skr. गुष्माकं धनं); masc. instr. sg. in त्सु केरुं हुंकारउं मुहं पंति तणां on account of whose (the lion's) roaring the grass falls from the mouths (of the deer) (H. C. 4, 422. Skr. यस्य हुंकारेण) <sup>1)</sup>. It will be observed, that केर is here used in Pr. as a gen. aff. precisely as in Gd. For 1) it takes its dependent noun in the gen. (= Gd. obl. form) and agrees with its governing noun as an adj.; thus compare T. Dás' जीवन्ह केर कलेसा the pain of the creatures or Chand's भीमह करि सेन the army of Bhima with H. C.'s तुम्हं केरुं धणु the wealth of you; 2) it is pleonastic, i. e., it has no meaning of its own and might be omitted from the passage without affecting the sense; thus तम्हं धणु and तुम्हं केरुं धणु <sup>2)</sup> or कस्स पवहणं and कस्स केरकं पवहणं are absolutely identical in meaning, just as जीवन्ह कलेसा or भीमह सेन would be in Gd.; 3) it is added merely to distinguish or emphasise the gen. or, in other words, simply as a gen. aff.; just as in Gd., where it is added only to distinguish the obl. f. in its gen. sense from its other senses; this, indeed, is expressly affirmed by H. C. 4, 422 संबन्धिनः केरतणौ i. e. सम्ब<sup>०</sup> परे केर<sup>०</sup> भवतः after (or in addition to) the gen. kera and tana are used; and then follows the example त्सु केरुं etc. (see above). It cannot be doubted, then, but that the Pr. केरो, etc. are identical with the Gd. केर, etc. and therefore, *prima facie*, with the other Gd. sets of gen. aff. Now, according to old Indian tradition, the Pr. केर is the same as the Skr. past part. कृत done, made, of the R. कृ do. I believe, this tradition can be shown to be correct both on intrinsic and phonetic grounds. In the first place, the phrase done by most easily lends itself to express the gen. sense „of“; thus in H. C.'s example

1) More exam. will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI. 129. 130, and in an article by Pischel in the Ind Antiq April'1878. p. 121. 122.

2) H. C. 4, 373. 380 expressly states त्वां तुम्हं by itself is the gen. plur.

the phrase तसु केरं हुंकारउटं lit. *through the roaring made by whom* is equivalent to *through whose roaring*. It may be remarked here, that in the literary Pr. the word केर is usually not added to the gen., but compounded with its dependent noun; the gen. construction being confined, as a rule, to the Ap. and the lower Mg. dialects; thus Mh. Pr. रायकेरं *royal*, पारकेरं *foreign* (H. C. 2, 146) or अहकेरो *ours*, तुम्हकेरो *yours* (H. C. 2, 147. 1, 246. 2, 99), but Ap. Pr. अहहं केरउ *ours*, तुम्हहं केरउ *yours* (H. C. 4, 373. 359) or Mg. Pr. कप्रज्ञ केलके *whose* (Mrchchh. 96, 22), तविप्रज्ञापीए केलका *of an ascetic* (Mrchh. 152, 6), etc. Originally केर cannot have been pleonastic, but must have had a meaning of its own, and supposing the latter to have been the past part. „done“, केर would naturally be first used in the compounding construction; thus Mh. रायकेरं = Skr. राजकृतं lit. *done by a king*, Mh. अहकेरं or अहक्केरं (H. C. 2, 99) = Skr. अस्मकृतं *done by us*<sup>1</sup>). But the original meaning was soon lost sight of, and केर looked upon as a mere possessive (gen.) suff. and used in the compound constr., or even as a gen. aff. and, in this case, appended pleonastically to the gen. The former usage is expressly taught by H. C. in his rules on the Mh. Pr. इदमर्थस्य केरः i. e., *kera is used as a possessive suff.* (H. C. 2, 147) and परराज-यां क्कडिक्को च i. e., *kka, ikka and kera are used as possessive suff. after para and rāja* (H. C. 2, 148), i. e., like the Skr. possessive suff. ईय and कीय. The latter usage is taught by him in his rule on the Ap. Pr. (quoted above) संबन्धिनः केरतपो (H. C. 4, 422)<sup>2</sup>). — The identification (by Psch. in the

1) E. g., Pr. रायकेरं वयनं = Skr. राजकृतं वचनं lit. *speech made by a king*, i. e., *a king's speech*.

2) The comp. usage probably preceded the pleon. one; accordingly we find the comp. form Mh. Pr. तुम्हकेरो *yours* contracted in the later Ap. Pr. to तुम्हारा (H. C. 4, 434) which occurs in the Ap. beside the pleon. form तुम्हहं केरउ (H. C. 4, 357). Probably the Ap. तुम्हारा is really = \*तम्हकरिओ, see § 73. — The curtailment of कर, करो to रु, रो in B., O. and Mw. may perhaps be traced back to the original compounding usage. — The Skr. suff. कीय itself may well be derived from the past part. कृत.

Ind. Ant. Dec. 1873, p. 368 and Ls. 118. Wb. Spt. 38. 66) of कर् with the Skr. part. fut. pass. कार्य is untenable. For 1) the meaning of कार्य *what is to be done* would not produce a gen. without a violent wrench (so rightly Bs. II, 286), and 2) phonetically, all Pr. analogies are (not, as Ls. thinks *for*, but) *against* it. In all the examples mentioned by the Pr. gramm., it is a *short* अ which absorbs a following इ; thus Pr. सेज्ञा, वेज्ञी, पेज्ञतो or पेर्तो, सुदेरो, अच्चेरो, बम्हचेरो are = Skr. श्रया, वल्लिः, पर्यन्तः, सोन्दर्यः, आश्चर्यः, ब्रम्हचर्यः (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 57. 58. 59)<sup>1</sup>). On the other hand Skr. °आर्य° becomes in Pr. °अर्य° or °आरिअ° (Vr. 3, 17. 10, 8. H. C. 2, 24. 4, 314); e. g., Pr. भज्ञा or भारिअ = Skr. भार्या *wife*; Pr. कज्ञं or कारिअं = Skr. कार्यम् *to be done*<sup>2</sup>). — *Secondly*, the identification of कर् with कृत is supported by Pr. and Gd. phonetic analogies. Skr. roots in ऋ, as कृ, धृ, मृ, सृ, etc., become in Pr. कर, धर, मर, सर, etc. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) and form their past part. by means of the connecting vowel इ (Ls. 363), as करिओ, धरिओ (H. C. 1, 36), मरिओ, सरिओ (H. C. 4, 355 पसरिअउं = Skr. प्रसृतकम्). etc. By the transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, करिओ and the

1) H. C. 1, 78 gives Pr. मेज्ञं for Skr. ग्राह्यं; but even this single case is no real exception; for Skr. has both गृह्यं and ग्राह्यं; and the Pr. मेज्ञं is clearly the former; just as Skr. गृह्णाति is in Pr. मेपह्ई (H. C. 4, 209); that is, Skr. गृह्यं = \*ग्रह्यं = Pr. मेज्ञं. — The Pr. मेज्ञ or मेत्य for Skr. मात्र is not an exception; for no इ has been absorbed; besides the derivation from मात्र is doubtful; Ls. 128 suggests an original मित्र.

2) Md. 19, 4 allows to the Ps Pr. °अरिअ° also, but not °रर°; viz. र्यस्य रिअः प्राग्वस्वो वा । र्यस्य रिअः स्यात् । प्राक् इस्वश्च वा स्यात् ॥ भारिअ । भरिअ ॥ कार्ये कच् च दृश्यते । कच्चं । चकारात् कारिअं । करिअं च ॥ i. e., „*ry* becomes *ria* and the preceding vowel may be short or long“. — Skr. कार्य never becomes कार् in Pr. (as Psch. ibidem); the Skr. कार् is a different word, with an active sense, *doing*, while कार्य is passive, *what is to be done*. The B. gen. आपनकार्, अज्ञिकार्, कलकार् do not contain a gen. aff. कार्; there is no such B. aff.; but the forms are regular gen. of आपना *own*, अज्ञिका *of to-day*, कलका *of yesterday* (gen. आपनकार्, etc.), which words exist in H. also and may be declined through all cases, both in H. and B.; see S. Ch. 115.



st. f. करिअओ become केरो and केरओ, just as Skr. आश्चर्यम् *wonderful* becomes in Pr. अच्चरिअं or अच्चेरं (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 58). Similarly Pr. उक्केरो *a heap* and देरं *a door* are, in all probability, modified from the past part. pass. Pr. उक्कुरिओ *heaped up* and दरिअं *split*, of the Rs. उत्कृ and दृ resp.<sup>1)</sup> The modified part. forms केरो and केरओ are never used in Pr. or Gd. but as gen. aff., while the unmodified forms करिअओ and करिअओ serve both as proper part. and as gen. aff. No examples, indeed, I believe, of the latter two forms in either usage have been found as yet in Pr. literature. But notwithstanding this, their existence would be but in accordance with the general rule of the Pr. gramm. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) that the conjugational base is कर् (not कृ). And what is more, they do actually exist in Gd. as the *ordinary past part.* of the verb कर् *to do*; see § 307; which §, moreover, will show, that in Gd. the part. forms of कर् are the same as the gen. aff. Thus the gen. aff. कर् or कर् म., करी or करि f. occur identically as part. in O. H. (T. Dás) and Bs. and, in the slightly modified form कर् म., in Kn., कर् म. in Mw. and कर् म. in Br., करी f. in all (see Kl. 205, 3. 207, 390. 213, 405. 216, 414. 223, 431). The O. H. gen. aff. किय or O. P. abl. aff. किअहु occur as the *ordinary* H. H. part. किय म., किई f. *done*. The contr. gen. aff. का or क do not, I believe, occur as part., but quite analogous contractions are the part. गा or ग for गया or गिया *gone*, भा or भ for भया *been*, पा for पाया *found* in Bs. (see Kl. 225, 438. 230, 449) and O. H.; e. g., तमसि तमसि सामंत सब । रोस भरि ग प्रायैराज ॥ i. e., *in great passion were all the chiefs, with wrath was filled Prathirāj* (= H. H. भर गया). The E. H. part. कइल्, M. केला, B.

1) Pr. gramm. (H. C. 1, 58. 79) identify them with the Skr. उत्कर् and द्वार्, which, of course, can be true as to the meaning only. Ls. 118 derives उक्केरो from a supposed vulgar form उत्कर्, which shows that he himself felt, that Pr. analogy requires a *short अ* before र् to produce र्; for according to rule (Pan. 3, 1. 120 124) the part. fut. pass. ought to be उत्कार्य. — The common Skr. past part. is उत्कीर्ण, but Pr. would form, as usual, उत्कर्त.

करिल्<sup>०</sup> presuppose an original form करिद् or करित (§§ 109.307). The st. form कयैतै m. (= Ap. करिअउ) is found frequently in the O. H. of Chand; thus बिंद ललाट प्रसेद् । कयैँ संकर गजराजं ॥ *of the drops of perspiration made a chain the elephant* (Revatāṭa 3); or तिहि उपर चामंड । कयैँ हुस्सैन धान सज्जि ॥ *upon this Chāmand made Hussain Khān ready* (Revatāṭa 58); and the st. form करिय f. (= Ap. करिइन्ना) in करिय अरज उमराउ *the nobles made petition* (Revatāṭa 96), or सब मिलि तु ताहि पुज्जा करिय *all assembling made adoration of him* (Adiparv. 96); again the wk. form करि f. in करि सलाह संमेल करि *they (made) took counsel having made an assembly* (Revatāṭa 96), etc. — Thus the gen. aff. of W. H., E. H., N., B. and O. form a group by themselves, all being derivatives of the past part. कृत. — 2) To this group I would also affiliate the M. aff. चा m., चो f., चे<sup>०</sup> n. In the O. M. the forms चिया m., चिये<sup>०</sup> n. (Man. 138) occur, from which the modern forms are contracted, just as M. H. का from O. H. किय. In M. the initial क् has been palatalised by the influence of the succeeding palatal इ; just as in Pr. चिलादो for Skr. किरातः (Vr. 2, 33) and in Pr. अम्हेच्चयं *ours*, तुम्हेच्चयं *yours* (H. C. 2, 149) beside Pr. अम्हक्केरं and तुम्हक्केरं (H. C. 2, 99. 2, 147). In fact, in the two last examples we have, in a slightly modified form, the O. M. gen. aff. चिया (cf. E. H. गया, but B. गिया *gone*). According to Pr. gramm. (H. C. 2, 147. 149) अम्हेच्चयं is but an other form of अम्हक्केरं, which shows that it is = \*अम्हक्कयं = \*अम्हक्कइअं = \*अम्हक्करिअं, the इ having been transferred into the preceding syllable अक्क and having palatalised it into एच्. — The M. चा is sometimes identified with the Skr. suff. त्व (as Bs. II, 289. Man. 132, 3). This theory assumes, that an old suff. has in comparatively modern times changed into an aff.; for the M. चा is not added to the base (as the Skr. suff.) but to the obl. form, i. e., to the old gen. Such a change would be, as far as I know, altogether unique, without any analogy or evidence to support it. The word केर (unlike त्व) was never a real suff., though sometimes it is practically used like one in Pr.; but it is a real noun with a meaning of its own, viz. *made* or *done*; and this accounts

for its peculiar use as an aff. constructed with the obl. f. On the other hand, the change of क् to च् through a following इ is supported by the examples above quoted, to which may be added the S. neut. interrog. pron. *क्व* *what* (i. e., *chhá* = *khá* = *kihá*) corresponding to the P. *क्वि* and W. H. *क्वा* for \**क्वि* (cf. P. obl. *क्वि* *of whom*); also the G. *क्वो* m., *क्वो* f., *क्वो* n. *who* for \**क्वो*, \**क्वो*, \**क्वो* (see § 438, 5)<sup>1</sup>. — 3) The P., S. and possibly G. and Konkani gen. aff., I believe, form a distinct group. The P. gen. aff. are: *दा* m., *दो* f. The same aff. occurs in B. as a component part of the plur. sign, viz. *दे* or *दि* in *देर*, *दिगे* (see § 364, 2), and as the instr. aff. *दिया* with which may be compared the P. obl. plur. masc. *दिवां*, see § 374. I believe them to be identical with the past part. *दिया* *given* of the verb *दे* *to give* (see § 307), and their origin to be precisely analogous to that of the preceding groups. The past part. *given*, just like the part. *made*, would easily produce the gen. sense „*of*“; e. g., the P. *संज्ञ दो वाणी* lit. *the sound given by an instrument* is the same as *the sound of an instrument*. — The S. gen. aff. are *ज्ञो* m., *ज्ञो* f. Here the original initial *द्व* has been palatalised by the following palatal *इ*. Other examples of the same change are the P. *अतिहा* or *अतेहा* *of such sort* (Ld. 19) and the S. *इको* *this* (Tr. 198, for *idhio* = *idihio*, see § 132, note) for Skr. *इदृशः*; the S. *उको* *that* (Tr. 202) = Skr. \**एवदृशः*; the Ap. Pr. *एजाहो* (Ls. 455, for \**एदिआहो* = \**एदाइहो*) = Skr. *एतादृशः*; the S. *कुजाडो* *what* (cf. H. *कुजा* *where*) for Skr. \**केवदृशः* (see § 438, 4). — The O. P. has a gen. aff. *डा* (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), where the initial *द्व* has been cerebralised, as in the M. S. *डिअनु* *to give* (Tr. 276. H. H. *देना*). The modern G. gen. aff. *नो* m., *नो* f., *नो* n. I am inclined to count with this set by the not uncommon change of *द्व* or *ड* to *ण* or *न्* (§ 106). They might be, however, as Bs. II, 287 suggests, curtailed forms of the gen. aff. *तणो*, *तणो*, *तणो*, which occur in

1) In the Romance languages the change of the guttural into the palatal is very common, even before the vowels *i* and *e*; e. g., lat. *camera*, french *chambre*, engl. *chamber*; lat. *camillus*, fr. *chémise*, engl. *chimney*, etc.

O. G. and still earlier in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 422, e. g., *अह भग्ना अम्हाहं तपा* *that is the fortune of us*). They still occur occasionally in Br. (तनो) and Mw. तपो or तपूँ m., तपो f., तपाँ plur. (see Kl. 68, 73). — The Mewári gen. aff. ङो m., ङी f., ङा or ङै obl. (Kl. 68) and Konkani लो, etc. (Bs. II, 287) I am also inclined to refer to this group, on account of the cerebral ङ, which appears to be a modification of the ङ in the O. P. ङ. They might be, however, identified with the Mw. रो, etc. (as Bs. II, 287), which occur also in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). And I may add here, that the aff. का, केर, चा of the other groups and the S. ङा occur in O. P. also (see Tr. ibidem). — 4) There is one more peculiar group of gen. aff.; viz. in Mw. (poetry) हंदो m., हंदी f. (Kl. 68, 73); in S. sg. dir. संदो m., संदी f., obl. संदे m., संदि f., plur. dir. संदा m., संदि f., obl. सदे or संदि m., संदि or सदि or सदिनि f.; in Ksh., with a sg. noun, sg. संदू m., संदू f., pl. संदि m., संद f., with a plur. noun, sg. हिंदू m., हिंदू f., pl. हिंदि m., हिंदि f. (see Bs. II, 290)<sup>1</sup>). Bs. (II, 291) identifies them with the Pr. pres. part. हंतो and संतो *being* of the Rs. भू and अस् *to be*. This is quite possible. But perhaps an other derivation may be suggested. They may be divided into सं-दो, ह-दो or हि-दो; the first parts स and ह or हि being the Pr. gen.<sup>2</sup> termin. of the sing. and plur. resp. (§ 365, 1. 7), and दो the gen. aff. as in P. Thus Mw. जनहंदो or Ksh. जनहिंदू *of men* being really जनहं or जनहिं + दो or दू; S. जनसंदो and Ksh. जनसंदू *of a man* being जनस-दो for the Pr. gen. sg. जणस्स. This would explain the singular difference in Ksh. between the sing. and plur. aff. On the other hand, one would have to assume that S. has lost the plur. and Mw. the sing. forms. But these curious gen. aff. are at present too little known, to allow of any satisfactory theory being propounded.

1) Bs. transliterates سنڙه by संजह, which is hardly correct. The final ڙ is merely a mater lectionis, to indicate that the word in which it is used ends in a short or, sometimes, long a; e. g., نَع = न *not*, ڀ = ३ *with*, بند = बंदा *servant*, etc. Hence either संज sañja or संजा sañjá; probably the former.

378. *Derivation of the locative affixes.* 1) The original of the aff. मे etc. is the Skr. loc. मध्ये *in the midst of*, which in Ap. Pr. becomes मडके or मडकि or मडकहिं. From these Ap. forms arise two Gd. sets, one retaining क्, the other changing it to ह् (see § 117). To the first set belong the B. माके, S. मंके for Ap. मडके; the O. H. मकि or माँक, E. H. माँक् for Ap. मडकि, and the O. M. माती (or मातीँ) for Ap. मडकहिं; also the S. abl. aff. मंकोँ or मंकाँ *from-within* for Ap. मडकहुँ or मडकह. To the second set belong the O. H. महि for Ap. मकि, and the O. H. माँहेँ or माँहीँ or माँही, E. H. and Br. माँहीँ, Mw. माहे or माईँ or मईँ (for \*महीँ) for Ap. मडकहिं; also the E. H. मे contracted from महि, W. H. मेँ contr. from \*महीँ, E. H., W. H., G. माँ, N. मा similarly contr. from \*महीँ = मकाँ (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मडकहँ; and W. H. मोँ for \*महीँ = मकोँ (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मडकहुँ. Both, माँ and मोँ, occur in S. also as abl. aff. — 2) Other groups of loc. aff. or postpositions are: a) the M. ठाईँ = Ap. ठाणहिं, and the N. थाजि = Ap. थाणि, for Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; b) the N. माधि and S. मये *upon* = Ap. Pr. मथि or मथे for Skr. मस्ते *on the head or top of*, and the corresponding S. abl. aff. मयाँ *from-upon*; similar to these are: S. सिरे, P. सिरू *upon* = Ap. सिरे for Skr. सिर्सि *on the head of*; c) the B. भितरू or भितरे, E. H., W. H. भोतरू *within* (see § 172); d) in all Gds. परू or परि or पर् *upon*, Ap. Pr. परि (H. C. 4, 438), Skr. परे *beyond*; and the corresponding abl. aff. S. पर्ताँ and S. or P. पर्तेँ *from-upon*; e) the S. and G. पासे, P. and W. H. पास = Ap. पासि or पासे, and M. पासोँ = Ap. पासहिं, for Skr. पार्श्वे *by the side of*; f) the S. विचे, P. विच्च, O. P. विचि, W. H. वीच् *within* = Ap. विचे or विचि, perhaps for Skr. वृत्ये *lit. surrounded by*; cf. H. C. 4, 421, where the Ap. विच्च is said to be a substitute for Skr. वर्तमान; g) the M. त्तं *int*, as in घरांत *in a house*, कवांत *in a poet*, मधूत *in honey* (Man. 30. 31), is probably a curtailment of the Pr. अंतो or अंते (H. C. 1, 14. 60) for Skr. अन्तरू *within*; and related to it, in all Gds., अंतरू = Ap. अंतह (H. C. 4, 350), for Skr. अन्तरम् *within*. — 3) There are also some relics of the old organic loc.: a) loc. sg. in इ in most Gds.,



for Ap. इ, Skr. ए; b) loc. sg. in ऐ or ए in most Gds., or ई in N., P., G., for Ap. ए or अइ or अहि; c) loc. sg. in ऐँ or ईँ in E. H., ईँ in P., or loc. sg. and pl. in ईँ in M., for Ap. sg. and pl. अहि; d) loc. sg. in अँ in E. H., W. H., or loc. sg. and pl. in अँ in M., for Ap. pl. अहं; e) loc. sg. in ओँ or ऊँ in W. H., for Ap. pl. अहुँ. Examples see §§ 367, 5. 375, 1. 2. 77. 78.

### 5. DECLENSION.

379. There is only *one* declension. All subst. are declined exactly alike; and the base never changes, exc. in the obl. cases of the plur., where अन्, इन्, उन् are added (see § 362). One example, therefore, of a subst. fully declined will be sufficient. But as a matter of convenience, I shall add a list of nom. and gen. of a subst. of every form, gender and termin., leaving it to the student to supply the remainder.

#### 1. Masculines in अ.

##### a) Short form: राम् *Rám*.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
राम्	राम्	रामन्लोग् or रामन्लोग्
राम् or र <sup>०</sup> के	राम् or रामन् के	रामन्लोग् or <sup>०</sup> गन् के or रामन्लोग् or <sup>०</sup> वे
राम् से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से or रामन्लोग् से
राम् के	रामन् के	रामन्लोगन् के or रामन्लोग् के
राम् से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से or रामन्लोग् से
राम् कै, <sup>०</sup> के	रामन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के	रामन्लोगन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के or रामन्लोग् कै, <sup>०</sup> वे
राम् मे	रामन् मे	रामन्लोगन् मे or रामन्लोग् मे
हे राम्	हे राम्	हे रामन्लोग् or हे रामन्लोग्

##### b) Long form: राम्वा or राम्वाँ.

राम्वा	राम्वा	राम्वालोग् or राम्वाँलोग्
राम्वा or र <sup>०</sup> के	राम्वा or राम्वाँ के	राम्वालोग् or <sup>०</sup> गन् के or राम्वाँलोग् or र <sup>०</sup> के
राम्वा से	राम्वाँ से	राम्वालोगन् से or राम्वाँलोग् से
राम्वा के	राम्वाँ के	राम्वालोगन् के or राम्वाँलोग् के
राम्वा से	राम्वाँ से	राम्वालोगन् से or राम्वाँलोग् से
राम्वा कै, <sup>०</sup> के	राम्वाँ कै, <sup>०</sup> के	राम्वालोगन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के or राम्वाँलोग् कै, <sup>०</sup> वे

b) Long form द्विपिवा or द्विपिवाँ.			
Sing	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.	
nom. द्विपिवा	द्विपिवा	द्विपिवालोम् or द्विपिवन्लोम्	
gen. द्विपिवा कै, °के, etc.	द्विपिवन् कै, °के, etc.	द्विपिवालोगन् कै, °के or द्विपिवन्लोग कै, °के, etc.	

c) Redundant form: द्विपियवा or द्विपियवाँ.			
nom. द्विपियवा	द्विपियवा	द्विपियवालोम् or द्विपियवन्लोम्	
gen. द्विपियवा कै, °के, etc.	द्विपियवन् कै, °के, etc.	द्विपियवालोगन् कै, °के or द्विपियवन्लोग कै, °के, etc.	

## 4. Masculines in ई

a) Short form भाई brother.			
nom. भाई	भाई	भाईलोम् or भाइन्लोम्	
gen. भाई कै, °के, etc.	भाइन् कै, °के, etc.	भाईलोगन् कै, °के or भाइन्लोग कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form भैया or भैया or भय्या or भैयाँ.			
nom. भैया	भैया	भैयालोम् or भैयन्लोम्	
gen. भैया कै, °के, etc.	भैयन् कै, °के, etc.	भैयालोगन् कै, °के or भैयन्लोग कै, °के, etc.	

c) Redundant form भैयवा or भैयवाँ.			
nom. भैयवा	भैयवा	भैयवालोम् or भैयवन्लोम्	
gen. भैयवा कै, °के, etc.	भैयवन् कै, °के, etc.	भैयवालोगन् कै, °के or भैयवन्लोग कै, °के, etc.	

## 5. Masculines in उ.

a) Short form तह tree.			
nom. तह	तह		deest.
gen. तह कै, °के, etc.	तहन् कै, °के, etc.		

b) Long form तहवा or तहवा or तहवाँ or तहवाँ.			
nom. तहवा	तहवा		deest
gen. तहवा कै, °के, etc.	तहवन् कै, °के, etc.		

c) Redundant form तहशवा or तहशवाँ.			
nom. तहशवा	तहशवा		deest.
gen. तहशवा कै, °के, etc.	तहशवन् कै, °के, etc.		

## 6. Masculines in उ

a) Short form नाड barber.			
nom. नाड	नाड	नाडलोम् or नाडन्लोम्	
gen. नाड कै, °के, etc.	नाडन् कै, °के, etc.	नाडलोगन् कै, °के or नाडन्लोग कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form नउआ or नौआ or नौवा or नउआँ etc.			
Sing	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.	
nom. नौवा	नौवा	नौवालोम् or नौवन्लोम्	
gen. नौवा कै, °के, etc.	नौवन् कै, °के, etc.	नौवालोगन् कै, °के or नौवन्लोग कै, °के, etc.	

c) Redundant form: नउआवा or नौआवा or नौआवाँ, etc.			
nom. नौआवा	नौआवा	नौआवालोम् or नौआवन्लोम्	
gen. नौआवा कै, °के, etc.	नौआवन् कै, °के, etc.	नौआवालोगन् कै, °के or नौआवन्लोग कै, °के, etc.	

## 7. Feminines in अ.

a) Short form: आत् word, thing, event.			
nom. आत्	आत्		deest.
gen. आत् कै, °के, etc.	आतन् कै, °के, etc.		

b) Long form. अतिया or अतियाँ.			
nom. अतिया	अतिया		deest.
gen. अतिया कै, °के, etc.	अतियन् कै, °के, etc.		

c) Redundant form: अतियवा or अतियवाँ.			
nom. अतियवा	अतियवा		deest.
gen. अतियवा कै, °के, etc.	अतियवन् कै, °के, etc.		

## 8. Feminines in आ.

a) Short form: दुर्गा Durgā.			
nom. दुर्गा	दुर्गा	दुर्गालोम् or दुर्गन्लोम्	
gen. दुर्गा कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गन्लोग कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form दुर्गिया or दुर्गियाँ.			
nom. दुर्गिया	दुर्गिया	दुर्गियालोम् or दुर्गियन्लोम्	
gen. दुर्गिया कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गियन्लोग कै, °के, etc.	

c) Redundant form: दुर्गियवा or दुर्गियवाँ.			
nom. दुर्गियवा	दुर्गियवा	दुर्गियवालोम् or दुर्गियवन्लोम्	
gen. दुर्गियवा कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियवन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियवालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गियवन्लोग कै, °के, etc.	

## 9. Feminines in इ.

a) Short form: आगि fire			
nom. आगि	आगि		deest.
gen. आगि कै, °के, etc.	आगिन् कै, °के, etc.		





b) Long form: अगिया or अगियाँ.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. अगिया	अगिया	
gen. अगिया कै, °के, etc.	अगियन् कै, °के, etc	deest.

c) Redundant form: अगियवा or अगियवाँ.

nom. अगियवा	अगियवा	
gen. अगियवा कै, °के, etc	अगियवन् कै, °के, etc	deest.

#### 10. Feminines in ई.

a) Short Form: लाठी *staff*.

nom. लाठी	लाठी	
gen. लाठी कै, °के, etc	deest (§ 362, exc.)	deest

b) Long form: लठिया or लठियाँ.

nom. लठिया	लठिया	
gen. लठिया कै, °के, etc	लठियन् कै, के, etc.	deest

c) Redundant form: लठियवा or लठियवाँ.

nom. लठियवा	लठियवा	
gen. लठियवा कै, °के, etc.	लठियवन् कै, °के, etc.	deest.

#### 11. Feminines in ऊ.

a) Short form: बहू *daughter-in-law*.

nom. बहू	बहू	बहूलोग्	or	बहुनलोग्
gen. बहू कै, °के, etc.	बहुन् कै, °के, etc.	बहूलोगन् कै, °के	or	बहुनलोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: बहुवा or बहुआ or बहुआँ, etc.

nom. बहुआ	बहुआ	बहुआलोग्	or	बहुअनलोग्
gen. बहुआ कै, °के, etc.	बहुअन् कै, °के, etc.	बहुआलोगन् कै, °के	or	बहुअनलोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: बहुअवा or बहुअवाँ.

nom. बहुअवा	बहुअवा	बहुअवालोग्	or	बहुअवनलोग्
gen. बहुअवा कै, °के, etc.	बहुअवन् कै, °के, etc.	बहुअवालोगन् कै, °के	or	बहुअवनलोग् कै, °के, etc.

## SECOND CHAPTER. THE ADJECTIVE.

## 1. FORMS OF THE ADJECTIVE.

380. Every adj. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in the dictionaries and by which it is generally known. The other two are more or less vulgar. The latter are made by adding to the weak form (see § 381) the pleon. suff. of the second, third and fifth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 198. 199. Thus, *masc.*, sh. f. मोट् *thick*, lg. f. मोटक्का or मोटका, red. f. मोटक्कवा or मोटकवा; *fem.*, sh. f. मोट्, lg. f. मोटक्की or मोटकी, red. f. मोटक्किया or मोटकिया; *masc.*, sh. f. बडा *great*, lg. f. बडक्का or बडका, red. f. बडक्कवा or बडकवा; *fem.*, sh. f. बडी, lg. f. बडक्की or बडकी, red. f. बडक्किया or बडकिया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. भारी *heavy*, lg. f. *masc.* भरिक्का or भरिका, *fem.* भरिक्की or भरिकी, red. f. *masc.* भरिक्कवा or भरिकवा, *fem.* भरिक्किया or भरिकिया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. गर् heavy, lg. f. *masc.* गरक्का or गरका, *fem.* गरक्की or गरकी, red. f. *masc.* गरक्कवा or गरकवा, *fem.* गरक्किया or गरकिया, etc.

381. All adj. of the short form in अ admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. The weak form ends in अ and is the original one; the strong form is made by adding to this the pleon. suff., आ m., ई f., of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196. Thus, *masc.*, wk. f. लाम् *long*, st. f. लामा; *fem.*, wk. f. लाम्, st. f. लामी; or wk. f., *com. gen.*, उच् *high*, st. f. *masc.* उचा, *fem.* उची, etc. Adj. in ई and उ exist only in the strong form; their weak forms in इ and उ are obsolete. Thus st. f., *com. gen.*, भारी *heavy*, हल् *light*; the wk. f. भारि, हर or हल occur in O. H. (Tulsí Dás).

382. The adj. of the strong form in ई admit of two forms, the contracted and uncontracted. The latter is made by adding the pleon. suff. ईङ् to the former, see § 197. Thus भारी or भारिङ् *heavy*. Of the uncontracted a long form भारिङ्का m., भारिङ्की f., may be made, but no redundant form.

383. When adj. are used as subst. or parts of proper names their long and redundant forms are made exactly like those of real subst. Thus चेढ-वा (not चेढ-का). lg. f. of सेढ् a name of a caste (lit. *best. Skr. ऋट*). or मिढवा ञान् the name of a species of mangoe but मिढका ञान् any sweet mangoe.

## 2. GENDER.

384. Adj. like subst. have only two genders, masc. and fem. Strong and long adj. change in the fem. the final ञा to ई, and redundant adj. ञवा to इया (see §§ 258 ff.). In other adj. the two genders are identical in form. Thus the wk. f मोढ् *sweet* होढ् *small*, etc. and the st. f. भारी *heavy* हल् *light* etc are *gen. com.*: but st f *masc.* मोढा होढा *fem.* मोढी. होढी. etc., and lg. f. *masc* मिढका or मिढका, *fem.* मिढकी or मिढकी, etc, and red. f. *masc.* मिढका. *fem.* मिढकी. etc.

385. *Affinities and Derivation.* All other Gds. have, like the E H, a fem. in ई for their strong forms in ञा (E. and S. Gd. and P.) or ञो or ञी (W and N. Gd.). Thus *masc.* B., O., W. H. काला, E. H. काला *black*, M., P. काला. G. कालो, S. कालो; *fem.* B., O., W. H. काली, M., P., G. काली, E. H., S. काली, etc. But the B. and O., as a rule, and even the E. H. not unfrequently, dispense with the use of strong adj. in ञा. In S. the weak forms in उ (corresp. to ञ in the other Gds) have a fem. in इ or ञ (Tr. 99. 152): in all other Gds the fem. ends in ञ; thus S. ञधु *half*. *fem.* ञध or ञधि, but E. H., B., O., G. *masc.* or *fem.* ञध. In E. H. however the fem. wk. f. in इ is preserved in the part., when the latter are used to form participial tenses (see §§ 502 ff.); thus *fem.* कर्त्ति, of *masc.* कर्त्तु *doing*. in the 2. sg. pret. conj. कर्त्तिस् if *thou didst* (*fem.*); or कर्त्ति *fem.* of कर्त्तु, in the 2. sg. pret. ind. कर्त्तिन् *thou didst*: कर्त्ति *fem.* of कर्त्तु, in the 2. sg. fut. ind. कर्त्तिस् *thou wilt do*, etc. In H. H. the weak fem. in ञ and इ cannot properly be used. In Skr., adj. in ञ generally form their fem. in ञा; but in Pr. they may optionally have a fem. in ञा or ई (Vr. 5, 24. H. C. 3, 32), which become ञ or इ in Gd.

(see §§ 42. 43). As to the derivation of the fem. term. ई and इया see § 262.

### 3. DECLENSION.

386. Adj. are declined precisely like subst., with the following exceptions: 1) strong adj. in आ change it to ए in the obl. form sg. and pl. — 2) long adj. in का or क्का change आ to ऊ in the voc. sg., and also throughout the plur., if the adj. is used in a derisive sense (i. e. परिहस्ये). Thus, *dir. form, nom. sg.* ई मीठा आम्र बाटै *this is a sweet mangoe*; *obl. form, acc. sg.* उ मीठे आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mangoe*; *dir. f., nom. sg.* उ मिठका आम्र बाटै *that is a sweet mangoe*; *obl. f., acc. sg.* उ मिठके आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mangoe*; *dir. f., nom. sg.* ओकरू अद्दा घोड़ा बाटै *his is a good horse*; *obl. f., loc. sg.* उ अद्दे घोड़ा पर चढल् बाटै *he is mounted on a good horse*. Again, *dir. f., nom. pl.* ई मीठा आम्र बाटै *these are sweet mangoes*; *obl. f., acc. pl.* उ मीठे आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate sweet mangoes*; *dir. f., nom. pl.* उ मिठका आम्र बाटै *those are sweet mangoes*; *obl. f., acc. pl.* उ मिठके आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate sweet mangoes*; *dir. f., nom. pl.* ओकरू अद्दा घोड़ा बाटै *his are good horses*; *obl. f., loc. pl.* उ अद्दे घोड़े पर चढल् बाटै *they are mounted on good horses*.

387. *Affinities.* The M. and Br. agree with the E. H. in inflecting, in the sing., their strong adj. in आ differently from their strong subst. in आ. While the termination of the obl. sing. of subst. is आ in E. H. and Br. and या in M., that of the obl. form of adj. is ए in all three. In the other Gds. the adj. does not differ from the subst. in the obl. sg. Thus, gen. sg., E. H. बडे घोड़ा के *of a big horse*, Br. बडे घोड़ा को, M. बडे घोड़ा चा; but Mw. बडा घोडा रो, G. बडा घोडा नो, P. बडे घोडे दा, S. बडे घोडे तो, B. बडा घोडा-रू, etc. In all Gds. the obl. form of adj. is the same in both plur. and sing., except in S., where their obl. f. pl. may be optionally like that of the subst. (Tr. 145); thus, gen. pl., E. H. बडे घोड़न् के *of big horses*, Br. बडे घोड़ौ को, M. बडे घोड़याँ चा, Mw. बडा घोडाँ रो, G. बडा घोडाव् नो, P. बडे घोडिआँ दा, S. बडे घोडे तो

or बड़े बड़े तो, etc. It must, of course, be understood, that if an adj. is used substantively, and not attributively, it is declined in every respect like a real subst., and that in all Gds.

#### 4. COMPARISON.

388. The degrees of comparison cannot be indicated by any change in the (positive) form. The comparative is expressed by putting the object with which another is compared in the abl. (made with the aff. से). and the superlative by prefixing to the adj. either the adj. itself or the pron. सब् all in the abl. case; e. g., मोरु बड़ा से मोरु बड़ा बड़ा बाटै, *my bullock is better than his fat bullock*, मोह से बड़ा greater than he; ई सब् से मिठका आन् बाटै *this is the sweetest mangoe*, lit., this is a mangoe sweet (compared) with all (others); अच्छे स अच्छी तरकारी *the best vegetable*; अच्छे से अच्छे चाउरू के भात *the best (cooked) rice*. Sometimes, however, the comp. is expressed by the long form of the adj. (see § 198), as it emphasizes its meaning. Thus के बड़का बाटै *which is the elder one*; ऊ छोटा बाटै *that is the younger one*.

389. *Affinities.* In all Gds. the comp. and superlat. degrees are formed precisely as in E. H.; see S. Ch. 83. Sn. 21. Man. 40, 78. note 1. Ld. 15. Ed. 45, 97. 98. Tr. 156. Thus, comparative, E. H. मोह से बड़ा *greater than he*, B. ताहा हइते बड़, O. ताहा-रु बड़, M. त्याहून् बड़ा, Br. वा सोँ बड़ो, Mw. उण् सूँ बड़ो, G. आ धी बड़ो, P. उह ते बड़ा, S. हुन लौँ बड़ो; and superlat., E. H. सब् से बड़ा *greatest*, B. सकल हइते बँ, O. सकल-रु बँ, M. सब्हाहून् बँ, Br. सब् सोँ बँ, Mw. सब् सूँ बँ, G. सब धी बँ, P. सब ते बँ, S. सब लौँ बँ.

### . THIRD CHAPTER. THE NUMERAL.

390. There are various kinds of numerals in E. H., as cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, collectives, reduplicatives, fractionals, beside which there are some others, as proportionals, subtractives, distributives, indefinitives, which are expressed by various modes of paraphrase.

## 1. CARDINALS.

391. Their forms from *one* to *hundred* are the following :

1. एक	21. ऐकइस्	41. ऐकतालिस्	61. ऐकसठि	81. ऐक्यासी
2. दुइ	22. ब्राइस्	42. बयालिस्	62. बासठि	82. बयासी
3. तीनि	23. तेइस्	43. तैतालिस्	63. तिरसठि	83. तिरासी
4. चारि	24. चौबिस्	44. चौवालिस्	64. चौसठि	84. चौरासी
5. पाँच्	25. पचीस्	45. पैतालिस्	65. पैसठि	85. पचासी
6. इ	26. इडिअस्	46. द्वियालिस्	66. झाइठि	86. द्वियासी
7. सात्	27. सताइस्	47. सैतालिस्	67. सर्सठि	87. सत्तासी
8. आठ्	28. अठाइस्	48. अठतालिस्	68. अठसठि	88. अठ्ठासी
9. नो	29. ओनतिस्	49. ओनचास्	69. ओनहत्तर	89. नवासी
10. दस्	30. तीस्	50. पचान्	70. सत्तर	90. नब्बे
11. ऐग्यार्ह	31. ऐकतिस्	51. ऐक्यावन्	71. ऐकत्तर	91. ऐक्यानबे
12. बार्ह	32. बतिस्	52. बावन्	72. बहत्तर	92. बानबे
13. तेर्ह	33. तैतिस्	53. तिरपन्	73. तिहत्तर	93. तिरानबे
14. चौद्ह	34. चौतिस्	54. चौवन्	74. चौहत्तर	94. चौरानबे
15. पन्दर्ह	35. पैतिस्	55. पंचावन्	75. पडत्तर	95. पंचानबे
16. सोर्ह	36. इत्तिस्	56. इप्पन्	76. द्विहत्तर	96. द्वानबे
17. सत्तर्ह	37. सैतिस्	57. सत्तावन्	77. सयत्तर	97. सत्तानबे
18. अठार्ह	38. अठतिस्	58. अठ्ठावन्	78. अठत्तर	98. अठ्ठानबे
19. ओनइस्	39. ओनतालिस्	59. ओनसठि	79. ओनसी	99. निनानबे
20. बीस्	40. चालिस्	60. साठि	80. अस्सी	100. सौ

392. Some of the cardinal numbers admit one or more slightly different forms; but those marked with an asterisk are used only in the multiplication table, and those marked with two asterisks, only in the formation of cardinals above *a hundred*; thus:

1. यक्	5. पच्* or	11. इग्यार्ह or	38. अरतिस् or	54. चौअन् or
2. दो*	पाच्	ग्यार्ह	अरुतिस्	चउअन्
3. तिन्* or	6. इह्* or	15. पनर्ह	44. चवालिस् or	55. पचपन्
तीन्	इव्	24. चवबिस् or	चउवालिस्	67. सठसठि or
4. चर्* or	7. सत्*	चउबिस्	48. अरतालिस् or	सतसठि
चार	8. अर्	30. तिस्*	अरुतालिस्	68. अरसठि

71. ऐकहत्र्	78. अठहत्र् or	95. पनचानत्रे	100. से** or
75. पचहत्र्	अठनूत्र*	99. निनूत्रे or	सो** or
77. सतहत्र्	84 चत्रासो	निन्यानत्रे	सल्

The final syllables °त्रिस्, °तिन्, °लिस् may, optionally be spelled °त्रीस्, °तीन्, °लीन्; thus 24 चोत्रिन् or चोत्रीस्, 33 तै°तिस् or तै°तीस्, 40 चालिन् or चालीस्; but 21 ऐकइस्, not ऐकईन्. 23 only तेइस्, not तेईन्. Again all numbers of the seventh decade may drop the final इ; thus 60 नाठि or साठ्. 66 डाडठि or डाड्ठ्, etc. Again the initial syllable ओन्° may also be spelled वन्°; thus 19 ओनइस् or वनइस्, 79 ओनासो or वनासो.

393. All cardinals above *a hundred* are formed by subjoining the lower number to the higher without any intervening conjunction, thus ·

101. एक नै एक	103. एक नै तीन	105. एक नै पाँच्	210. दुइ सै दस्
102. एक सै दुइ	104 एक सै चारू	200. दुइ सै	220. दुइ नै बीस्
	300. तीन सै	1000. सहस्रू	
	400. चारू नै	100,000 लाक्	
		10,000,000. कोट्	

1874. एक सहस्रू आठ नै चौहत्र्

2,154,210. ऐकदस् लाक् चौवन् सहस्रू दुइ सै दस्, etc.

/ 394. The cardinals between *one hundred* and *two hundred* are differently formed, when employed in the multiplication table (पहाडा). Namely up to 120 the higher number is subjoined to the lower one with which it is compounded by means of उत्तरू above, the initial उ of the latter combining with the final अ of the preceding word to ओ (ओनरू); thus 108 is अठोत्तरूसो, i. e., अठ + उत्तरू + सो *eight-above-hundred*. From 120 and optionally from 110 up to 160 and optionally up to 170. the connecting vowel आ is interposed, instead of उत्तरू, except in the fifth decade where चालिस् *forty* is curtailed to चाल्. In the rest the original form remains unchanged. Moreover, in the second, third and fourth decade the penultimate short vowel is lengthened. The accent is always on the antepenultimate of the whole compound;



e. g., 161 *eksātthāso*, 152 *bavānnāso*, 112 *barāhāso*, etc. Thus the forms of these cardinals are the following :

101. ऐकोतरू सो	117. सतराहा सो	140. चाल सो	170. सत्ररू सो
102. दिलोतरू सो	118. अठराहा सो	141. ऐकताल सो, etc.	171. एखन्नरू सो
103. तिलोतरू सो	119. ओनैसा सो	149. ओनचासा सो	179. ओन्ना सो सो
104. चलोतरू सो	120. बीसा सो	150. डेठ सो	180. अस्सी सो
105. पिचोतरू सो	121. ऐकैसा सो	151. ऐकवन्ना सो	181. ऐक्यासी सो
106. हिलोतरू सो	122. बइसा सो	152. वन्न सो	189. नवासी सो
107. सतलोतरू सो	123. तेइसा सो	153. तिरपन्ना सो	190. नब्बे सो
108. अठोतरू सो	124. चौबीसा सो	154. चौवन्ना सो	191. ऐक्यानबे सो
109. निगरोतरू सो	125. पचीसा सो	155. पनचोना सो	192. बानबे सो
110. दहोतरू सो	126. छब्बीसा सो	156. छपन्ना सो	193. तिरानबे सो
111. ऐगरोतरू सो	127. सत्तैसा सो	157. सतवन्ना सो	194. चोरानबे सो
112. बरहोतरू सो	128. अठैसा सो	158. अठवन्ना सो	195. पनचानबे सो
113. तेरहोतरू सो	129. ओनतीसा सो	159. ओनसट्टा सो	196. हानबे सो, et
114. चौदहोतरू सो	130. तीसा सो	160. साठ सो	199. निनानबे सो
115. पनराहा सो	131. ऐकतीसा सो, etc.	161. ऐकसट्टा सो, etc.	200. दुइ सो
116. सोराहा सो	139. ओनताल सो	169. ओनहन्नरू सो	

395. The following are alternative forms of some of the preceding cardinals :

101. इकोतरू सो	113. तेराहा सो	119. ओनइसा सो	163. तिरसठ सो
102. दिवोतरू सो	114. चौदाहा सो	121. ऐकइसा सो	164. चौसठ सो
106. द्वियोतरू सो	115. पन्दरहोतरू सो	155. पचपन्ना सो	165. पैँसठ सो
108. अठोतरू सो	116. सोरहोतरू सो	159. ओनसाठ सो	166. झाइठ सो
111. इगरोतरू सो	117. सतरहोतरू सो	161. ऐकसठ सो	170. सत्ररू सो
112. बराहा सो	118. अठरहोतरू सो	162. बासठ सो	

396. *Affinities.* On the whole the numeral forms are very much alike in all Gds. There are, however, three main points of difference. In the first two the E. Gd. differs from the W. and S. Gd., in the third the W. Gd. from the E. and S. Gd. — Firstly; in E. Gd. the final syllable of the second, third, fourth and fifth decades is short (viz. अइ, इस् or बिस्, तिस्, लिस्) but in W. Gd. it is long (viz. अँ or अँहँ, ईस् or बीस्, तीस्, लीस्), G. only being a partial exception; thus :

	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.
13.	तेर	तेर	तेरह	तेरा	तेराँ
14.	चौद	चौरू	चौदह	चौदा	चौदाँ
23.	तेइश्	तेइश्	तेइस्	तेइस्	तेई
24.	चबिश्	चबिश्	चौबिस्	चौबीस्	चौबी
32.	बत्रिश्	बत्रिश्	बतिस्	बतीस्	बती
46.	पइँचालिश्	पयँतालिश्	पैँतालिस्	पैँतालीस्	पैँताली
	S.	M.	G.	H. H.	
13.	तेरहँ	तेरा	तेर	तेरह	
14.	चौडहँ	चौदा	चउह	चौदह	
23.	देवीह	तेवीस	त्रेवीश्	तेईस्	
24.	चौवीह	चौवीस्	चौवीश्	चौबीस्	
32.	बट्टीह	बत्तीस्	बत्रिश्	बतीस्	
46.	पंजतालीह	पंचेचालीस्	पञ्जतालीश्	पैँतालीस्	

Secondly; in E. Gd. a final short इ is retained, while in W. Gd. it is dropped, S. only being a partial exception; thus:

	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.	M.	G.	S.	H. H.
2.	दुइ	दुइ	दुइ	दो	दो	दोन्	बे	ब	दो
3.	तिनि	तिनि	तीनि	तीन्	तिन्	तीन्	त्रण्	ट्रे	तीन्
4.	चारि	चारि	चारि	चारू	चारू	चारू	चारू	चारि	चारू
60.	षाठि	षाठि	साठि	साह	संठ	साह	सठि	साह	साह

With regard to सत्तर *seventy* alone, all Gd. languages agree in dropping the final इ, excepting O. and S. which have सत्तोरि and सत्तरि respectively; and E. H. optionally in सत्तरि सै *seven hundred*. — Thirdly; in W. Gd. the syllable च, but in the E. and S. Gd. either the conjunct च् or the whole increment च्च् of the Pr. चत्तालीसा *forty* is always elided in the fifth decade. In this case E. H. occupies an intermediate position; thus:

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
41.	एकचालीस्	एकचालिश्	एकचलिश्	एकतालिस्	एकताली	एकेतालीह	एकतलीश्
42.	बेचालीस्	त्रयचलिन्	त्रेचलिन्	बयालिस्	बैताली	ब्राएतालीह	बतालीश्
43.	त्रेचालीस्	तेयचलिश्	तेतालिश्	तैँतालिस्	तैताली	ट्रेतालीह	तैँतालीश्
44.	चव्वेचालीस्	चौचालिश्	चोगचलिन्	चोचालिस्	चौताली	चोएतालीह	चुमालीश्

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
45.	पंचेचालीस्	पङ्चालिश्	पयंतालिश्	पैतालिस्	पैताली	पंजतालीह	पशतालीश्
46.	षेचालीस्	इयालिश्	इचलिश्	द्वियालिस्	द्विताली	इष्टतालीह	इष्टतालीश्
47.	सत्तेचालीन्	सतचालिश्	सतचलिश्	सैतालिस्	सैताली	सतेतालीह	शुडतालीश्
48.	अष्टेचालीस्	अठचालिश्	अठचलिश्	अठतालिस्	अठताली	अठेतालीह	अडतालीश्

Some minor differences are the following: 1) S. and P. change the final स् of ओस्, तीस्, लीस्, ज्ञास् into ह्, which is generally afterwards dropped by P.; thus S., P. वोह् 20, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. द्रीह् 30, S. देवीह् 23, वद्रीह् 32, P. तेई or त्रेई, बती or बत्री, S. चालीह्, P. चाली 40, S., P. पंजाह् 50, S. वावजाह्, P. ववंजा 52, etc. Similarly these two languages alone change the initial स् of सार्ह् 60 into ह्; e. g., 61 P. इकाह्, S. एकह्ठि, while P. also changes ह् to ट् (see § 145, exc. 2). With regard to सत्रूर् 70, again, all Gds. agree in changing the initial स् to ह्, except O.; thus 71 B. एकात्रूर् (= \*एकअत्रूर् = एकहत्रूर्), E. H. एवत्रूर् or एकहत्रूर्, W. H. एकहत्रूर्, P. इकहत्रूर्, S. एकहत्रि, M. एकाहत्रूर्, but O. एकस्तुरि (= \*एकस्तुरि). — 2) M., G. and S. alone retain the initial व् of वीस् or वोह् 20 in compounds, see § 123, note. — 3) G., S., B. and optionally P. retain र् in त्रिश् or त्रीह् 30 and its compounds; as 31 B., G. एकत्रिश्, P. इकत्री or इकत्री, S. एकद्रीह्, 30 B., G. त्रिश्, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. द्रीह्, etc. — 4) B. alone doubles ल् in चलिश् 40 and its compounds, as एकचलिश् 41, etc. — 5) M. alone preserves the semitats. सट् 60 in compounds, as एकसट् 61, बासट् 62, etc.; but सार्ह् 60 (see Man. 43). — 6) P. alone forms optionally नभे for नवे 90 in compounds, as इकानवे or इकानभे 91, etc.; but नव्वे or नव्वे 90 (see Ld. 85). — 7) S. alone preserves the full termination अह्, while the others contract it to अर् or अ or shorten it to अह् or अ; thus 12 S. बारह्, but P. बारर् (= \*बारअ = \*बारह्), M. बार, W. H. बार, or E. H. बारह्, B., O., G. बार.

397. *Derivation.* 1. एक् regularly for Pr. एक्को (Vr. 3, 58. § 143); as to the forms वक्, ऐक् and इक् see §§ 170. 171. Pr. has also the forms एनो (H. C. 1, 176) and एन्नो (H. C. 2, 99); the latter does not occur in E. H., but the former in compounds; e. g., ऐगरोतरसो 111 or shortened इग्, e. g., इगरोतरसो 111. —

2. दुइ regularly for Pr. दुए (Ls. 318, see § 45) or दुवे (Vr. 6, 57); the Mg. Pr. has दुवे or दो or दोन्नि (Wb. Bh. 424. see H. C. 3, 130); the first is preserved in E. H., B., O. दुइ, the second in E. H. दो (§ 392), the third in M. दोन् and S. दुँ (Tr. 158); Pr. has also the form वे (H. C. 3, 120) which is preserved in the G. वे and S. व; the P. and W. H. have दो. — 3. तीनि regularly for Pr. तिस्सि (Vr. 6, 56. cf. §§ 143. 147). — 4. चारि see § 153. — Pr. दुवे or दोस्सि, तिस्सि, चत्तारि are gen. comm. (Vr. 3, 56. 57. 58); but they appear to have arisen from the Skr. neut. द्वे or \*द्वानि, त्रीणि, चत्वारि respectively (see Ls. 318. 319). The Skr. masc. द्वौ is perhaps represented by the Pr. and Gd. दो. Mg. Pr. has a masc. तन्नो (Wb. Bh. 475) = Skr. त्रयः *three*, but it has not survived in Gd. Pr. has also the masc. चत्तारो (Skr. चत्वारः nom.) and चउरो (= Skr. चतुर्ः acc., see M. M. 124) H. C. 3, 122. Wb. Bh. 425, but they do not occur in Gd.; the latter, however, survives in the Ksh. चोर *tsor* (Bs. II, 132). — 5. पाँच् or पाच्, 7 सात्, 8 आट् regularly for Pr. पंच, सन्न, अट् = Skr. पञ्च, सप्त, अष्ट (see §§ 143. 147); S. and P. have पंत्त, P. सन्न, अट्, S. सत्त, अठ, B. आट. — 6. इ, also Pr. इ (Wb. Bh. 425. Ls. 319) for Skr. षट्, eliding final ट् (Vr. 4, 6) and changing ष् to इ (Vr. 2, 41); also W. H., S. and G. इ; E. H. has a form इह which occurs also in S. इह, M. सहा and Ksh. शिह (Bs. II, 132) and which represents perhaps the Skr. form षप्, Pr. \*इस् or \*इह with final अ (cf. Ls. 220. H. C. 1, 19. cf. M. दहा 10). E. H. has also a form इव् corresponding to B. इप्, O. इम्, W. H. and P. इे, with euphonic व् or 'व् for elided इ; Pr. has also इम् see Ls. 320. — 9. नौ or नउ regularly for Pr. नव, Pr. has also नन्न (Ls. 320) which does not occur in E. H., but in O. नन्न and B. नय; P. नौ and S. नँ add an anuśāsika. — 10. दस् regularly for Mg. Pr. दस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश; Pr. has also दह (Vr. 2, 44) which is only preserved in P. दह (also दस्), S. उह, M. दहा, Ksh. दह (Bs. II, 133). — As the latter part of the compound numerals of the second decade, Skr. दश becomes in Pr. दह or उह or रह (H. C. 1, 219), in Gd. दह or लह or रह. Thus 11 Skr. एकादश, Pr. \*एगदह,

E. H. ऐग्यार्ह or इग्यार्ह or ग्यार्ह. As to its euphonic य्, see § 135; it is more properly W. Gd.; for B. एगार्, O. एगार्, M. ञ्कर् have it not; while W. H. ग्यार्ह, P. गिग्यार्ह, G. ञ्गिग्यार् have it. The other P. form एग्यार्ह (Vr. 2, 44) occurs only in S. ग्यार्ह. The Pr. has also दस, रस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), which have not survived in Gd. — 12. Skr. द्वादश, Pr. वार्ह (Vr. 2, 44), E. H. वार्ह, B., O., G. वार्, M., W. H. वार्, P. वार्ह, S. वार्ह. — 13. Skr. त्रयोदश, Pr. तेर्ह (i. e. त्रयोदश for त्रयः + दश cf. H. C. 1, 165)<sup>1)</sup>, E. H. तेर्ह; other Gds. see § 396. — 14. Skr. चतुर्दश, Pr. चउर्ह (Vr. 2, 14. H. C. 1, 171), E. H. चौर्ह; other Gds. see § 396. — 15. Skr. पञ्चदश, Pr. पषर्ह (H. C. 2, 43, but पषर्हो Vr. 3, 44), E. H. पनर्ह (§ 392 and in पनर्हासो 115, see § 394); so also B. पनेर् (perhaps rather for the Pr. form पषार्ह, see Ls. 320. Cw. 24, note); the usual Gd. form, however, inserts an euphonic द् ( § 135), as E. H. पंदर्ह, O. पंदर्, W. H. पंदर्, P. पंदर्ह, S. पंदर्ह or पंर्ह, M. पंधर्, G. पंदर्. — 16, see § 105, note, E. H. सोर्ह, B. सोल, O. सोहल (with a strange metathesis), W. H. सोल, M. सोळ, P. सोलह, S. सोर्ह, G. सोळ. — 17. Skr. सप्तदश, Pr. सत्तर्ह (T. V. 1, 3. 42), E. H. सत्तर्ह; other Gds. see § 396. — 18. Skr. अष्टादश, Pr. अठार्ह (T. V. 1, 3. 42. cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H. अठार्ह, G. अठार्, S. अउर्ह (cf. 38. 48 below); other Gds., as in § 396. — 19. Skr. उनविंशतिः, Mg. उनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. उनोइस्, W. H. उनीस्, B. उनिश्, O. उणाइश्; Skr. has also एकोनविंशतिः, Mg. एकूनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), only preserved in M. एकुणीस्, O. H. अगुनीस् and गुनीस्, G. अगुणीस्; the P. has उनीह and S. उणीह or उणिवीह 'with ह् for स्' (see § 396). — As to 21 एकइस्, etc. see §§ 123. 129. The (apparently anomalous) अ in सत्ताइस् is probably (as Bs. I, 291) caused by the ancient accent of the oxytone *saptā*. Of all dissyl-

1) The Pr. form तेर्ह is explained in H. C. 1, 165 as containing a change of the first अ together with the following cons. and vowel to ए; that is, in Skr. त्रयोदश the first अ together with the following syllable यो (i. e. cons. य् + vow. ओ) becomes ए; hence तेर्ह. Cowell's view, therefore, (Cw. 121, note) as to the Pr. Gramm. theory is more correct than Beames' (II, 135).

labic numerals only *saptā* and *aṣṭā* are oxytone, all others are barytone, *ēka*, *pāñcha*, *nāva*, *dāsa*, etc.; now Gḍ. has अ in सप्ताइस्, अठाइस्, but अ or ई (for अइ) in एकइस् (W. H. एकीस्) and पचीस् (for पचइस्, M. पंचवीस्). In Skr. the influence of the accent is seen in अष्टादश, अष्टाविंशति, अष्टात्रिंशत्, etc.; but not in सप्तदश, सप्तविं, सप्तत्रिंशत्; in Pr. and Gḍ. both sets show it in the third decade, but neither set in all other decades; e. g., 37 सैतिस्, 38 अठतिस्, 47 सैतालिस्, 48 अठतालिस्, and in Skr., too, the accent of अष्ट only optionally influences the form after the first four decades; e. g., 48 अष्टचत्वारिंशत् or अष्टाचत्वारिंशत्, etc. — 20 बीस् regularly for Pr. बीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or बीसई (Mḍ. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. विंशतिः. — 30 तीस् regularly for Pr. तीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or तीसआ (Mḍ. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. त्रिंशत्. — 32 बतिस् regularly for Pr. बन्नीसा (T. V. 1, 4. 79), with अ on account of the following double त्, Skr. द्वात्रिंशत्. — 33 तैतिस् regularly for Pr. तेन्नीसा (H. C. 1, 165, see § 149), Skr. त्रयस्त्रिंशत्; M. has तेहतीस् (Man. 43) beside the regular नेतीस्. — 35 पैतिस् see § 156, W. H. पैतीस्, P. पैती, G. पैत्रिण्; but M. पस्तीस् (Man. 43, for पसतीस् with स् for च्, cf. § 11) and S. पंजट्टीह. — 37 सैतिस् see § 153, also W. H. सैतीस्, P. सैती, B. सौत्रिण्; but M. सदतीस् or सततीस्, G. साडत्रिण्, S. सतट्टीह. — 38. Skr. अष्टात्रिंशत्, Pr. अट्टीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), O. अठतिण्, B. आठत्रिण्, S. अठट्टीह, P. अठती, M. अठतीस् or अउतीस्, E. H. अठतिस् (§ 113) or अउतिस् or अरुतिस् (§ 145, exc. 2), G. आडत्रिण्. — 40. E. H. चालिस् see § 153. — 41. Skr. एकचत्वारिंशत्, Pr. एकचत्तलीसा or (eliding च) \*एकअत्तलीसा and ' (contracted according to Vr. 4, 1), E. H. एकतालिस्; this derivation is proved by the S. एकेतालीह, which is contracted from एकयतालीह with euph. य्. The usual explanation, identifying °तालिस् with °चालिस्, assumes a changes of च् to त्; thus Pr. एकचत्तलीसा = एकचअत्तलीसा = एकचालीस् = एकतालिस्; but such a change of च् to त् is not only intrinsically improbable, but also lacks all evidence. Similarly are formed 43 तेतालिस् (see § 152), 49 ओन्तालिस्, 45 पैतालिस् (see § 156), 47 सैतालिस्, 48 अठतालिस् (see § 145, exc. 2). The latter is in Pr. also अडयाले (Wb. Bh. 412); here both the syllable च *cha* and the conjunct त् *tt* are elided; so also in

the Gd. forms: 42 बयालिस्, 44 चौबालिस्, 46 द्वियालिस् (see §§ 152. 153); as to the other Gds. see § 396, 3; Pr. has 42 बायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 412). — 50. Skr. पञ्चाशत्, Pr. \*पंचासा, E. H. पचास् (see §§ 143. 146), also W. H. पचास्, G., O. पचाश्, but the nasal is preserved in B. पंचास्, P. पंताह् and S. पंताह्. The common Pr. form is पसासा (Vr. 3, 44. H. C. 2, 43); it is preserved in the M. पन्नास् 50 and in the curtailed form पन् or वन् of the compound numerals of the 6<sup>th</sup> decade of all Gds., exc. P. and S.; thus वन् in 52 E. H. बावन्, W. H., G. dto., O. बाअन्, B. बाउन्, M. बावन्, Pr. बावसं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. द्वापञ्चाशत्; 57. E. H., O., W. H., G. सतावन्, M. सत्तावन्, Pr. \*सत्तावसा or °सं, Skr. सप्तपञ्चाशत्; 58. E. H., O., W. H., G. अठावन्, M. अट्टावन्, Pr. \*अट्टवसं, Skr. अष्टापञ्चाशत्; 55. E. H., O., G. पंचावन्, M. पंचावन्, Pr. पंचावसा (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाशत्; B. contracts सातान् 57, आठान् 58, पंचान् 55. The other E. H. form पचपन्, which is also H. H., presupposes a Pr. form \*पंचप्पसा. There is another Pr. form पपावसा (H. C. 2, 174) or पपावन् (Wb. Bh. 426), but it has left no trace in Gd. Again पन् in 56 E. H., W. H. इपन्, O., G. इपन्, B. इपान्, M. इपन्, Pr. \*इप्पसा, Skr. षट्पञ्चाशत्; 53. E. H. तिरपन्, W. H. तिरपन् or त्रेपन्, G. त्रेपन, M. त्रेपन्, O. तेपन्, B. तिप्पान् presuppose a Ap. Pr. form \*त्रिप्पसा (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपञ्चाशत्; the common Pr. form तेवसा (H. C. 2, 174) does not occur in Gd.; 54. W. H., G. चोपन्, M. चोपन् or चौपन्, regularly for Pr. \*चउप्पसा, Skr. चतुःपञ्चाशत्; but in E. H. चौअन् or चउअन् or (with euph. व्) चौवन्, O. चउवन्, B. चोयान् the conjunct ए has been elided (see § 154). The unusual Pr. form पंचासा 50 is preserved in E. H. 49 अोनचास्, with the syllable *pa* elided, precisely as च *cha* in अोनतालिस् 39 (see above); thus Skr. ऊनपञ्चाशत्, Pr. उपावंचासा or उपापंचासा, whence B. ऊनपंचास्, G. ओगपापचाश्, S. उपावंचाह्, P. उपावंचा or उपांजा, O. उनंचाश्, E. H. अोनचास्; but M. regularly एकुपापन्नास्. Moreover it is used throughout in P. and S., thus S. द्वेवंजाह्, P. तिवंचा or तिवंचा 53; S. चौवंजाह्, P. चौवंजा or चुवंजा 54; S. पंतवंजाह्, P. पंचवंजा 55; S. इवंजाह्, P. द्विपंचा or द्विपंचा 56, etc. — 60. Skr. षष्टिः, Pr. सट्ठी (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. साठि, B. साठि, M., G., W. H. साह्, P. सट्ठ, S. सठि; the O. साठिए adds a pleonastic ए.

In the compounds, M. has सट्, S. हटि and P. हट्, see § 396. Otherwise they differ little. But 61 is in P. इकाहट्, 62 in O. ब्राह्मसठि with आ; 63. O., B. तेसठि, G. तेसाठ, W. H. त्रेसट् or तिरसट्, M. त्रेसट्, P. तेहट् or त्रेहट्, S. ट्रेहठि; 65. B. पयंसठि, M. पांसट्, W. H. पैसट्, P. पैहट्, but O. पचसठि, G. पंचसाट्, S. पंजहठि; 66. O. इअसठि, M. सासट्, S. इाहठि, W. H. द्वियासट्, P. द्विआहट्, B. इंसठि; 67. E. H. सतसठि or सजसठि or सरसठि, M. सतसट् or सदसट्, W. H. सरसट्, see § 107; the others retain त्, O. सतसठि, B. सातसठि, P. सत्राहट्; 68. E. H. अजसठि or अरसठि, see § 145, exc. 2, M. अजसट् or अजुसट्, W. H. अजसट् or अरसट्, see § 145, exc. 2; but O. अठसठि, S. अठहठि, P. अठाहट्, B. आठसठि; 69. B. ऊनसत्तर, all others regularly °हत्तर, see § 396. — In the Bh. the following curtailed forms occur, 62 वावट्, 64 चोयट् (but also चउसट्), 66 इावट्, and even 61 एगट्, 67 सत्तर (Wb. Bh. 426), which (if trustworthy) may be explained by the intermediate change of स् to ह् (as in P. and S.) and subsequent elision of ह्. — 70. E. H. सत्तर see § 108; so also in the other Gds. see § 396. In the compounds there is little difference, but 72 is in O. ब्राह्मास्तुरि, B. ब्राह्मत्तर, S. ब्राह्मत्तरि, M. ब्राह्मत्तर; 73. M. त्रेहत्तर or आहत्तर, B. तेहत्तर, O. तेस्तुरि; 74. M. चौर्याहत्तर; 75. M. पंचेहत्तर; 76. O. इअस्तुरि, B. इयात्तर, S. इाहत्तरि, M. शाहत्तर or ग्रेहत्तर (see § 55); 77. B. सातात्तर, M. सत्याहत्तर or सत्तेहत्तर, P. सतत्तर; 78. B. आठात्तर, P. अठत्तर, M. अद्याहत्तर or अठेहत्तर. — 80. Skr. अशीतिः, but Pr. आसीई with आ (Wb. Bh. 426), and so in B. आशी; but E. H., W. H., P. असी with double स्, which explains the आ of B.; in S. असो and O. अशी one स् has been elided; as to M. ऐँशी and G. ऐँसी, see § 148. In the compounds, which differ very little has all Gds. have आसी, exc. M., which आयँशी; thus 81. E. H. एक्यासी, M. एक्यायँशी; on the euph. य् see § 135. — 82. B. ब्रियाशी, M. ब्यायँशी, P., S. बिआसी, O. ब्याशी, B., E. H., W. H. बयासी. — 86. O. ह्याशी, M. प्रायँशी, S. ह्यासी; 83. M. आयँशी, G. तेआसी or तासी; 84. Pr. चउरासी (Wb. Bh. 426), M. चौर्याँशी; 87. M. सत्यायँशी; 88. M. अट्यायँशी; 89. M. नव्यायँशी, E. H., W. H. नवासी are Skr. नवाशीतिः; but M. has also एकुपानवट्, B. ऊननवट्, O. ऊपानउ, P. उपानवे, S. उपानवे = Skr. एकोननवतिः. — 90. Skr. नवतिः, Pr. नउट् (Wb. Bh.



426), E. H. नब्बे, O. नबे, B. नब्बद्, M. नब्बद्, W. H. नब्बे, S. नबे, P. नब्बे or नबे; these Gd. forms seem to presuppose a Pr. form \*नब्बर्; the origin of the final र् is obscure; so also is that of the connecting vowel आ which occurs in all the compounds of नबे, and is especially marked in S. and M.; e. g., 92. S. चिन्नानबे, M. ब्यासब; 93. S. द्विन्नानबे, M. व्यासब; 94. E. H. चौरानबे, S. चौरानबे, M. चौर्यासब, etc.; it occurs already in Pr. सन्नानउर् 97 (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सतानबे, S. सतानबे, M. सत्यासब. — 99 is in S. नवानबे, B. निवानबुद्, M. नव्यासब (with euph. वृ see § 135) for Skr. नवनवति; the E. H. and W. H. निमानबे or नियानबे apparently exchange न् for वृ, though it might be also a modification of उ in the P. नडिन्नबे or नडिन्नभे (see § 396, 6) which are probably connected with the other S. forms नधानबे or वधानबे; for these as well as for the P. forms I know no satisfactory explanation. O. alone has अनेशत्, perhaps for Skr. ऊनशतम्. — 100. E. H., W. H., S., G., P. सौ or सो is the Ap. Pr. सउ (cf. H. C. 4, 331), Skr. शतम्, and E. H., P. सै, B. श, O. शवे, M. शे is the Mg. Pr. सन्न or सयं (Wb. Bh. 426); as to E. H. सल् see § 109. — The compounds above 100, formed with उन्नर्, occur also in M. (Man. 44) and S. (Tr. 165); in the latter they may be formed up to 200; they are also found in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 427); in the Bh. the original ओ is reduced to उ, but Gd. preserves it; e. g., 107 सनुन्नर् सयं (Bh. 15<sup>a</sup>), S. सतोत्तर्सौ; or Ap. Pr. पंचोत्तर्सउ, S. पञ्जोत्तर्सो, E. H. पिचोत्तर्सो (§ 55); 106. S. द्वोत्तर्सौ, E. H. द्वियोत्तर्सो or द्विलोत्तर्सौ (see § 55); the latter as well as 104 E. H. चलोत्तर्सौ (for चुलो, cf. Pr. चुलसीत 84 in Wb. Bh. 425), S. चोरोत्तर्सो, 103 E. H. तिलोत्तर्सो or तियो, S. द्विरोत्तर्सो, 102 E. H. दिलोत्तर्सो or दियो (see § 69), S. बिरोत्तर्सो, M. दुवोन्नर्शे are formed anomalously; the Skr. would be षडुन्नर्शतं, चतुन्नर्श, त्रुन्नर्श, द्वुन्नर्श. Very anomalous are the E. H. सतलोत्तर्सो 107 (for \*सतोत्तर्सो) and निगरोत्तर्सो 119; there seems to be here some confusion with the forms of 111 and 117. — The other compounds formed with the connecting vowel आ occur also in S., which has ओ; e. g., 112. E. H. बराहासो, S. बारहो सौ; 115. E. H. पनराहासो, S. पन्दराहो सौ, etc. E. H. shortens the first आ by § 25, and lengthens

the second अ, probably, for the sake of euphony. The first part of these compounds is\* probably a collective or aggregate numeral; see §§ 404. 405; e. g., E. H. तीसा, S. तीहो *a sum of thirty*, whence E. H. तीसा सौ, S. तीहो सौ 130, i. e., 100 *plus the sum of 30*, or E. H. तेरहँ, S. तेरहो *sum of thirteen*, whence E. H. तेराहासो, S. तेरहो सौ 113, etc.

398. *Declension.* All cardinals can be declined, when used as subst., in which case they are inflected like them; thus gen. pl. पाँचन् कै *of five*, etc. But दुइ *two* and तीन *three* have a special form in these circumstances; viz. दूनो or दुन्हुन् or दुनहुन् *two* and तीनो *three*; thus gen. pl. दूनो कै or दुन्हुन् कै or दुनहुन् कै *of two*, तीनो कै *of three*. When they are used as adj., they are not inflected; thus पाँच जनन् कै *of five men*, दुइ जनन् कै *of two men*, तीन जनन् कै *of three men*.

399. *Affinities and Derivation.* M. has special obl. forms दोहोँ, तिहोँ, चोहोँ for दोन् *two*, तीन *three* and चार *four* (Man. 46). When used adjectively with *persons*, they are changed to दोघे m., दोघी f., दोघेँ n. *two*; similarly तिघे, तिघी, तिघेँ *three*, चौघे, चौघी, चौघेँ *four* (Man. 46). Otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. एका चा *of one*, दोहोँ चा or दोघाँ चा *of two*. — S. has the obl. forms बनि or बीँ, द्विनि or द्वीँ, चड्ढनि or चड्ढेँ for ब *two*, दे *three*, चारि *four*; otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. बनि जो *of two*, पंजनि जो *of five*, etc. (Tr. 169. 171). S. inflects the cardinals, when they are used adjectively (Tr. 171); as दहनि बैरिनि खे or दहेँ बैरिँ खे *to ten enemies*; बनि or बीँ बैरिनि खे बीँ बैरिँ खे *to two enemies*. — In the E. H. form दुनहुन् the conjunct न्ह has been dissolved (see § 138). The second उ of दुन्हुन् is probably euphonic, for \*दुन्हन्. In this and the other E. H. and M. special obl. forms the plur. suff. has been apparently reduplicated. The Pr. gen. pl. is दोपहं or बेपहं *of two* (H. C. 3, 119), तिपहं *of three* (H. C. 3, 118), which are contr. in S. to बीँ, द्वीँ or slightly modified बनि, द्विनि; but E. H. दूनो or दुन्हुन्, M. दोहोँ would presuppose the Pr. form \*दोपहहुं or \*दोपहपह, etc.

## 2. ORDINALS.

400. The formation of the ordinals from the cardinals has been explained in §§ 263—266. They are treated in every respect like adj., i. e., they admit of a weak and strong form (§ 381), and the latter has a fem. in ई or ईँ (§ 384) and an obl. masc. ए or एँ (§ 386). The following are the first seven ordinals of which some are formed peculiarly: *First*, wk. f. पहिल् or पहेल् c. g., or st. f. पहिला or पहेला or लका m., ली or लकी f.; *second*, wk. f. दूसर् or दुसरब् c. g., or st. f. दुसरा or दुसरवाँ or दुसरका m., री or रई or रकी f.; *third*, wk. f. तीसर् or तिसरब् c. g., or st. f. तिसरा or तिसरवाँ or तिसरका m., री or रई or रकी f.; *fourth*, wk. f. चउथ् or चोयब् c. g., or st. f. चौथा or चौथवाँ or चौथरका m., थो or थई or रकी f.; *sixth*, wk. f. ढठ्ठब् c. g., or st. f. ढठा or ढठ्ठवाँ m., ढठी or ढठ्ठई f.; *fifth*, wk. f. पंचब् c. g., or st. f. पचा or पंचवाँ m., पची or पंचई f.; *seventh*, wk. f. सातब् c. g., or st. f. सत्ता or सत्तवाँ m., सत्ती or सत्तई f. The rest are formed exactly like the forms of the *fifth* and *seventh*. Their obl. forms are, e. g., gen. sg. or pl., masc. पहिले कै of the first, दसवेँ कै of the tenth; fem. पहिली कै, दसईँ कै, etc. When they are used as subst., they are inflected like them; thus gen. sg. पहिला कै of the first one, pl. पहिलन् कै of the first ones; but पहिले जन् कै of the first man, पहिले जन्न् कै of the first men, etc.

401. *Affinities and Derivation.* For the derivation of पहिल् see §§ 118. 213. B. and O. पहेला or पहिला (§. Ch. 105. Bs. II, 142), M. पहिला, W. H. पहलौ or पहिलौ or लो, P. पहिला, G. पेहेलो, S. पेहेरो or पेहेयो or पहर्यो. The first ए of the G. and S. forms is merely euphonic (see § 57). — The deriv. and affin. of दूसर् and तीसर् see in §§ 270. 271, and for the deriv. of चौथ्, see § 78. B. and O. have चौथ (chauthō) or चौथा (§. Ch. 105), M. चवथा, W. H. चौथौ (Br.) or चोथो (Mw.), P. चौथा, G. चोथो, S. चोथो. — The E. H. ढठा, B. and O. deest, W. H. ढठ्ठौ or ढठ्ठो, G. ढठ्ठो are derived from Pr. ढठ्ठो, st. f. of Pr. ढठ्ठो (H. C. 1, 265), Skr. षट्, the M. सहावा, P. डेवाँ, S. डहो are formed anomalously (as if Skr. \*षषमः) from the Gd. cardinals M. सहा, P. डे, S. डह. The E. H.

forms ढठवाँ, दुसरव् or दुसरवाँ anomalously contain the suff. अर् or अवाँ, see § 264. The forms पहिलका, दुसरका, तिसरका contain the pleon. suff. सका (see § 198). The form चौयरका is formed anomalously after the analogy of दुसरका, तिसरका. As to the deriv. and affin. of the rest, see §§ 265. 266.

### 3. MULTIPLICATIVES.

402. The multiplicatives denote how many times a number is multiplied. They are formed from the cardinals by adding the suff. आ or आँ or आँई, excepting the first six which are made in a peculiar way. They are used only in the multiplication table.

- |   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. ऐकं or ऐकै or के or कं                                 | 6. इक् or इक्का or इक्के or इक् |
| 2. दूनी   | 7. सते                          |
| 3. तियाँ or त्रिका or तिरिका<br>or त्रिके or तिरिके or ति | 8. अठे or आठ                    |
| 4. चौक् or चौका   | 9. नवाँ or नवाँई                |
| 5. पचा or पचे or पुरे                                     | 10. दहाँ or दहाँई, etc.         |

403. The forms ऐकं and ऐकै are only used in the phrase ऐकं एक् or ऐकै एक् *once one is one*; and पचा only in पचा पचीस् *five times five are twenty five*. The form पुरे is used only when the product contains the words पच् or पै *five*, i. e., when it is fifty or an odd multiple of five (excepting, however, पाँच् *five*, पंदरह *fifteen* and पचीस् *twenty five*). As to the other alternative forms, no strict rule can be given; the practice varies according to local or individual fancy. In general it may be said, that the shorter forms, as ति, आठ, इक् or इक्, are used when the product is polysyllabic. The multiplicative always takes the middle place in the sentence. The following tables are given as examples:

10 × 1 is 10, etc.

3 × 1 is 3, etc.

दस् के दस्	दस् इके साठि	तीन् के तीन्	तीन् ढाक् अठारह
दस् दूनी बीस्	दस् सते सत्तर	तीन् दूती इ	तीन् सते एकइस्
दस् तियाँ तीस्	दस् अठे अस्सी	तीन् त्रिका.नौ	तीन् अठे चौबिस्,
दस् चौक् चालिस्	दस् नवाँ नब्बे	तीन् चौक् बारह	तीन् नवाँ सताइस्
दस् पुरे पचास्	दस् दहाँ सौ	तीन् पचे पंदरह	तीन् दहाँई तीस्

13 × 1 is 13, etc.

तेरह के तेरह	तेरह ढाक् अठन्नत्तर
तेरह दूनी इबिस्	तेरह सते ऐक्यानब्बे
तेरह ति वनतालिस	तेरह आठ चलोतरसो
तेरह चौका बावन्	तेरह नवौ सतराहसो
तेरह पुरे पैसठि	तेरह दहाई तीसासो

The table of one is formed in a peculiar manner; thus:

ऐकै एक	चार के चार	सत् के सात्	दहाई दस्
दु के दुइ	पच् के पाँच्	अठ के आठ	
तिन् के तीन्	इ के इइ	नवौ नौ	

The multiples of five are formed thus:

पच् के पाँच्	चार पचे बीस्	सात् पुरे पैतिस	दस् पुरे पचास्
दो पचे दस्	पचा पचीस्	आठ पचे चालिस	इग्यारह पुरे पंचावन्
तीन् पचे पंदरह	इ पचे तीस्	नौ पुरे पैतालिस	बारह पचे साठि, etc.

404. *Affinities and Derivation.* The forms in ए are probably obl. forms or nom. plur. of the resp. nom. sing. in आ, as सते of सता, अठे of अठा, etc. For the rest see § 407. The multiplicatives are identical with the collectives or aggregates; thus तीन् अठे चौबिस् means lit. *three sums-of-eight are twenty-four*.

#### 4. COLLECTIVES.

405. The following words are used to express some aggregate sums: जोरा or जोरी *a pair*, चौकरा or ०री or गंडा *a four*, गाही *a five*, कोठी *a score*, सैकरा *a hundred*, सहस्र *a thousand*, \*लाख *a hundred thousand*, कोर्रा or करोर *ten millions*. Collectives may also be formed by adding आ or आँ to the cardinals, so especially बीसा *a score*, तीसा *a thirty*, चलीसा *a forty*, also एका *a one*, पंचा *a five*, सता *a seven*, अठा *a eight*, नवौ *a nine*, दहाँ *a ten*, etc. The multiplicatives दूनी, तियाँ or त्रिका, चौक् or चौका, ढाक् or ढक्का may be used as collectives.

406. All collectives are subst.; those in अ (*quiescent*) or आ are masc.; those in ई fem.; they are declined precisely like all other subst.

407. *Affinities.* These numerals probably occur in all Gds., though they are not noticed by all Gd. grammarians. As to S. see Tr. 178—181 (§§ 26. 27); thus एको or हिको 1, बिको 2, टिको 3, चडको or चडकु or चडकगे 4, पंतो 5, इको 6, सतो 7, अठो 8, नाँओ 9, उहो or उहाको 10, बीहो or बीहारो or बिहारो or कोगे 20, ट्रीहो or ट्रीहारो or ट्रिहारो 30, चालीहो or चाल्हारो (for \*चालीहारो) 40, पंताहो or पंताही 50, साठीको 60, सत्रियो or सौकिगे 100, सहस्रु or हत्तार 1000 (Tr. 168), लाख 100000, कोह or किरगेडि 10000000. As to P., see Ld. 85. 86, thus काउ or काऊ 1, टूपी 2, तिआड or तिआड 3, चौका 4, पाँता 5, इका 6, साता 7, आठा 8, नाइआँ 9, दाहा or दहाका 10, कोगे or बीहगे or बीहा 20, पंताहा 50, सैकग 100, सहस्रु or हत्तार 1000, लकल 100000, करोड 10000000, etc. As to W. H., see Kl. 105—107; they do not much differ from E. H.; एकाई 1, टूना or टूनी or तोग or तोगे 2, ती or तीन् 3, पंता 5, नम् or नम्मा 9, दहाम् or दहाई 10, कोगे or बीसा 20, सैकग 100, सहस्र or हत्तार 1000, करोड 10000000; some collectives are formed by adding the fem. suff. ई (for masc. आ), as बतीसी *a thirty two*, पचीसी *a fifty*, etc. In M. सहस्र or हत्तार 1000, लाख 10000, कोट or क्रोड 10000000.

408. *Derivation.* Collectives are derived in Skr. by means of the suff. क, whence the Gd. forms arise regularly. Thus *unit*, Skr. एककम्, Pr. एक्कअं, E. H. एका; *triad*, Skr. त्रिकम्, Pr. तिअं, W. H. ती, E. H. ति; *score*, Skr. विंशकम्, Pr. वीसअं, E. H. बीसा; *hexad*, Skr. षट्कम्, Pr. इक्कं, E. H. षाक्; *quaternion*, Skr. चतुष्कम्, Pr. चडक्कं, E. H. चौक्; *pentad*, Skr. पञ्चकम्, Pr. पंचअं, E. H. पंचा, etc. Sometimes the pleon. suff. क (see § 195) is added; thus *triad*, E. H. तियाँ or त्रिका, Pr. तिअअं, Ap. Pr. त्रिक्कअं, Skr. त्रिककम्; *quaternion*, E. H. चौका, Pr. चडक्कअं, Skr. चतुष्ककम्; *hexad*, E. H. इक्का, Pr. इक्कअं, Skr. षट्ककम्; *ten millions*, E. H. कोरा or कोग, Pr. कोडिअं, Skr. कोटिकम् (or \*कोटकम्); sometimes the pleon. suff. रा (or ग, see § 209) is superadded; as *four*, E. H. चौकरा, W. H. चौकगे, Ap. Pr. चडक्कडड, Skr. चतुष्क°; *hundred*, E. H. सैकरा, W. H. सैकगे, Ap. Pr. सयक्कडड, Skr. शतक°, etc.; perhaps also E. H. तोरा, W. H. तोगे, Ap. Pr. \*तुअडड (cf. H. C. 2, 15 विज्ञं = Skr. विद्वान्),

Skr. द्विक°, though this might be a noun derived from the R. जुट् or जुङ् join. Sometimes the „collective“ sense is emphasised by making the numeral an abstract noun by means of the suff. ञ् (see § 220); thus W. H. एकाङ् unit, E. H. नवाङ् nine, दहाङ् decade, etc. — Differently derived is दूना m. and दूनी f. duad, viz. from Pr. दुउपाञ् (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. द्विगुणकम्. — As to the E. H. सहस्र and करोर see §§ 138. 135. — The E. H. गंडा is properly a noun, the Skr. गण्डकः, lit. aggregate of four sides (?); so is also the E. H. गाही, lit. the aggregate of the five (ancient) planets (Skr. ग्रह). — For the E. H. कोरी or कोठी score I know no satisfactory explanation; possibly it may be connected with कौंठी, (Skr. कपर्दक) aggregate of twenty shells (?).

### 5. REDUPLICATIVES.

409. The reduplicative numbers are defective. Only the following occur in E. H.; अकेहरा onefold, single, दुहरा or दोहरा twofold, double, तेहरा threefold, triple, चौहरा fourfold, quadruple. The rest are made by adding the word बार or बेर time to the cardinal numbers; as पाँच बार or पाँच बेर five times, quintuple, etc.

410. The reduplicatives are adj. and treated precisely like those of the strong form (§ 381); that is, they make a fem. in ई (§ 384), as दोहरी, तेहरी, etc., and an obl. form in ए (§ 386), as दोहरे, etc.

411. Affinities. The reduplicatives exist in all Gds. As to W. H. see Kl. 105. In P. there are 1 इकहरा or कहिरा, 2 दोहरा, 3 तिहरा, 4 चौहरा or चउहरा, 5 पंतौहरा or पंउहरा, 6 बेसौरा, 7 सतौरा; and even the „ordinal“ suff. भ may be added pleonastically; thus पंतौहरभ quintuple, just as पंउभौ or पंउवाँ fifth (Ld. 88). In S. there are, 1 हेकर or हेकार, 2 बिहर or बिहार, 3 टिहर or टिहार, 4 चोहर or चोहार (Tr. 184). M. adds पट strip instead of हरा; thus 1 एकपट्, 2 दुपट्, 3 तिपट्, 4 चौपट्, 10 दसपट्, etc. (Man. 42). Similarly W. H. adds लडा string, e. g., 3 तिलडा, 4 चौलडा (see Kl. 105). — B. and O. seem to use tats. forms; as एकधा, द्विधा, etc. (see §. Ch. 109. Sn. 24).

412. *Derivation.* Reduplicatives are formed in Skr. by the addition of the *quasi*-suff. विध (from विधा *form, manner*), which in Pr. becomes विह or, curtailed, ह. whence, probably by the addition of the pleon. suff. र् (see § 209, or in S. अर्), arises the E. H. हर. Thus in the Bh. (Wb. Bh. 425. 426) the following occur: 2 दुविह, 4 चउविह, 5 पंचविह, 6 ष्विह, or contracted 1 एगाहिय, 2 वेहिय, 3 तेहिय (perhaps from Skr. विहित past part. of R. वि-धा). Accordingly Skr. द्विविध° *twofold*, Pr. दूविह° (H. C. 1, 94) or वेविह°, whence contracted Ap. Pr. दोहउउ or वेहउ, and W. H. दोहरौ or E. H. दोहरा, S. बिहर. The S. form बिहार presupposes an Ap. Pr. वेहउउ, containing the pleon. suff. क and उ. Compare the names of the E. H. metre दोहा masc. (Skr. द्विविधकः) and Pr. दोहडिया fem. However, the Pr. ह and Gd. हर might be also derived from the Skr. *quasi*-suff. ध or धा, as in द्विधः (from द्विधा *in two parts*).

## 6. FRACTIONALS.

413. The following fractional numbers occur in E. H. Those marked with an asterisk are used both as subst. and adj.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *आध् or *आधा	$\frac{1}{16}$ सोरही or सोरहिया
$\frac{1}{3}$ तिहाई or तिहड्या or तिहैया	$1\frac{1}{4}$ *सवा or सवाई or सवड्या or सवैया
$\frac{1}{4}$ *पाउ or *पाव or चोथाई or चौथड्या or चौथैया	$1\frac{1}{2}$ *डेह् or डेठा or डेढे or डेह् or डेढा or डेढे
$\frac{1}{10}$ दहाई or दहड्या or दहैया	$2\frac{1}{2}$ *आठा or आठाई or आठड्या or आठैया
	$\frac{3}{4}$ पाउन् or पौना

It is to be noted, that पउने or पौने deducts *one fourth*, but सवा adds *one fourth* and साढे *one half* to the numeral to which they are prefixed. Thus एक पाउ सेर *one fourth of a ser*; आध् सेर, or आधा सेर *half a ser*; पउन् or पौना सेर *three quarters of a ser*; सवा सेर *one ser and a quarter*; डेह् सेर *one ser and a half*; पौने दुइ सेर *one ser and three quarters* (lit., one quarter less than two sers); सवा दुइ सेर *two sers and one quarter*; आठा सेर or आठाई सेर *two sers and one half*; साढे तीनि सेर *three sers and one half*, etc.

414. None of the adjectival fractionals change their form in construction with a subst., except आधा *half* which makes re-



gularly fem. आधी (§ 384), and obl. form आधे (§ 386). Thus आधी राति *midnight*, आधे मार्ग मे *at half-way*.

415. *Affinities*. These fractionals occur in all Gds., though there are additional forms in some of them. Thus  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H. पात्रो or चौथाई, P. पाउ or चुवाई, S. पाउ or चौथे or चौथाई or चौथा, G. पा, M. पाव्, B. चौटि or सिकि, O. पा or पाए;  $\frac{1}{3}$ , W. H., P. तिहाई, S. दिहाई, B. तिहाइ;  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. आध् or आधौ, P. अढ or अढा, S. अधु or आधो, G. अर्धो, M. अर्धा, B. आध् or अर्ध or अर्धक्, O. अघ or अर्ध or अर्धक्;  $\frac{3}{4}$ , W. H., P. पौन्, G. पोणो, M. पाउण;  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H. सवा or समा or सम, P. सवा or सव्वाई or सवाइआ, S. सवाई, G. सवा, M. सवा, B. सउया;  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. डेह् or डौहा or डेओहा, P. डेह् or डूह् or डूहा or डेउहा, S. डेउ or डेहे, G. डोढ, M. दीड्, B. देह्, O. देह्;  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. अढाई or ढामा or ढाम्, P. ढाई or ढाइआ or ढाया, S. अढाई, G. अढो or हडो, B. अढाई, O. अढाइ;  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. हूँटा or होटा, P. उठा or उँटा or उटा;  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. ढौँचा, P. ढौँचा (or पौँचा?);  $5\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. पौँचा, (P. पौँचा?);  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. लौँचा;  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. सतौँचा. Again *minus*  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H., B., O., P. पौने, S. पौणो or मुनो, G. पोणा, M. पाउणो or पात्रणो; *plus*  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H., P., S., G. सवा, M. सवा, B. सउया, O. सउआइ; *plus*  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H., P., O. साढे, S. साढा (or साहु), G. साडा, M., B. साडे. See Kl. 103. 105. Ld. 85. 86. 87. Tr. 184. 185. Ed. 48. Man. 45. S. Ch. 109. Sn. 24.

416. *Dérivation*. आध् or आधा regularly for Pr. अडो or अडओ, Skr. अर्द्धः or अर्धकः. — तिहाई, चौथाई, दहाई, सोरही are abstract nouns derived with the suff. ई or आई from the ordinal or cardinal forms (see § 220). The ह् in तिहाई is probably merely euphonic, for तिआई = तीआई = Pr. तइअ° (H. C. 1, 101) = Skr. तृतीय°. — पाउ or पाव् (or H. H. पात्रो) regularly for Ap. Pr. पाउ, Pr. पाओ, Skr. पादः; O. पा or पाव् or पाए = Mg. पाए or पाये. — सवा curtailed from Ap. Pr. सवाउ, Pr. सवाओ, Skr. सपादः; O. सवाई, Mg. सवाई or सवाये. — साढे is the obl. form of साढा (which, however, is never used), regularly for Pr. सडुओ, Skr. सार्धकः from स + अर्ध (lit. *with a half*). — पउने or पौने is the obl. form of पौना or wk. form पाउन् or पौन्, regularly for Pr. पाओणो, Skr. पादोनः, from पाद + ऊन, lit. *one quarter less*. — The forms देहा or डेहा, आढा,

उठा, etc. are made by compounding अर्ध *half* with the next highest ordinal; thus  $3\frac{1}{2}$  is in Mg. Pr. अर्धुत्तमं (see Wb. Bh. 425), which is evidently shortened for अर्धोत्तमं = अर्ध + अर्धोत्तमं = अर्ध + चतुर्थं (cf. H. C. 2, 33) = अर्ध + चतुर्थं lit. *half-fourth*. The same shortening of ओ to उ occurs in Mg. सनुत्तरं for सन्नोत्तरं = Skr. सप्तोत्तरम् (Wb. Bh. 427). Next Pr. अर्धोत्तमं is changed to अर्धोत्तमं (see § 119) and the initial अ is dropped (see § 172), whence arises the W. H. होठा or हूँठा or (dropping ह्) the P. उठा or उँठा (cf. § 145, exc. 2). Again  $2\frac{1}{2}$  is in Mg. Pr. अर्धोत्तमं (Wb. Bh. 425), which is contr. for अर्धोत्तमं or अर्ध + अर्धोत्तमं = अर्ध + तृत्तमं (cf. H. C. 4, 339 तृत्तमं) = Skr. अर्ध + तृतीया lit. *half-third*. An alternative Pr. form of तृत्तमं is तृत्तमा (cf. H. C. 1, 101), whence arises Pr. अर्धोत्तमा or contracted अर्धोत्तमा or E. H. अर्धाई or अर्ध्या or (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. ढाई or ढाई. Similarly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  must be Skr. अर्धपञ्चमः *half-fifth*, Ap. Pr. अर्धपञ्चम or contracted अर्धोत्तमं, whence (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. ढौँचा, W. H. ढौँचा. Similarly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  would be in Skr. अर्धद्वितीयः, Mg. अर्धद्वितीय (or \*अर्धद्वितीय), and transposing अर्ध and द्वितीय (or \*द्वि), दिवर्ध, which form occurs in the Bh. (see Wb. Bh. 190. 411) and whence is contracted E. H. देर्ध or डेर्ध, M. दीर्ध or G. डोर्ध or P. डेर्ध and डूँध or W. H. डौँध. — The forms पौँचा, खौँचा, सतौँचा are anomalous and fanciful forms, made after the analogy of ढौँचा under a mistaken idea of its true derivation. They have, certainly, no connection with उँचा *high* (as Kl. 108). The ख् of खौँचा is merely the modern pronunciation of ख् in the Skr. खप्, and shows that the word is of modern origin, without any foundation in Pr. — In the W. H. समा or सम the ख् of सखा has been changed to म् (see § 134), as W. H. नम्मा or नम *nine* for नवा. In the W. H. ढामा or ढाम corresponding to P. ढाया or ढाई the म् appears to be merely euphonic.

## 7. PROPORTIONALS.

417. Proportional numbers are made by adding the word गुना *time* to the cardinal numbers; thus दुइ गुना *two times*, तीन गुना *three times*; चारि गुना *four times*; पाँच गुना *five times*, etc.

There are also the contracted forms दुग्ना *twice*, तिग्ना *thrice*, चौग्ना *four times*.

418. *Affinities and Derivation.* The proportionals exist in all Gds. Thus B. दुग्ना 2, etc. (§. Ch. 109), O. तिन्निग्ना 3, etc. (Sn. 24), W. H. दुग्ना 2, तिग्ना 3, चौग्ना 4, सतग्ना 7, etc. (Kl. 105); P. uses either the full or the contracted forms throughout; e. g., दूपा or दूपा 2, तीउपा or तिग्ना 3, चौपा or चौग्ना 4, पचौपा or पंचौपा 5, छिन्नौपा or छिन्निग्ना 6, सतौपा or सतग्ना 7, ऋधौपा or ऋधुग्ना 8, नौपा or नौग्ना 9, दसौपा or दसग्ना 10, etc. (Ld. 87). S. has only the contracted forms: thus हेकूपा 1, बीपा 2, टीपा 3, चउपा or चौपा 4, पंतूपा 5, इहूपा 6, सतूपा 7, ऋतूपा 8, नउपा 9, उहूपा 10, etc. (Tr. 182). S. has also हेकूटो *once*, बीटो *twice*, which, perhaps, are contractions of हेक-पटो, बिपटो, as in M. which uses पट् instead of गुण; thus एकपट् 1, दुप्पट् 2, तिप्पट् 3, चौपट् 4, etc. (see § 411). — E. H. दुग्ना regularly for Pr. दुग्नाञ्च, Skr. द्विगुणकम्; E. H. तिग्ना for Pr. तिग्नाञ्च, Skr. त्रिगुणकम्; and E. H. चौग्ना for Pr. चउग्नाञ्च, Skr. चतुर्गुणकम्.

## 8. SUBTRACTIVES.

419. Subtractive numerals are made by adding कम् *less*; thus 99 is एक् कम् सै *one hundred less one*; 48 is दुइ कम् पचास् *fifty less two*.

420. *Affinities and Derivation.* कम् is thus used also in B. (§. Ch. 110), and in W. H., H. H., and probably in all W. Gds., as it is a persian word. B. uses also the Gd. word बाइह् (§. Ch. 110).

## 9. DISTRIBUTIVES.

421. Distributive numbers are made by repeating the numeral; thus दुइ दुइ *by twos, two each*; दस् दस् *by tens, ten each*. Sometimes distribution is idiomatically expressed by the word पाहे *after*; e. g., ब्राह्मनन् के दुइ दुइ पैसा दिहलेस् or ब्राह्मनन् पाहे दुइ प° दि° *he gave the Brāhmans two paisas each*. Sometimes करि *having made* is added to the reduplicated num.; e. g., दुइ दुइ करि दि° *he gave two to each*.

422. *Affinities.* This practice of reduplication is common to all Gds.; thus B. दश दश or दश दश करिया *by tens* (§. Ch. 108. 245), O. दुइ दुइ *by twos* (Sn. 24), and so in all. B.\* also expresses distribution by adding the particle टा or टी to a single numeral, as दश टा करिया देउ *gve ten to each* (§. Ch. 245).

## 10. DEFINITIVES.

423. Definiteness or emphasis is given to a number by adding the suff. ओ or ओ"; thus दोनो बरिस् *the two years*; तीनो दिन् *the three days*; चारो ब्राह्मन् *the four Brāhmans*, etc. A final इ is dropped before the suff., e. g., चारो of चारि *four*, साठो of साठि *sixty*, etc.

424. *Affinities and Derivation.* This suff. is used also in W. H. (see Kl. 101), to which it more properly belongs. It is the same as the suff. of the obl. plur. (see §§ 362. 363. 365, 7), which is occasionally transferred to the nom. plur. also (see § 369).

## 11. INDEFINITIVES.

425. Indefiniteness in a number is expressed either by prefixing or suffixing एक् *one* to the numeral, as एक् दस् *about ten*, सौ एक् *about one hundred*, etc.; to एक् itself आध् *half* is added, एक् आध् *about one*. Or it may be expressed by joining another number according to the following rules: 1, every number is used with the one immediately following, as तीनि चारि *about three*, दस् इयारह् *about ten*, etc.; or 2, ten or any multiple of ten is used with the next following multiple of five or ten; as दस् पंदरह् or दस् बीस् *about ten or any number between ten and fifteen or between ten and twenty*; बीस् पचीस् or बीस् तीस् *about twenty*; or 3, exceptionally 2 is used with 4, दुइ चारि *about two*, 5 with 7, पाँच् सात् *about five*, 8 with 10, आठ् दस् *about eight*, 10 with 12, दस् बारह्, 12 with 14, बारह चौदह् *about twelve*, 20 with 50, बीस् पचास् *about twenty*.

426. *Affinities.* These usages are probably common to all Gds. As to B. see §. Ch. 106. 107, and as to W. H. see

Kl. 101. B. also expresses indefiniteness by prefixing one of the particles गोटा, गोटी, खान् or यान्, गच्छ् to a numeral (§. Ch. 106); O. uses गोटा (Sn. 24); S. suffixes खन् (Tr. 180). Thus B. or O. गोटा त्रिंश् or B. खान् त्रिंश् or S. दिहार्गे खन् *about thirty*. — The B. खान् or यान्, S. खन् is, probably, the Skr. स्थाणुः *stake* or *post*, which becomes in Pr. थाणू or थाणू (H. C. 2, 7) or खणू (H. C. 2, 99). — The B. गोटा or गोटी is probably the Skr. गोष्ठकः *assembly, heap*, and गच्छ् probably the Skr. गच्छ् *a progression*.

#### FOURTH CHAPTER. THE PRONOUN.

427. There are six kinds of pronouns, 1) the personal, 2) the correlative, 3) the reflexive, 4) the honorific, 5) pronominal adjectives and 6) pron. adverbs. The genitives of the personal and reflexive pron. serve to express the corresponding possessive pron.

##### 1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

428. E. H. possesses pron. for the first and second person only. For the third pers. the remote demonstr. pron. is used. The pers. pron. are alike for both genders. The forms of the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. are, dir. sg. मै I, obl. sg. मो or मो, dir. and obl. pl. हम् *we*; those of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. are, dir. sg. तै thou, obl. sg. तो or तो, dir. pl. तू *you*, obl. pl. तोह्.

429. There is a long form of the pers. pron., which, however, now occurs only in the fem. plur. and is made by adding the suff. अनि (see §§ 209. 214) to the obl. plur., thus हमनी *we*, तोहनी *you*.

*Note:* The weak form हमन् *we* occurs in the O. H. (Kl. 127); the corresponding form of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. would be \*तोहन् *you*. From these are derived the strong fem. forms हमनी and तोहनी, to which would correspond the strong masc. \*हमना and \*तोहना, obl. \*हमने and \*तोहने. Some of these masc. forms may be in actual use. All alike are very vulgar and almost exclusively used

by women, even in a sing. sense <sup>1</sup>). A plur. तुमन् and even a sing. तुइन् actually exists in Gw. (see Kl. 129). See similar long forms of the correlative pron. in § 436.

430. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) *The first pers. pron. sing.* The dir. form is essentially the same in the E., S. and N. Gds.; thus B. सुइ, O. सु or सुइ or सुहि, E. H. मै (Bh.) or मइ or मय् (Bs.), M. मो, N. मै or मो; also H. H. मै. It is quite different in the W. Gds., viz. W. H. हौ (Br.) or हो (Kn.) or हू (Mw.), P. हउ, G. हूँ, S. अँड or अँ (dropping ह्). The other forms, however, also occur dialectically in the W. Gds., viz. W. H. and P. मै, S. मू or माँ, but, as a rule, they are only used as the obl. form; e. g., abl. sg. Mw. मैँ सूँ from me, P. मै यो, S. मूँ खाँ or माँ खाँ; act. sg., W. H. and P. मै, G. मे, S. मू or माँ. On the other hand, the proper dir. form अँ is occasionally used as an obl. in S. (Tr. 190), and so also हउ in P. (Ld. 16). This shows that the forms with initial म् are properly obl., and have been anomalously transferred to the nom. sg., as has occasionally happened in the case of subst. (see § 369). — *The obl. form* is essentially the same in all Gds.; viz. B. and O. मो, E. H. मो (Bh.) or म्वा or म्वहि (Bs.), O. H. मोहि or मुहि, W. H. मोहि or मुहि or मो or मै or मे (Br.) or मै or म्है or (shortened) म or म्ह or म्हो or म्हा or मा (Mw.)<sup>2</sup>), P. मे or मै, S. मू or माँ or मुहुँ<sup>3</sup>), G. म or मा or मे<sup>4</sup>), M. म or मो or म्वा<sup>5</sup>), N. म or मै or मो or मे<sup>6</sup>). — There are, then, in Gd. two principal types: 1) that of the proper dir. forms हौ, etc.; 2) that of the various obl. form मै, मो, etc., some of which are also occasionally used as direct forms.

1) I may state here as a general fact, that among the vulgar in India the plur. forms of the pron. and verb are almost universally used in the place of the sing. Inattention to this fact has led to many errors in the statements of Kl. and Bs. as to E. H.

2) मे and मा or म्हा only in the gen. मेरौ (Br.), मारो or म्हारो (Mw.).

3) मुहुँ only in the gen. मुहुँ जो.

4) मा only in gen. मारो, and मे in the act.; but acc. मने.

5) मो and म्वा only in the act., but acc. मला, etc.

6) मे only in gen. मेरौ, मै only in the act. मै ले.

The dir. forms are modifications of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. हँ (H. C. 4, 375) or हम् (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451) or हम् (Md. अस्मदो हम् तुना सार्द्धं । अस्मद् इत्यधिकारः । हम् भवामि », i. e., *asmad* has *hamu* in the nom. sg.; here the rules on *asmad* commence; *hamu bha-nami* I *speak*). The Skr. nom. sg. is अहम्, which becomes in Pr. अहं or हं (Vr. 6, 40) or str. form अहम् (Vr. 6, 40) or \*हम्. The latter regularly H. C. 4, 354 changes to हँ in Ap. Pr.<sup>1)</sup>, and this becomes in P. हँ, in Br. हो, in Kn. हो, in Mw. हूँ, in G. हूँ. — The Gd. obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms मद् or मह (H. C. 3, 113) or महु (H. C. 4, 379). The form मद् is used in Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr. and loc. sg. (H. C. 3, 113. 111. 109. 115), and in the Ap. Pr. for the instr. loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 377); that is, it has evidently become a general obl. form. There can be little doubt, that मद् is a curtailment of \*महि (see § 126) and the three forms \*महि, महु and मह are evidently made by means of the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह (shortened for हे and हो, see §§ 365, 6. 367, 3). In the Ap. Pr. the corresponding pl. suff. हिं, हुं, हं are sometimes transferred to the sg. (see § 367, 5); accordingly we find in the Ap. Pr. also the alternative forms मद् (for \*महि, cf. § 126), महु and मह (see K. I. 44 in Ls. 451, and H. C. 4, 377. 3, 113)<sup>2)</sup>. Now the Ap. मद् or महि is modified in O. to मुहि

1) Ls. 330 explains the form अहम् as = अहम्, analogous to Pr. तुम् and त्वं or तं (H. C. 3, 90); this seems to be supported by the Ap. form हम्; that form, however, is somewhat doubtful; it might well be a false reading for हँ. It appears to me more probable that अहम् is the regular strong form of अहं, and equal to \*अहकं, as shown by the corresponding Mg. अहके (Vr. 11, 9) which according to Mg. usage retains the क्; there is also a Mg. form हके or हगे (Vr. 11, 9), which represents a Mh. form \*हम् and the Ap. हँ; H. C. 4, 354 expressly states that the Pr. strong form termin. अम् (अकं) changes to अं in the Ap. Pr.

2) The Ap. Pr. has मद् according to H. C. 4, 377, but मद् according to Md. मद् डिटाम्भिः । मद् । मयि मया मां वार्थः ॥ again it has महु according to H. C. 4, 379, but महु according to K. I. and Md. उस्तिउस्मां मत्कमहुंमहा । त्रयः

or मुद्, in B. मुद्, in Bs. म्वहि (for \*मुहि, i. e. व for उ, § 71), Br. मुहि (in assimilation to तुद्), and contracted in P. to मे or मै, M. मो. The Ap. मद् is in Bs. मद् or मय्, in E. H., W. H., P., N. मै, in M. मो or म्यौ (for मे, i. e. या for ए, cf. § 71). The Ap. मुहु is in O. H., B., O., E. H. मो<sup>1</sup>) (for \*मउ, § 126, cf. तउ in Nro. 2) or Bs. म्वा, and the Ap. मुहुं in E. H., N. मो and in S. मुहु (in assimilation to तुहु) or मू. The Ap. Pr. म्व occurs in O. H. (e. g., म्व सम *like me*, cf. Kl. 121<sup>2</sup>)), and is shortened in M., G., N. to म, in O. मु, in W. H. म or म्व; and the Pr. म्व is in S. मय्. Lastly in the O. H. and in Br. the obl. suff. हि is pleonastically super-added to the obl. form मो, making it मोहि. — 2) *The second pers. pron. sing.* The circumstances here are precisely analogous to those of the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. pron., with the exception, that of the old Skr. nom. sg. त्वम्, Pr. तं or तुं or तुवं or तुमं (H. C. 3, 90) no trace has survived in Gd. In all Gds. alike, and even in the Ap. Pr., the old gen. sg. or obl. form has taken the place of the dir. form (cf. § 369). Thus as dir. forms are used in B. तुद्, in O. तु or तुद् or तुहि, E. H. तद् or तय् (Bs.) or तै (Bh.), N. त, W. H. ते or तै or तू (Br.) or तू or तू (Mw.), P. तू, S. तू, M. तू, G. तू; as obl. forms in B. and O. तो, E. H. तो or तो (Bh.) or त्वा or त्वौ or त्वहि (Bs.), N. तै or तै<sup>3</sup>), W. H. तोहि or तो or तू or तै or ते (Br.) or थो or थै or था or थ (Mw.) or तोई or त्वी or त्वै (Gw., Km.)<sup>4</sup>), P. ते or ते, S. तो or तुहु<sup>5</sup>), G. त or तु or ते or

स्युः », and in the *Nāgara Ap.* मनेत्यर्थे मुहुं च स्यात् । मुहुं धर् सुन्दर । चकारान् सम च » lastly the Ap. has म्व according to Mā. in the above quotations, and the Mh. Pr. has both म्व and मय् according to H. C. 3, 113.

1) In the O. H. of Chand मो occurs as a gen., e. g., नाथ मो नाम चंद *Lord! my name is Chand* (Kl. 121).

2) Or, Chand 25, 28 म्व सगपन सा करिहि सु केमं » *how will she make my kinship*, etc.

3) तै only in the act. तै ले *by thee*.

4) ते and था only in the gen. तेरौ (Br.), थारौ (Mw.), तू and तै only in the act. in Br. तूने or तैने, but in Mw. generally, e. g., abl. तै सँ or थै सँ, see Kl. 128.

5) तुहु only in the gen. तुहुं जो.



तुँ or ता<sup>1)</sup>, M. तूँ or त्वाँ or तु<sup>2)</sup>. All these obl. forms are various modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms तइ or तइं, तउ (modified for \*तहि or \*तहिं, \*तहु, cf. महु in Nro. 1), तुह or तुहं, तुहुं<sup>3)</sup>, which are derived by means of the gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह or हिं, हुं, हं from the bases त or तु (for Skr. त्व). To complete the series, the form तुहि must be added, which is preserved in the O. H. and Br. तुहि, Bs. त्वहि, O. तुहि or तुइ, B. तुइ, Gw. (lg. f.) तुइन्; and also the form तह<sup>4)</sup> which is preserved in the Br. gen. तेरौ, Mw. वारो *thine* for Ap. \*तहारउ, just as Br. मेरौ, Mw. मारो or न्हारो *mine* = Ap. महारउ (H. C. 4, 358) from Ap. gen. मह. The Pr. तइ or \*तहि appears in P. तै or ते or (shortened) G. त, Mw. त or थ; and the Ap. Pr. तइं or \*तहिं in Bs. तइँ or तयँ, Bh., Br., N. तैँ, Mw. थैँ, G. तेँ, N. तैँ. The Ap. Pr. तउ or \*तहु becomes

1) ता only in the gen. तारो, तेँ and तूँ only in the act. तेँ or तुँ ए, त or तु in the acc. त ने or तु ने.

2) M. तूँ or त्वाँ only in the act.

3) The form तइ is used as an obl. form in the Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr., loc. sing. (H. C. 3, 99. 96. 94. 101) and in the form तइं in the Ap. Pr. for the instr., loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 370) and Mđ. तइं डिटाम्भिः । एभिः सह युष्मदस् तइं स्यात् । तइं । त्वया त्वयि त्वां वा ॥ The form तउ is used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. and abl. sg. (H. C. 4, 372), and तुह for the gen., abl. and loc. (Mđ. डिउसिउसां तुह तुह्मत्तम् तुह्माः स्युः ॥ see also K. I. 44 in Ls. 451) and तुहं for the gen. and abl. (K. I. 44 in Ls. 451); the same form तुह and तुहं are also used for the nom. sg. both in the Mh. (H. C. 3, 90) and Ap. Pr. (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451); the form तुहुं is used in the Ap. Pr. for the nom. sg. (H. C. 4, 368. Mđ. युष्मदस् तुहुं । युष्मद इत्यधिकारः । सुनेत्येव । तुहुं सोमसि ॥ i. e., *thou sleepest*. The identity of the nom. forms तुह or तुहं with the gen. forms तुह or तुहं has been already pointed out by Ls. 465, and that the nom. form तुहं is really a gen. is shown by the fact of its still being used in S. for the gen. तुहुं जो (Tr. 191. 193). In तइ, तइं, तउ a medial ह् has been dropped, as is shown by the Mw. obl. थैँ or थ (contr. for \*तहिं, \*तह); and the forms in इं (= \*हिं), हं, हुं are gen. pl., used in a sing. sense, precisely as in the case of मइं, महं, महुं (see Nro. 1).

4) तह is given as an obl. form by De Tassy in his Hindi Gramm. (Kl. 121).

in O. H., B., O., E. H., S. तो<sup>1</sup>), and in W. H. तो or थो, Bs. त्वा, and a corresponding Ap. form \*तुहँ is preserved in the E. H. तो<sup>०</sup> or त्वाँ, M. त्वाँ (cf. § 71). The Ap. तुह becomes in O., M., G. तु and is preserved also in the E. Gd. तोरा *thine* for Ap. तुहारा (cf. H. C. 4, 434). The Ap. तुहँ or तुहँ becomes in P., S., G. तूँ, Mw. तूँ or तूँ, Br. तू. Lastly, O. H. and Br. form तोहि by pleonastically suppleradding the obl. suff. हि to the obl. form तो; and similarly S. forms the gen. तुहे<sup>०</sup> (तो), abl. तोहँ<sup>०</sup> by pleonastically adding the obl. suff. हँ and ञँ (or हे<sup>०</sup>, हँ<sup>०</sup>). — 3) *The first pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are the same as with the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pron. sing. No trace of the old Skr. nom. pl. वयम् has survived in Gd.; Pr., however, has वञ्चं or वयं (H. C. 3, 106). But Gd. and, generally also Pr., use one of the many obl. forms of the Skr. base अस्म as their direct form. Thus the various dir. forms in Gd. are: B. अमि or अम (to the latter, as usual, the pl.-aff. रा is added, अम-रा), O. अम्मो, E. H. हम्, N. हामी (to which, as usual the pl.-aff. हरं or हेरं is added, हामीहरं or हामीहेरं), M. अम्ही, W. H. हम् (Br.) or म्हे or म्है<sup>०</sup> (Mw.), G. अमे or हमे; and S. and P. असी<sup>०</sup>. The various Gd. obl. forms are: B. अमा, O. अम्म or अम्मन (the latter only in the dat. अम्मन्नु), E. H. हम् (Bh.) or हम्ह (Bs. see Kl. 127), N. हँमी, M. अम्हा or अम्ही<sup>०</sup> (only act.) or अम् (only in the gen. अम् चा), W. H. हम् or हमन् or हमनि or हमौ<sup>०</sup> or हमै<sup>०</sup> (Br.) or मँ or म्हँ (Mw.) or हमुँ (Gw.)<sup>2</sup>, G. अम् or अमे or हमे (only act.) or अमा (in the gen. अमारो); P. असा or सा or हमा<sup>०</sup> or (only act.) असी<sup>०</sup>, S. असाँ or असाँहे<sup>०</sup> or असाँहूँ. All these forms are modifications respectively of the following Pr. gen. or obl. forms: a) अम्ह or अम्हि or अम्हे, b) अम्हापां, c) अम्हहं, d) अम्हहिं or अम्हहँ, which may be spelled also अम्म<sup>०</sup> (H. C. 4, 412). Of these the first set अम्ह, अम्हि, अम्हे are modifications of the vedic

1) In the O. H. of Chand तो occurs as a gen. sg., e. g., सुनिय बात तो तात। *having heard the word, thy father*, etc.

2) हमै<sup>०</sup> only in the dat. and acc. हमै<sup>०</sup> कौ; हमा only in the gen. हमारा *our*.

obl. form अस्मे; and अम्ह, अम्हे are used in Pr. for the gen., instr., acc., nom. (H. C. 3, 114. 110. 108. 106) and अम्हे in the Ap. for the acc. and nom. (H. C. 4, 376)<sup>1</sup>). The Pr. अम्मे or अम्हे becomes आम्मे in O., अमे or हमे in G., and म्हे in Mw.; and the Pr. अम्ह becomes अम् in G., हम् in W. H. and E. H., and आम् in M. — The Pr. form अम्हि or अम्मि, though clearly a mere modification of the plur. obl. form अम्हे (or अम्मे), has assumed the sense of the sing. and is used for the nom. and acc. sing. (H. C. 3, 105. 107). It is so employed also in one of the Ap. Pr. (Mḍ. अहम् अये अम्मिहुंममाः । अम्मि पस्सिदु (?) । एवं हुंमम (?) ), It has only survived in the B. आमि I. As to the second Pr. set अम्हापां or अम्भापां, it is the regular gen. plur. of the base अम्ह or अम्म (H. C. 3, 114, see § 365, 4) and has survived in the O. अम्भन् and W. H. हमन् or हमनि. As to the third and fourth Pr. set अम्हहं, अम्हहं, to which must be added a form \*अम्हहुं, they are regularly derived with the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं (see § 365, 7) from the base अम्ह. The form अम्हहिं or (dropping ह्) अम्हहं is limited in the Ap. to the nom., acc. and instr. (H. C. 4, 376)<sup>2</sup>), but in Gḍ. it occurs also in the dat. (= old gen.); thus in O. H. हमहिं and contracted in Br. हमै, H. H. हमे, Mw. म्हे, M. अम्ही or अम्ही, N. हामि. The form \*अम्हहुं is not noticed by the Pr. Gramm., but it appears in Br. as हमौ, H. H. हमो, Gw. हमु. The Ap. form अम्हहं, especially mentioned by H. C. 4, 380 as the gen. plur., survives in Mw. म्हा or मा or (dropping the *anundāsika*) in B. अमा, M. अम्हा, W. H., P. हमा, G. अमा. — The anomalous P. and S. forms with स्

1) H. C. allows both अम्हे and अम्हहं to the nom. and acc.; K. I. gives अम्हे to the nom. and अम्हहं to the acc. (K. I. 40 in Ls. 451); again Mḍ. allows both अम्मे and अम्हहं to the nom., but only अम्हहं to the acc., thus अम्हहं इति तत्रास्त्र्यां । अम्हहं अहमु पेक्क वा । अम्मे च तता । अम्मे भणामु । चकारादु अम्हहं च ॥.

2) H. C. has only अम्हहं and allows it only to the nom. and acc., but Mḍ. has both अम्हहिं and अम्हहं and allows them also to the instr., thus अम्हहं अम्हहिं अम्मे अम्भाहिं अम्मेहिम् इति च भित्ता । पञ्च स्युः । अम्हहं भणामु । एवमन्यानि ॥.

cannot have arisen from the ordinary Pr. or Ap. forms, but must be referred to some peculiar Pr., which changed the conjunct स् of the Skr. base अस्म to स् instead of to म् or म्<sup>1</sup>). Otherwise, however, their formation is exactly analogous to those of the other Gd. forms; thus P. and S. अस्मी is analogous to M. अम्ही and would presuppose a Pr. form \*अस्सहिं or \*अस्सइ; and the P. अस्म, S. अस्माँ to P. हम, Mw. म्हाँ, presupposing Pr. \*अस्सहं. In the S. अस्माँहे and अस्माँहूँ the obl. suff. हे, हूँ (for हँ, ऊँ) are pleonastically superadded. — 4) *The second pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are exactly analogous to those of the first pers. pron. plur., substituting only the base तुम्ह or तुम्भ (= Skr. युष्म) for अम्ह or अम्भ. A simple enumeration therefore of the various Pr. and Gd. forms will suffice. Pr. and Ap. have: a) तुम्ह or तुम्हे (H. C. 3, 91. 93. 4, 369); b) तुम्हापां (H. C. 3, 100); c) तुम्हहिं or तुम्हइं (H. C. 4, 369), d) तुम्हहं (H. C. 4, 373) or e) \*तुम्हहुं, all plur., and f) तुमे (H. C. 3, 92. 94. 101) in the sing. (like अस्मि). In Gd. there are, 1) the following dir. forms: B. तुमि (f), O. तुम्मे (a), E. H. (a) तू (Bh., for तूहूँ) or तोह् or तोहूँ or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् (Br.) or (a) ये or (c) यै (Mw., for \*तहे or \*तहै, with अ for उ as in G., S. and P.); G. तमे (a), M. तुम्हो (c), N. (f) तिमि (like B. तुमि) or (c) तिमो (with इ for अ or उ, as in Br. निहारो yours), S. (c) तव्हो or तवो or तहो or तई or (c) अव्हो or अवो or अहो or अई or अइ, P. (c) तुसी (for Pr. \*तुस्सइ). And 2) the following obl. forms: B. (d) तोमा or (a) तोम (only in the nom. pl. तोम-हा), O. (a) तुम्भ or (b) तुम्भन् (only in the dat. तुम्भङ्कु), E. H. (a) तोह् or तोहूँ (Bh.) or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् or (e) तुम्हो or (c) तुम्है

1) The loc. suff. स्मिन् admits both changes in the pron. of the ordinary or, Mh. Pr. (H. C. 4, 59. 60, e. g., सव्वस्सिं or सव्वस्मि or सव्वहिं for \*सव्वस्मिं in all), but only स्मि in subst. (H. C. 3, 11, e. g., देवस्मि in god); on the other hand the Mg. Pr. admits a form सिं *msi* or सि *si* even in subst. (Wb. Bh. 417, as देवसि or देवसि). This is noteworthy; for the P. and S. phonetic system shows also in other points (see §§ 16. 18. 14) an affinity to that of the Mg. class of Prs. and Gds. The Pāli admits both स्मिन् and म्हि in subst. (St. G. 62).

(only in the dat.) or (d) तुम्हा or तिहा (only in the gen. तुम्हारौ or तिहारौ), all these in Br., or (e) तुम् (Gw.) or (b) तुम्न् (Km.) or (d) त् (Mw., for \*तह्, see S.), G. (d) तमा (in the gen. तमारौ) or (a) तम् or (a) तमे (only act.), M. (d) तुम्हा or (c) तुम्ही (only in the act.) or (a) तुम् (only in the gen. तुम् चा), N. (f) तिमि or (c) तिमि, S. (d) तव्ह् or तव् or तह् or तौ or (d) अव्ह् or अव् or अह् or अौ, P. (d) तुसा (for Pr. \*तुस्सह) or (d) तुहा or युआ or (d) तुमा or (c) तुमी (only in the act.). As to the origin of the S. forms; the उ of the Pr. तुम्हइ is changed to अ (similarly as in Bs. त्वहि to thee for तुहि) and म् is elided, whence S. तव्ह्; next either ह् or व् is dropped, making तवी or तही; finally व् or ह् is elided, making तई; the other S. set अव्ह्, etc. arises in a precisely similar way from the Pr. forms derived from the Pr. base उम्ह (H. C. 3, 99. 95). — 5) *There remain a few peculiar obl. forms:* viz., of the first pers. pron., M. मन् or माके or माक्या (Man. 47. 85), G. मन्, W. H. मुन्, H. H. मुक् or मुके, and of the second pers. pron., M. तुन् or तुके or तुक्या, G. तन्, H. H. तुक् or तुके, P. तुध्. These obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. मन्क (H. C. 3, 113) or Ap. मन्कु (H. C. 4, 379), Pr. तुन्क (H. C. 3, 99) or Ap. तुन्कु (H. C. 4, 372) or तुध् (H. C. 4, 372). The origin of these forms is obscure. In Pr., the forms मन्क and तुन्क are treated as regular bases, just like Pr. अम्ह and तुम्ह, Skr. अस्म and युस्म, and declined as *nouns*. Thus in the gen. sing. the pure base मन्क or अम्ह (H. C. 3, 113) is used after the Ap. Pr. fashion, i. e., dropping the gen. suff. (H. C. 4, 345); loc. sg. मन्कम्मि or अम्हम्मि (H. C. 3, 116), gen. pl. मन्कापां or अम्हापां (H. C. 3, 114), loc. pl. मन्कसु or अम्हसु (H. C. 4, 117), etc. In Gd. the gen. sg. (or pure base) मन्क, तुन्क become H. H. मुक्, तुक्, M. मन्, तुन् (with न् for क्, § 145, note). And Gd. derives from them even regular obl. st. forms, H. H. मुके, तुके, M. माके or माक्या, तुके or तुक्या (just as H. H. घोडे, M. घोड्या of घोडा horse). The corresponding direct st. forms exist only in M. माका m., माकी f., माके n., and तुका, तुकी, तुके. They serve both as the gen. sing. of the personal pron., and as possessive pron. In E. H., also, the possess. pron. are often used in the place of

the pers. pron.; thus abl., E. H. हमरे सो<sup>०</sup> or हमरा सो<sup>०</sup>, just as M. माक्या हन्, loc. E. H. मोरे मे, M. माक्याँत्. It appears, probable, therefore, that the bases मक and तुक are really those of possessive pron. and perhaps connected with Skr. मदीय *mine* and त्वदीय *thine* by substituting the Pr. bases मह, तुह for म, त्व (or मद्, त्वद्); thus मह्य = मत् = मत्क or तुह्य = तुह्य or तुह (cf. H. C. 3, 91. nom. pl. तुहे) = तुक. Or they might be referred to the Skr. bases मादृष *like me*, त्वादृष *like thee*, which would easily assume a possessive meaning (see §§ 218. 251), and which might change in Pr. to मद्विह = मत्क, तुद्विह = तुक. It may be remarked that a somewhat analogous process has taken place in the case of the demonstrative pron.; thus Pr. एहो is both *that* and *such-like* = Skr. ईदृष, and S. has इको = इतहो = ईदृषः (see § 438, 4). This would explain also the P. form तुध, which would be = तुदह = त्वादृष, and the रू in the Ap. Pr. form तुध might be a reminiscence of the Skr. ऋ of दृष<sup>1</sup>). Ls. connects मक and तुक with the gen. sing. of the pers. pron. \*मस्य and \*त्वस्य, but these change regularly to मह or महि, तुह or तुहि (see Nros 1. 2); I believe, there is no example of the Skr. conjunct स्य ever changing to स्क् in Pr.

431. Personal pron. are declined precisely like nouns, with the exception that in the gen. they use their corresponding possessive pron. (§ 449). The weak form of the latter is preferred in the nom., and the st. form in the obl. cases: thus मोरू बाप् or rarely मोरा बाप् *my father*, but मोरे बाप के *of my father*; हमारू माई or rarely हमरी माई *our mother*, but हमरी माई के *of our mother*, etc.

432. A sort of pleonastic declension may be made by adding the case-aff. to the obl. form of the gen. in ए; but in

1) Or again, मक might be = मह-त्, and तुक = तुह-त् and तुध = तुह-द्; त् and द् being the gen. postpositions which occur in O. H. and O. P., and are still used in M., P. and M. S. They may have existed in Pr. already, just as the modern gen. postpositions चा, का, केरा lit. *done* (see § 377).

the *khari bhāshā* this is restricted to the loc., as मो मे or मोरे मे *in me*, हम मे or हमरे मे *in us*, etc.

432 a.

1. First personal pron.

a) Simple form: मैं *I*, हम *we*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. मैं	हम्	हमलोग्	
a., d. मो के or मो के	हम् के	हमलोग् के or हमलोगन् के	
i., abl. मो से or मो से	हम् से	हमलोग् से or हमलोगन् से	
gen. मोर or मोरा, मोरी, मोरे	हमर or हमरा, ०री, ०रे	हमलोग् कै, के or हमलोगन् कै, के	
loc. मो मे or मो मे or मोरे मे	हम् मे or हमरे मे	हमलोग् मे or हमलोगन् मे	

b) Emphatic form: मैं ही or मैं हूँ *even I*.

	Singular.	Plural.
nom. मैं ही	मैं हूँ	हम ही
a., d. मोही के	मोहू के	हम ही के
i., abl. मोही से	मोहू से	हम ही से
gen. मोरै or मोरे ही	मोरी or मोरे हूँ	हमरै or हमरे ही
loc. मोही मे or मोरै मे	मोहू मे or मोरी मे	हम ही मे or हमरै मे
	or मोरे ही मे	or हमरे ही मे

432 b.

2. Second pers. pron.

a) Simple form: तू *thou*, तू *you*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. तू	तू	तूलोग्	
a., d. तो के or तो के	तोह के	तूलोग् के or तूलोगन् के	
i., abl. तो से or तो से	तोह से	तूलोग् से or तूलोगन् से	
gen. तोर or तोरा, तोरी, तोरे	तोहर or तोहरा, ०री, ०रे	तूलोग् कै, के or तूलोगन् कै, के	
loc. तो मे or तो मे or तोरे मे	तोह मे or तोहरे मे	तूलोग् मे or तूलोगन् मे	

b) Emphatic form: तू ही or तू हूँ *even thou*.

	Singular.	Plural.
nom. तू ही	तू हूँ	तू ही or तूहूँ
a., d. तोही के	तोहू के	तूहूँ के
i., abl. तोही से	तोहू से	तूहूँ से
gen. तोरै or तोरे ही	तोरी or तोरे हूँ	तोहरै or तोहरे ही
loc. तोही मे or तोरै मे	तोहू मे or तोरी मे	तूहूँ मे or तोहरै मे
	or तोरे ही मे	or तोहरे ही मे

*Note:* *हो* and *हू* may or may not be spelled *होँ*, *हूँ*; also *हम* and *तुँह* may be spelled *हमँ* and *तुँहँ* before *हो* and *हूँ* (see § 67); e. g., *हम होँ के to us*, *तुँह हूँ के to you*. — The gen. pl. may also be *तोहारै*, *हमारै*, etc.

## 2. THE CORRELATIVE PRONOUNS.

433. By the term. „correlative pronoun“ I here designate the demonstrative, the relative, the interrogative and the indefinite. The demonstrative pron. include the near, the far and the general. The forms of the *near dem.* are: dir. sg. or pl. *ई* (also *यह्* or emphatic *ऐहै* or *इहै* or *इहई*), obl. sg. *ए* or *ऐह्* (or emph. *ऐही*), pl. *ऐन्ह* (or emph. *ऐन्हही*); of the *far dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. *ऊ* (also *वह्* or emph. *ओहै* or *उहै* or *उहई*), obl. sg. *ओ* or *ओह्* (or emph. *ओही*), pl. *ओन्ह* (or emph. *ओन्हही*); of the *general dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. *ते* (or emph. *तेहै* or *तिहई*); obl. sg. *ते* or *तेह्* (or emph. *तेही*), pl. *तेन्ह* (or emph. *तेन्हही*); of the *relative*: dir. sg. or pl. *जे* (or emph. *जेहै* or *जिहई*), obl. sg. *जे* or *जेह्* (or emph. *जेही*), pl. *जेन्ह* (or emph. *जेन्हही*); of the *interrog.*: dir. sg. or pl. *के* (or emph. *केहै* or *किहई*), obl. sg. *के* or *केह्* (or emph. *केही*), pl. *केन्ह* (or emph. *केन्हही*); of the *indef.*: dir. sg. or pl. *के* or *केहू*, obl. sg. or pl. *के* or *केहू*. These forms are alike for the masc. and fem.

434. The interrog. pron. has a peculiar form in the sing.: dir. *का*, obl. *का* or *काहे*, when inanimate objects are spoken of. It is, in fact, practically a *neuter*. The obl. *काहे* is used only, when no subst. is expressed. Thus *का कौलह् what do you do*, *का घर मे in what house*, *काहे से खइखे with what wilt thou eat it?* In the plur., the ordinary forms are used.

435. The general dem. pron. has an alternative dir. form *से* *he, that* for both, sing. and plur. It is generally used instead of *ते*, but has no emph. forms to express which *तेहै*, *तिहई* are used.

436. All correlative pron., exc. the near and far. dem., have long forms, made by adding the pleonastic suff. *अन्* (see §§ 209. 214). They are treated like adj., i. e., they may be



either weak or strong (§ 381), they are alike in the sing. and plur. (§ 386), and they form a strong fem. in ई (§ 384) and a strong masc. obl. in ए (§ 386). Thus *weak forms*: dir. and obl., sg. and pl., com. gen., तवन् or तउन् or तौन् *he*, जवन् or जउन् or जौन् *which*, कवन् or कउन् or कौन् *who*, कौनो *any one*; *strong forms*: sg. and pl., masc. obl. तउने or तौने, जउने or जौने, कउने or कौने; fem. dir. and obl. तउनी or तौनी, जउनी or जौनी, कउनी or कौनी. The existence of the strong masc. dir. forms \*तउना or तौना, etc. is doubtful.

437. *Affinities.* In the following list, forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. Thus *a, a* denote forms of the same group, *a, a* or *a, a* forms of the same variety of the same group, etc. It will be noticed, that the various groups have been much intermixed, the dir. form of a declension sometimes belonging to one group or variety, and its obl. form to another.

1) *The near dem. pron.*; *dir. sg.*, B. (a) ए or (c) इनि; O. (a) ए or एहि or (a) इहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐह् or इह् or यह् or Bs. या; (W. H.) Br. (a) यह् or यहु or इहु or Mw. (a) यो or ओ (masc.) and या or आ (fem.); P. (a) इह् or एह् or अह् or (f) इत्; S. (a) ही or हे (com. gen.) or (a) हीउ or हिउ (masc.) and हीम् or हिम् (fem.) or (a) इहो or ईहो or इओ or ईओ (masc.) and इहा or ईहा or इआ or ईआ (fem.) or (e) इको (masc.) and इका (fem.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) हा (masc.), हो (fem.), हे (neut.); N. (a) यो. *Obl. sg.*, B. (a) ए or (a) इहा or (c) इहा, O. (a) इहा or एहा or एहाँ; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ए or ऐह् or Bs. (a) या or यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) इहि or या or यहि or Mw. (c) इपा or ई or (γ) इणी or अणी or H. H. (b) इस् or (β) इसे (in the dat. and acc. only); P. (a) इह् or अह् or (b) इस् or एस् or ऐस् or (c) इन् or एन् or ऐन् (only act.); S. (c) हिन् or इन् (or इनाँ only abl.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) ह्या or या (masc.) and हि or इ (fem.) or ह्यास्, हीस् (only dat.); N. (a) ए or (b) यस् or Km. (a) ये or ए. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐह् or यह् or इह् or Bs. (a) ए or एन्ह or इन्; W. H. (a) यह् or (a) ये or यै or ऐ; P. (a) इह् or एह् or अह्; S. (a) ही or हे or (a) इहे or (e) इके; G. (a) आ or एओ; M. (a) हे (masc.), ह्या

(fem.), हीं (neut.); N. (a) इन् or एन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऐन् or Bs. यन् or इन् or यन् or इन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) इन् or (c) इन्हीं (or इन्हें dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) याँ or याँ or (c) इयाँ or अयाँ; P. (c) इनाँ or इन्हाँ or एनाँ or (a) अहाँ or (c) इनीं or इन्हीं or एन्हीं or एनीं (act. only); S. (a) इनि or हिनि or (c) इननि or हिननि or इन्हनि or इन्हिनि or इन्हें; G. (a) एओ or (c) एवन्; N. (a) इन् or इन् or Km. (a) यूँ or (c) इन् or इनी.

2) *The far dem. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) ओ or (c) उनि; O. *deest*; E. H. (a) ऊ or ओह् or व्ह् or उह्; (W. H.) Br. (a) व्ह् or वुह् or वुहि or उहि or (a) वो or Mw. (a) ऊ or व् (masc.) and वा (fem.); P. (a) उह् or ओह्; S. (a) हू or ऊ (com. gen.) or हो or ओ (masc.) and हुअ or उअ (fem.); G. (d) ओलो or पेलो (masc.), ओली or पेली (fem.), ओलुँ or पेलुँ (neut.); M. *deest*; N. (a) ऊ. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) ओ or (a) उहा or (c) उँहा; O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ओ or ओह् or Bs. (a) वहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) उहि or वा or वाहि or (b) उस् or विस् or (β) उसे or विसे (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) उपा or वीं or (γ) उपीं or वपीं; P. (a) उह् or (b) उस् or (c) उन् or ओन् (only act.) or (f) उत्; S. (c) हुन् or उन् or उनिह् or उन्हिअ or उन्हे (or हुनाँ or उनाँ abl. only); G. (d) ओला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (b) उस् or Gw. (a) वे. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऊ or ओह् or व्ह् or उह् or Bs. (a) ओ or उन्; W. H. (a) व्ह् or (a) वे or वे; P. (a) उह् or ओह्; S. (a) हू or हो or (a) हूए or उए or होए or उहे; G. (d) ओला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (c) उन् or उन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ओन् or Bs. (a) उन् or उन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) उन् or उनि or (c) उन्हीं or (a) विन् or विनि or (c) विन्हीं (or उन्हें or विन्हें dat. acc. only) or Mw. (a) वाँ or व्याँ or (c) उपाँ or वपाँ; P. उनाँ or उन्हाँ (or उनीं or उन्हीं act. only); S. (a) हुनि or उनि or (c) हुननि or उननि or उन्हि or उन्हिनि; G. (d) ओलाओ or पेलाओ; M. *deest*; N. (a) उन् or उन् or Km. (a) ऊँ or (c) उन् or उनी.

3) *The general dem. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) से or (a) ताहा or (c) तिनि or तेह्; O. (a) से or सेहि; E. H. (a) ते or से or तेह् or तिहि or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) सो; P. (a) सो; S. (a) सो (masc.) and सा (fem.); G. (a) ते; M. (a) तो (masc.), ती (fem.), ते (neut.);

N. (a) त्यो or (c) तुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) ताहा or (c) ताँहा; O. (a) ता or (a) ताहा or ताहाँ or ताहिँ; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ते or तेह् or Bs. (a) त्या or त्यहि or (c) तवन् or (γ) तउने or तौने; (W. H.) Br. (a) ता or ताहि or तिहि or तिहु or (b) तानु (gen. only) or H. H. (b) तिस् or (β) तिसे (dat. \*acc. only) or Mw. (c) तिपा or तिणी or तणी; P. (a) तिह् or (b) तिस् or (c) तिन् (act. only) or (f) तित्; S. (a) तँहिँ (or तहाँ abl. only); G. (a) ते; M. (a) त्या (masc.) and ति (fem.); N. (a) त or तो or (b) तस् or (c) तुन् or Km. (a) तइ or तै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. (a) ते or तेह् or तिह् or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) सो; P. (a) से; S. (a) से; G. (a) ते or तेओ; M. (a) ते (masc.), त्या (fem.), तो (neut.); N. (c) तुन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) तेन्ह् or (c) तौन् or (γ) तौने or Bs. (a) त्यन्ह् or त्यन् or तेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) तिन् or तिनि or (c) तिन्हो (or तिन्हे dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) त्याँ or ताँ or (c) तिपाँ; P. (c) तिनँ or तिन्हाँ (or तिन्हो or तिनीँ act. only); S. (a) तिनि or तनि or (c) तिननि or तिननि or तिन्हि or तिन्हिनि; G. (a) तेओ or (c) तेम्; M. (a) त्याँ; N. (a) तिन्ह or तिनह् or Km. (a) त्वँ or (c) तन् or तनन्.

4) *The relat. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) ये or (a) याहा or (c) यिनि; O. (a) ये or येहु or (c) येडु or येडँ or योँ; E. H. (a) जे or जेह् or जिह् or (c) जवन् or जउन् or जौन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जोन or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. जो (masc.) and जा (fem.); G. (a) जे; M. (a) जो (masc.), जी (fem.), जे (neut.); N. (a) जो or (c) जुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) याहा or (c) याँहा; O. (a) या or याहिँ or याहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेह् or (c) जौन् or (γ) जौने or Bs. (a) ज्या or ज्यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) जा or जाहि or जेहि or H. H. (b) जिस् or (β) जिसे (dat. acc. only), or Mw. (c) जिपा or जीँ or जपा or जणी; P. (a) जिह् or (b) जिस् or (c) जिन् (act. only) or (f) जित्; S. (a) जँहिँ; G. (a) जे or (c) जेवन्; M. (a) ज्या or जा or जे (masc.), जि (fem.); N. (a) ज or जो or (b) जस् or (c) जुन् or Gw. (a) जइ or जै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेह् or जिह् or (c) जवन् or जउन् or जौन् or Bs. (a) तेन्ह्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जौन् or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. (a) जे; G. (a) जे or जेओ; M. (a) जे (masc.), ज्या (fem.), जो (neut.); N. (c) जुन् or (a) जिन्ह. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जेन्ह or Bs. (a) ज्यन्ह or ज्यन् or जेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जिन् or जिनि

or (c) जिन्होँ (or जिन्हैँ dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) ज्यौँ or जाँ or (c) जिणाँ or जणाँ; P. (c) जिनाँ or जिन्हाँ (or जिनीँ or जिन्हीँ act. only); S. (a) जिनि or जनि or (c) जिन्हनि or जिन्हिनि or जिननि or जिननिनि; G. (a) जेओ; M. (a) ज्यतँ; N. (a) जिन्ह or जुन्ह or Km. (a) ज्यूँ or (c) जनु or जननु.

5) *The interrog. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) के (com. gen.) or कि or कोन् (both neut.); O. (a) के or केहु or (c) केहु or केउँ or कौँ (all com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किस or (c) कण (all neut.); E. H. (a) के or केह or किह or (c) कवन् or कउन् or कौन् (com. gen.) or (a) का or काह (neut.); (W. H.) Br. (a) को or को or (c) कौन् or कोनु or Mw. (c) कोण् or कुण् or कण् (all com. gen.), or Br. (a) का or कहा or क्या or Mw. (a) काईँ or कईँ (all neut.); P. (a) किहडा or (c) कौण् (com. gen.) or (a) को or किआ (neut.); S. (a) केहो or केओ or (d) केरहो or केहरो or केह or (e) कुताओ (all com. gen.) or (a) डा or कोहु or कुहु (neut.); G. (a) ओ (masc.), ओ (fem.), ओँ (neut.) or कओ (masc.), कई (fem.), कयुँ (neut.) or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोण् (com. gen.) or (a) काय् (neut.); N. (a) को or (c) कुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) काहा (com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किसे (both neut.); O. (a) का or (a) काहा or काहिँ (all com. gen.); (E. H.) Bh. (a) के or केह (com. gen.) or (a) का or काहे (neut.) or Bs. (a) क्या or क्यहि (com. gen.); (W. H.) Br. (a) का or काहि or किहि or Mw. (c) कुण् or कण् or कोँ or कुपी or कपी or H. H. (b) किस् or (β) किसे (dat. acc. only) com. gen., or काहे (neut.); P. (a) किहडे or किह or (b) किस् or (f) कित् or (c) किन् (act. only) com. gen., or कास् or काह (neut.); S. (a) केहे or (d) केरहे or काहिँ or (e) कुताओ (com. gen.); G. (a) के or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोणा or कोपया or कोपो (or कापीँ instr. only) com. gen., or (b) कसा or कस्या or कया or कयाया (all neut.); N. (a) क or को or (b) कस् or (c) कुन् or Gw. (a) कइ or कै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like sing.; P. (a) किहडे or (c) कौण्; S. (a) केहा or (d) केरहा or केरे or (e) कुताओ (com. gen.); G. (a) कया (masc.), कई (fem.), कयाँ (neut.); M. and N. like sing. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केन्ह or Bs. (a) क्यन्ह or क्यन् or केन् or किन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) किन् or किनि or (c) किन्हौँ (or किन्हैँ dat. acc. only); Mw. (c) कुपाँ or कपाँ; P. (c) किनाँ or

किन्हाँ (or किनी<sup>०</sup> or किन्ही<sup>०</sup> act. only); S. (a) केहनि or (d) केरुहनि or (a) किनि or कनि or (c) किन्हनि or किन्हिनि or किननि or किनिनि; M. (c) कोपा<sup>०</sup> (com. gen.) or (b) कस<sup>०</sup> or कश<sup>०</sup> (neut.); N. (a) कुन्ह or Gw. (a) वयू or कनू or कनन्.

6) *The indefinite pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) केह; O. (a) केहि or (c) कोपासि or कउपासि; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केहू or (c) कौनो or Bs. (a) केउ or कोउ; W. H. (a) कोई or कोउ or (c) कौनौ; P. (a) कोई; S. (a) को or कोई (masc.), का or काई (fem.), को (neut.); G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोपो or कोपही; N. (a) कोहि. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) काहा; O. (a) काहा; E. H. like *dir.*; (W. H.) Br. (a) काहू or (b) कितू or कित्ती or (c) कौनौ or Mw. (a) को<sup>०</sup> or (c) कुपो or कपो; P. (b) किसे or कित्ती; S. (a) काँहि or कँही; G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोपा or कोपहा; N. (a) कोहि or (b) कसै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H., W. H., P. like *sing.*; S. (a) के or केई or कई or कँई; G. (a) कई; M. (c) कोपो. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like *sing.*; P. (b) किसे or कित्ती or (c) किन्हाँ; S. (c) किने or कने or कनी or कन्हो<sup>०</sup>; M. (c) कोपहाँ.

438. *Derivation.* It will be observed that in the preceding list there are *six* principal types of forms, which I have severally marked with a, b, c, d, e, f, and the characteristic features of which are the letters ह (occasionally elided), स्, न् (or ण्), ल् (or र्), क् (or ङ्), त् respectively. The derivation of these forms is involved in many difficulties, the explanation of which, however, in most cases (I think) will be found to be the fact, that the forms which are now used as simple pron. were originally those of pron. adj. of quality or quantity.

1) The pron. of quant. are in Skr. इयत् (or Ved. ईवत्), तावत्, यावत्, कियत् (Ved. कीवत्) *so large* or *so much*, etc. In Pr. these become एव, तेव, नेव, केव (cf. H. C. 4, 407. 408) or एम्, तेम्, नेम्, केम् (K. I. 10. 11. 12 in Ls. 450. 451), or slightly modified इव, तिव, नेव, किव or इम्, तिम, नेम, किम (K. I. 10. 11. 12); sometimes they are variously spelled ऐव or ईव, etc. (H. C. 3, 397. 401) or एम्ब or इम्ब, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 418); again they may be shortened to ए, ते, ने, के (see Wb. Bh. 422). Thus the Ap. Pr. uses the first set एव, etc., with the addition of the pleon. suff. दु,

as quant. pron., एवडु, तेवडु, etc. (H. C. 4, 407. 408 and see § 218), and S. and P. similarly use the shortened forms ए, ते, etc. with the pleon. suff. डो or डा; viz. S. एडो, तेडो, etc., P. एडा, तेडा, etc. Again G. uses the set एव, तेव, etc., itself without adding any pleon. suff., as qual. pron., एवो, तेवो, etc. But already in the Ap. Pr. these quant. (or qual.) pron. had come to be commonly used as *simple pron.*; so especially the bases इम *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 361. 3, 72; it is also so used in Skr. in the obl. cases of इदम्) and किम *what* (K. I. 13 in Ls. 450); again as *pron. adv.*, viz. एँव, तेँव *thus*, etc. (H. C. 4, 401; एव or एवम्, an acc. sg., occur even in Skr.), or एम्बइ *so, thus* (H. C. 4, 420, a loc. sg. cf. H. C. 4, 334) and एम्बहिं *now* (H. C. 4, 420, also a loc. sg., cf. H. C. 4, 357). Again the shortened bases (कि etc.) occur in the Ap. Pr. abl. sg. किहे (H. C. 4, 356, with the abl. suff. हे of nouns in इ, cf. H. C. 4, 341), and perhaps in the pron. adv. तिह, तिह, किह (H. C. 4, 401, lit. abl. sing. with suff. ह, shortened for हे). Again the shortened forms ते (ते?), से are mentioned by Mḍ. as nom. sg. (जे से एस सुना यत्तदेतदां । एणां सुना सह जे से एस इत्य् एते स्युः । ते (?) पुरिसो महिला वणां वां । एव से एस ॥). The latter are used in all E. Gds. and in G. as nom. sg.; thus E. H. ए, ते or से, ते, के. By adding the regular obl. sing. suff. ह (shortened for Ap. हो or हु, see § 365, 6) the E. H. obl. forms ऐह, तेह, जेह, केह are derived and by adding the regular obl. plur. suff. न्ह (see §§ 365, 4. 368, 5) the plur. obl. forms ऐन्ह, तेन्ह, etc. The older form in हु is occasionally met with, as तिहु (Kl. 137, e). The corresponding obl. form made with the gen. or obl. suff. हि (shortened for Ap. हे, see §§ 365, 6. 368, 2) is found in Bs. and Br.; thus Br. गहि (for \*एहि) or इहि, तेहि or तिहि, etc., Bs. यहि (for \*इहि), त्यहि (for \*तिहि), etc. Again (just as with nouns, see § 365, 6) the obl. suff. ह or हि may be dropped in E. H.; thus Bh. ए, ते, etc., Bs. या, त्या (= ए, ते), etc., Br. या, ता, etc. In the obl. pl. of Bs. the suff. न्ह usually drops the ह (as in E. H. and Br. nouns, see § 368, 5); thus Bs. इन्ह or यन्ह or इन् or यन्, etc. In Br. it optionally ends in इ; e. g., Br. इन् or इनि, तिन् or तिनि, etc. (cf. O. H. कविन्ह or कविन्हि, Br.

कविन् or कविनि, obl. pl. of कवि *poet*). In P., also, the short obl. sg. forms in ह् occur; e. g., इह्, तिह्, etc.; and, on the other hand, in S. the short obl. pl. forms in नि; as इनि or हिनि (transposed for \*इन्हि), तिनि or तनि (with अ for इ, see § 26). As regards the S. obl. sg. इन् or हिन्, etc. and the Br. obl. pl. इन्हौ, etc., P. इनाँ or इह्नाँ, etc., see below Nro. 2. — Just as the forms of the near demonstr. pron. have arisen from the shortened form ए of the old quant. pron., so those of the far dem. pron. have originated from the long form of the quant. pron. Thus the E. H. obl. sg. ओह् is a contraction of \*अवह्, shortened (see § 26) from the Ap. Pr. gen. \*एवहु or \*एवहो. The other E. H. obl. form ओ has dropped the final ह्. The dir. sing. ओ or उ is a contraction of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. \*एव or \*एवु. In G. the latter contracts to अ *that* (abl. आ यी *from that*). There is, also, in H. a fuller obl. form वाह् (Kl. 137, d) for \*ओहु = \*एवहु; and in Br. there is the obl. form वाहि for \*ओहि = Ap. \*एवहि or \*एवहे. And so forth as to the rest of the forms of the far dem. pron. and their derivatives; they are exactly analogous to those of the near dem. pron., as explained above. Here, also, must be mentioned the S. neut. interrog. pron. कोहु or कुहु *what, why* (Tr. 208); it is an obl. form and contracted form \*कवहु for Ap. \*केवहु or \*केवहो.

2) Among the Ap. Pr. quant. pron. एवउ, तेवउ, नेवउ, केवउ (H. C. 4, 407. 408, see Nro 1) the last one is already used in the Ap. as a simple pron. But it shortens एव to अव (cf. § 26 and Nro 1, p. 291) and changes उ to ण (cf. § 106), and thus becomes कवण् (H. C. 4, 367). In E. H. it appears as कवन् or कउन् or कोन्, in W. H. कौन् or कौन्, P. कौण्, G. and M. कोण्, Mw. कुण् or कण्, N. कुन्. Similarly Ap. नेवउ becomes in G. नेवन्, in E. H. नेवन् or नेउन् or नेौन्, W. H. नौन्, N. तुन्; and Ap. तेवउ becomes in E. H. तवन् or तउन् or तौन्, N. तुन्. E. H. makes a regular obl. form कौन् or कौने, representing the Ap. gen. sg. कवण or कवणहे (H. C. 4, 425) with or without the gen. suff. हे. The Ap. एवउ gives rise to the B. उनि *that*; the intermediate forms G. एवन्, P. ओन् or उन्, Mw. उण् occur only as obl. forms sing.;

Mw. has also the alternative obl. sg. उपाँ or वपाँ beside उपा, just like E. H. कौन् and कौने. Mw. possesses also the corresponding plur. obl. forms उपाँ or वपाँ; and similarly in the other pron., as obl. sg. कुपा or कपा or कुपाँ or कपाँ, obl. pl. कुपाँ or कपाँ. The latter are regularly contracted from the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. कवपाहं, etc. These obl. pl. occur, also, in P. उनँ or उन्हाँ, Br. उन्हाँ (= Ap. gen. \*अवपाहुं = एवउहुं), S. उननि or उन्हनि or (with ह् transposed) हुननि. The Br. possesses also as plur. obl. forms उन्हेँ (used only in the sense of the dat. and acc.), in O. H. उनहिँ which are made by the Ap. obl. pl. suff. हि (see § 367, 2). Corresponding to the Ap. quant. pron. एवउ, etc., S. has the shorter forms एउ, तेउ, जेउ, केउ. Just as the Ap. एवउ becomes in B. a simple pron. उनि, so एउ, तेउ, जेउ by changing उ to ए give rise to the B. simple pron. इनि, तिनि, यिनि (read जिनि)<sup>1</sup>). This set exists also in P. एन् or इन्, Mw. इपा. S. इन, etc., which, however, occur only as obl. forms sing. There are, also, the fuller obl. sg. forms, Mw. इपाँ or अपाँ, S. इनिह (also spelled इन्हिअ or इन्ही) or इन्हे (for \*इनहे), N. इनह or इनहे (in the plur. इनह-ह् or इनहे-ह्, also spelled इन्ह-ह्. इन्हे-ह्, retaining the obl. suff. हे or ह, see § 364, 3)<sup>2</sup>). There are, also, the corresponding obl. pl. forms Mw. इपाँ or अपाँ, Km. इनू or इनो, P. एनँ or एन्हाँ or इनँ or इन्हाँ, Br. इन्हाँ, S. इन्हेँ or इननि or इन्हनि or हिननि (probably with an anomalously transposed ह्, for इनन्हि, cf. § 368, 5). Moreover, Br. has a dat. इन्हेँ, O. H. इनहिँ, and P. an act. एन्हीँ or इन्हीँ. The obl. forms in न्हाँ, न्हाँ, न्हाँ contain the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं respectively (see § 365, 7, being contractions of \*नहँ, \*नहुँ, \*नहिँ). These remarks apply, *mutatis mutandis*, also to the analogous forms of the relat., interrog., and gen. dem. pron. in Mw., P. and S. — Even the original forms एउ, तेउ, etc. occur in S. as simple pronom. adv.; viz. in

1) It should be noticed that here, again, the far dem. उनि is founded on the longer form एवउ, but the near dem. on the shorter एउ.

2) S., also, has an obl. sg. हिन् which stands for \*इन्ह = इनह.



the obl. form एडे or एडहँ or एडहुँ *hither*, तेडे or तेडहँ or तेडहुँ *thither*, केडे or केडहँ or केडहुँ *whither* <sup>1</sup>). Some of these exist, also, in E. H. (with the usual change of इ to न्), एने *hither*, तेने *thither*, जेने *whither-soever*, केने *whither*.

३) The Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. एव, तेव or तिव or तेम, जेव or जिव or जेम, etc. (see Nro 1) seem to have also produced the following Gd. simple pron.; viz. O. येडँ, केडँ, G. जेव, तेव (also spelled जेउ, तेउ or जेओ, तेओ) or जेम, तेम which, however, appear to be used only as obl. plur. forms (see Ed. 41. 43); also G. कओ m. (कर्इ f., कडँ n.), probably for \*कवो, shortened from the strong form केवो, which occurs in G. as a qualit. pron.; S. has केओ m. (कर्इ f., Tr. 209); the corresponding weak form \*कउ occurs in Br. कौ or को, N. को, and is used alike for masc. and fem., sing. and plur. (just like Ap. एहु, see Nro 6). Similarly N. has त्यो (for \*तिवो) and जो, Mw. ज्यो or जो, Br. जौ, P. जो; M. also has masc. जो, but makes a regular fem. जी and neut. जेँ, and obl. sg. ज्या or जे, obl. pl. ज्यौँ, dir. pl. जे, ज्या, जौँ; a fact which points to their origin from the strong forms \*जओ, \*जई, \*जयँ. To the M. obl. pl. ज्यौँ corresponds the Mw. obl. pl. ज्यौँ, Gw. ज्यौँ. The S. has m. जो, but a rather anomalous f. जा, pl. जे c. g. Exactly analogous are M. sg. तो, ती, तेँ, pl. ते, त्या, तीँ; obl. sg. त्या, ति, pl. त्याँ, Mw. त्याँ, Gw. त्यौँ. The G. neut. कडँ was used already in the Ap. Pr. as pronom. adv. कडे *why* (H. C. 4, 416). Also तउ, जउ are mentioned as Ap. Pr. acc. (= nom.) and gen. sg. forms by Md. in the following two sūtras: यन्नदोरु अमा जउ.तउ । अमा सह यन्नदोरु जउ तउ स्यात् । जउ मग्गसि तउ देमि ॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jau tau* in the acc. sg.; e. g., what thou askest, that I give; and उडिउस्यौँ जउ तउ च । यन्नदोरु इत्य् एव । चकारात् पक्षे प्राकृतवत् ॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jau tau* in the abl. and gen. sg. or they have the regular Pr. forms <sup>2</sup>). I believe, N. is the only Gd., which

1) The forms in हँ, हुँ are, properly, obl. plur., but used as sing.

2) My MS. reads यन्नदो मा जउ पतिउ । अमा सह यन्नदोर्जउ तउ स्यात् । जउ म° तउ द°; there can be little doubt, that जउ, तउ (or perhaps जडे. तडे) is the true reading as shown by the succeeding sūtra, where the MS. reads जउ,

admits *तो*, *तो* as obl. forms; viz. in the abl. sg. *तो बाट* or *तो सँग* *from which*, *तो बाट* or *तो सँग* *from him*. — In G., *एम*, *तेम* *thus*, etc. occur also as pron. adv. (Bs. II, 336, 337); so also in O. H. *केम* or *केमं* *how*, etc.<sup>1)</sup>. B. adds the pleon. suff. *अन्* (§§ 209. 214); thus *एमन्* or *एमनि* or *एमने*, *तेमन्* or *तेमनि* or *तेमने* *thus*, etc. (see S. Ch. 216).

4) From the Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. *एवडु*, *तेवडु*, etc. are also derived the G. far dem. pron. *ओलो* or *पेलो* *he, that* and the pronom. adv. *अइले* or *ऐलहे* *now*, *तइले* or *तैलहे* *there*, etc. by the change of *इ* to *ल्*. Thus Ap. *एवडो* becomes \**अवडो*, \**अवल्लो* or contr. *ओलो* or *पेलो* (for *वेलो* with an anomalous hardening of *व्* to *प्*). The N. *अइले* or *ऐलहे* (for \**एलहे*) is a loc. (or obl. form) sing. made with the obl. suff. *हे* and is = Ap. Pr. *एवडहे* (see § 469). The Pr. loc. sg. *ताला* *there*, *जाला* *where*, *काला* *where* (H. C. 3, 65) are probably to be explained in a similar manner. Possibly the S. interrog. *केह* *who* may be identified with the short quant. pron. *केडु* by the change of *इ* to *र*; but it may be also (as Tr. 206) the curtailment of the Ap. qual. pron. \**केरिहु*, a slight modification of the ordinary Pr. *केरिसो*, Skr. *कीदृशः*. The Ap. strong form \**केरिहो* becomes in S. the simple pron. *केही* *what* (usually spelled *केहो* with transposed *ह*). Substituting in *केरिहो* the long Ap. form *केव* for *के*, and the original *दू* for *र*, we obtain *केवदिहो* (cf. Pr. *कीदिसो* Ls. 116); and similarly *एवदिहो* or *एदिहो* for the ordinary Pr. *एरिसो* or \**एदिसो*, Skr. *ईदृशः*. Here the palatal vowel *इ* changes *दू* to *त्र*, and thus in S. the Ap. \**एदिहो* and \**एवदिहो* become the simple pron. *इको* *this* (for \**इत्रिहो*, just as S. *केही* for *केरिहो*) and *उको* *that* respectively; the one being the near. the other the far dem. pron., corresponding to the short and long

*तउ*. In the original MS., which was in the Oriya characters *उ* (or *उं*) would be hardly distinguishable from *इ*.

1) E. g., Chand Pr. Rāj 25, 28 *कहै नटु सो राजन वर प्रेम । मह सागपन सा करिहि सु केमं* i. e., says the king to the actor, full of affection. how will she make kinship with me? or 1, 82 *जरो ताप उधरो केम नथ्य* i. e., I am hot with fever; how can I remove it, oh Lord?

qual. pronominal forms. Similarly the S. कुताउ *what* stands for the Ap. \*केवदिहउउ (with the pleon. suff. अउउ, see § 217, H. C. 4, 429). In H. there is a pron. adv. कुता *where*. In the Ap. there is a qual. pron. एस्ताहु *such-like* (K. I. 5, see Ls. 449, 455) = Skr. एतादृशः. In P. there is the qual. pron. अतिहा or अनेहा *of this sort* (Ld. 19, 56).

5) The pron. of qual. are in Skr. ईदृशः, तादृशः *such-like*, etc. They become in the Ap. Pr. एहु, तेहु, नेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or (in the st. form) एहो, केहो etc. The first of these एहो or एहु or एह was already used in Pr. as a simple pron. *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 362)<sup>1)</sup>, and it occurs in most Gds. as the dir. form of the near dem.; thus P. एह or इह, Br. इहु or यहु or यह, E. H. इह or ई (for \*इह dropping ह्) or ऐह. O. has एहि which appears to be founded on the form \*एहे mentioned by K. I. 8 in Ls. 449, and in Ap. Mg. (see § 46). The S. ही or हे or हिउ (for इह, एह, इहु) transposes the ह्; and the S. इहो (for इहो) elides it; so does also the N. यो (for इहो) and Mw. यो; and the Mw. ओ drops the initial य् of यो. In M. the initial इ or ए is dropped; thus हा m., हो f., हे n. (for Ap. \*इहउ, \*इहिआ, इहयं, all st. forms) with a regular obl. sg. हा, pl. हाँ, and dir. pl. हे m., हा f., हो n. The Ap. Pr. qual. pron. केहो occurs in S. as the adjectival simple pron. केहो (fem. केही) or (eliding ह्) केओ *which* (Tr. 209); so also in G., where, however, ए is shortened to अ, thus G. कओ (fem. कई, n. कउँ). But perhaps these S. and G. forms are rather to

1) H. C. limits all three forms to the nom. and acc. sg., but Mđ. only एहो and एहु, while he appears to allow एह for all cases; thus तद्गु चैह सुपा। सुपा सह तदे... स्यात्। एह तपो बाला वपा वा। चकारात् पूर्वोक्तरूपम्॥ i. e., *tad* in declension becomes *eha* or (*ema*) as before mentioned. The reading in brackets is doubtful; perhaps it is to include the pron. अदस्; as in the succeeding rule. एहो एहु च स्वभ्यां। स्वभ्यां सह तददसोर एहो एहु च स्यातां। एहो सोहेह देवता वा। एय शोभते। एतं पश्यति। एवं एहु। चकारात् पूर्वोक्तं च॥ i. e., in the nom. and acc. sg., *tad* and *adas* become *eho* or *ehu* or as before mentioned (*eha*). Mđ. is correct; for *eha*, being a pure base, may serve as an obl. form, while एहो and एहु are proper nominatives.

be connected with the base केव (see Nro 3). In P. the pleon. suff. ङ is added, thus केहङ *which*, तेहङ *whichever* (fem. ०ङ्गे). — Connected with the Ap. Pr. केहो is also the W. H. (so-called) neut. interrog. pron. कहा or P. किआ *what*, with ए shortened to इ and अ. They are really obl. forms. The P. किआ stands for \*किहा and is contracted in H. H. to क्या. S. transposes ह् (i. e., किआ *khid*, § 132, note) and changes कि *kh* to छ *chk* by the influence of the palatal इ, thus making छा (Tr. 208). Similarly G. changes \*किहो, \*किही, \*किहुं into घो, ग्री, गुं (for हो, ही, हुं, see § 11, for \*किओ, \*किई, \*किउं). — Here is also to be mentioned the peculiar E. and W. Gd. (exc. G.) general dem. pron. से or सो, O. also सेहि *that*. which I am inclined to derive from the Skr. सदृशः *like*. It would become in the Ap. Pr. \*सेहो or \*सेहु or \*सेह, just as Ap. एहो, एहु, एह for ईदृशः; and it would easily acquire the meaning of *such-like* in correlation with the relat. pron. ते or तो. It is commonly (Bs. II, 314) identified with the Pr. nom. sg. सो (H. C. 3, 3) or the Pr. gen. sg. से (H. C. 3, 81). But the Gd. से is *never* an obl. form; and both the Gd. से and सो are used indifferently in the nom. sg. and plur. Besides the S. सो forms a fem. सा and plur. से; and the O. सेहि seems to be an analogous form to O. एहि. Possibly the E. H. nom. sg. and pl. ते, ते, के may be identified with the Ap. qual. pron. तेहु, तेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or तेह, तेह. केह, by dropping the final ह्; for a form तेह, etc. appears in the emphatic forms तेहै, etc.

6) The same Skr. qual. pron. इदृशः, etc. also become अइसो, तइसो, तइसो, कइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or अइसु, तइसु, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331. 332) in the Ap. Pr. In Gd. अइ is changed to ऐ or ए or इ or अ; thus strong forms: W. H. ऐसौ, तैसो. P. and H. H. ऐसा, तैसा, N. यूसो (for \*ऐसो or \*इसो, see §§ 71. 171), तसो, M. असा, तसा, etc. But the weak forms तसु or तसु. तसु or तसु, etc. also occur in Br. (see Bates' Hindi Dict.) and O. H. Thus Chand in Pr. Raj 24, 52 योनं योनं नर उडे। चंद तस उपम पाइय ॥ i. e., *from place to place men fly up* (i. e., *like birds*), *such a simile has Chand devised*. In modern Gd., however, the weak forms have become

simple pron. Thus P. ऐस् or एस् or इस्, तिस्, N. यस्, तस् *he* or *this*, etc. They are found only as obl. forms. The corresponding fuller obl. forms in ए also occur; thus H. H. has इस्ते, तिस्ते (as dat. acc. to *him* or *him*) besides इस्, तिस्, etc., (just as E. H. कौन्, and कौने, see Nro. 2; contr. for Ap. अइसहि or अइसहे, see § 365, 6). B. has the gen. sg. किस्ते-रू of *what*, dat. loc. किस्ते to or in *what* (S. Ch. 122; just as B. देवे-रू of *god*, देवे to or in *god* of देव). M. has not only the sing. obl. कसा or कस्या (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाह or कइसायाह, Skr. कीदृशस्य or कीदृशकस्य, see § 365, 1), but also the pl. obl. कसाँ or कस्याँ (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाहँ, etc., § 365, 4) of *whomsoever* (see Man. 54; just like M. obl. sg. देवा, pl. देवाँ of देव *god*). The existence of these fuller obl. forms shows that the shorter ones (तिस्, जिस्, etc.) cannot, probably, be identified with the Pr. gen. तस्स, जस्स, Skr. तस्य, यस्य, etc. (as Bs. II, 315).

7) Again the before mentioned (see Nro. 1) Skr. quant. pron. इयत्, तावत्, etc. are changed in the Ap. Pr. to एन्निउ (H. C. 4, 341), तेन्निउ, जेन्निउ, केन्निउ (cf. H. C. 4, 383) or, in the strong form, to एन्निओ, तेन्निओ, etc. (H. C. 4, 395, cf. 2, 157, for \*एन्निओ, etc.). The latter become in W. H. इन्नौ, तिन्नौ, etc., H. H. इन्ना, तिन्ना, O. एते, तेते, etc. (Bs. II, 332); the former in S. एति°, तेति°, etc., G. एट°, तेट°, etc., W. H. and P. इत°, तित°, etc., E. H. ऐत°, तेत°, etc., B. एत्, तेत्, etc. (S. Ch. 85). As a rule, these weak forms add some pleon. suff. (ना or रो or लो); thus P. इतना, तितना, etc., S. एतिरो, तेतिरो, etc., G. एटलो, etc. (see §§ 452. 453). But the plain weak form is used in P. as a simple pron.; thus इत्, तित् *he* or *that*, जित् *which*, कित् *who* (Ld. 22, 66); it occurs, however, only in the obl. sing. (e. g., gen. तित् दा of *this*). Both these shorter obl. sg. and the corresponding fuller obl. sg. forms are used as pron. adv.; thus Br. इत् or इतै *here*, तित् or तितै *there*, etc., P. इत्ये, तित्ये, etc., S. इति or इते or इत्थि or इत्थे, तिति or तिते or तित्थि or तित्ये, etc. The forms इत्थि, इत्थे, etc. are contracted from इत्तहि or इत्तहे, तित्तिहि or तित्तिहे, etc. These are loc. sg., made with the Ap. Pr. obl. suff. हे (see § 365, 6), and occur even in the Ap. Pr.

itself, as एतद् *here*, तेतद् *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 436)<sup>1</sup>). By the side of the shorter forms एत्तिम्, केत्तिम्, etc., Pr. uses also the longer forms एवत्तिम्, केवत्तिम्, etc. (see Wb. Bh. 422); and as Pr. एत्तिम् originates the W. H. near quant. pron. इत्तो, so Pr. \*एवत्तिम् (shortened \*अवत्तिम्, \*ओत्तिम्) becomes the far quant. W. H. उत्तो, *that much*, H. H. उत्ता. The corresponding weak forms are S. ओति°, G. आट°, W. H. and P. उत°, E. H. ओत°, B. अत् (S. Ch. 85, see §§ 452. 453); and the pron. adv. are, Br. उत् or उत्तै, P. उत्थे, S. उति or उते or उत्थि or उत्थे; and P. uses उत् as a simple pron. in the obl. cases; e. g., उत् दा *of him*, of *that*.

8) The following Gd. pron. forms appear to be remnants of the old simple pron. The Skr. gen. sg. तस्य, यस्य, etc. become in the Ap. Pr. तस्स, जस्स or तास, ज्ञास or तासु (also तस्सु H. C. 4, 419), ज्ञासु (H. C. 4, 358. 3, 63). In O. H. the following instances of the latter two kinds of forms occur, तास or तासु and ज्ञास or ज्ञासु<sup>2</sup>), in Br. only तासु and ज्ञासु (Kl. 122, a); and P. has कास् as the obl. form of the neut. interrog. pron. (*of what*, Ld. 20, b). But in the Ap. Pr. the gen. or obl. form is also made by adding the ordinary obl. suff. हो or हे, before which the vowel may be either long or short; thus तहे. कहे (H. C. 4, 359) or ताहे, काहे (H. C. 3, 65), एतहे (H. C. 4, 436) or एताहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134); again ताहो, काहो or ताह, काह, etc.<sup>3</sup>). Some of the forms with आ

1) Perhaps the Ap. Pr. forms एतु *here*, तेतु *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) may be similarly explained as contr. from एतहु, तेतहु, etc., made with the abl. or obl. suff. हु (H. C. 4, 336, see § 365, 6); and the Ap. Pr. forms तनु *where*, तनु *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) as acc. neut. in उ (H. C. 4, 331) or as containing the abl. suff. तो or तु (= Skr. तस्). Some of these Ap. forms have been received into the literary Pr.; viz. एत्थ (for एतह = एतहु) or एताहे or एतो, see H. C. 3, 82. 83. Vr. 6, 20. 21, where they are expressly described as being abl. sing.; and जत्थ, तत्थ, कत्थ, see H. C. 2, 161 and Wb. Bh. 422 (कत्थ and एत्थ = \*एतहं abl. pl., § 365, 7).

2) Thus Chand, Pr. R. 25, 16 तास राज समीपं । र्हो नट विद्या उचारं ॥ i. e., *near that king I remain to practise the art of the actor*.

3) Mā. says: दीर्घो ऽ स्ते वा उत्सादिशे । स्ववर्जिते उत्सादिशे एषां (i. e. किंयत्तदां) दीर्घो वा स्यात् । काहो । काह । कासु । काहं । काहुं । एवं यत्तदोः ॥ स्ते । कस्स । जस्स ॥

are preserved in Gd.; thus ताहि, जाहि, काहि (for \*ताहे, etc.) and ताहु, जाहु, काहु (for ताहो, etc.) in Br. (Kl. 122. 226) and, as the obl. form of the so-called neut. interrog., काहे in E. H. and Br., and काह् in P.; in O. H. also ताह् or ता<sup>1</sup>). The Ap. Pr. loc. sg. is तहिं, जहिं, कहिं (H. C. 4, 357); apparently these have become general obl. forms in S. तौहिं, जौहिं, कौहिं, and with आ in O. ताहिं, जाहिं, काहिं, and perhaps serve as neut. interrog. pron. in Mw. काई<sup>२</sup> or कौई<sup>३</sup> (dropping ह्) and also in the Ap. Pr. काइ (H. C. 4, 367) and कइ (H. C. 4, 426).

9) The indefinite pron. are made by adding the emphatic particles उ or ई (see § 550) to the interrog. pron. Thus E. H. केहु *any one* = केहु + उ *kehu + u* and कौनो = कौन + उ *kauna + u*, M. कोणी = कोण् + ई *kon + i*, H. H. कोई = को + ई *ko + i*.

439. *Declension.* Correlative pron. are declined regularly like nouns, with the following two exceptions: 1) those of the short form (ई, ऊ, ते, ने, के, § 433) may optionally use in the gen. the aff. कर् or कर्ता. This affix is treated precisely like an adj.; i. e., it follows the gender, number and case of the governing noun. Thus कर् is the weak form, of com. gen. and incapable of inflexion, but कर्ता is the masc. st. form (§ 381), making a fem. कर्ती (§ 384) and obl. masc. करे (§ 386), fem. करी, both in the

i. e., *ka, ya, ta* may become *ká, yá, tá* before the gen. suff., exc. when the latter is *ssa*. — It will be observed, that हे is a general obl. suff.; for in H. C. 4, 359 (तहे) it is a gen. suff., in H. C. 3, 65 (ताहे) and H. C. 4, 436 (एतहे) and H. C. 2, 134 (एताहे) it is a loc. suff.; in H. C. 3, 82 (एताहे) it is an abl. suff. Moreover, हे may be shortened to हि and ह्, see H. C. 2, 161 (तहि, तह्); and ह् or त्य is an abl. suff. in H. C. 3, 82 (एत्य = \*एतह्), but a loc. suff. in H. C. 2, 161 (तत्य = \*तेतह्).

1) Thus Chand Pr Ráj 25, 36 न न हंस धीर् न न सुख ताह् = i. e., *neither his soul nor his felicity was firm*; again 25, 16 ता ग्रह सु पात्र अनेक गुन = i. e., *in his house is a daughter of many virtues*. — It may be observed, that the so-called neut. interrog. pron. is, in reality, merely some obl. form of the common interrog. pron.; thus M. has काय् (for \*काहि = \*काइ); Bs. has काह and Bh. का (for काह्) *what*.

sing. and plur. (§ 386); but करे may be used, though anomalously, as a fem. obl. The strong forms are not commonly used in the nom., nor the weak forms in the obl. cases. Practically, therefore, the aff. are; dir. form करू c. g., obl. करे m. or करी f.; just like कै and के. It should be observed also that the latter aff. only (but not करू, करे) can be used with the full pron. obl. forms in इ (viz. ऐह्, ओह्, तेह्, नेह्, केह्) and with the emph. obl. forms in ही (as ऐही, ओही, etc. § 433). Thus dir. form sg. or pl. के करू घर or केह् कै घर or rarely के कर्ता घर *whose house or houses*; के करू मेहर or केह् कै म<sup>०</sup> or rarely के करी म<sup>०</sup> *whose wife or wives*; obl. sg. के करे घर मे or केह् के घर मे or rarely के करू घर मे *in whose house*; के करी मेहर से or केह् के मेहर से or rarely के करू or के करे म<sup>०</sup> से *from whose wife*; obl. pl. के करे घरन् मे or केह् के घरन् मे *in whose houses*; के करी मेहरन् से or केह् के म<sup>०</sup> से or rarely के करे म<sup>०</sup> से *from whose wives*; etc. — 2) There is no acc. proper, identical with the nom., but only the (improper) acc. formed with the dat. aff. के. Thus *whom* is के के or केह् के or कवन् के or कौने के, but not simply के or कवन्.

440. Optionally a sort of pleon. declension may be made, by adding the case-aff. to the ordinary obl. form of the gen. in ए. In the *kharī bhāshā*, however, this is not commonly done, exc. in the loc.; e. g., sg. ओ करे मे *in him*, pl. ओन्ह करे मे *in them*, etc.

441.

## 1. Short form.

a) Simple form: ई *he, this*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	ई	ई	ईलोग्
acc., dat.	ए के or ऐह् के	ऐन्ह के	ऐन्ह लोगन् के
instr., abl.	ए से or ऐह् से	ऐन्ह से	ऐन्ह लोगन् से
gen.	ए कै, के or ऐह् कै, के or ए करू, करी, करे	ऐन्ह कै, के or ऐन्ह करू, करी, करे	ऐन्ह लोगन् कै, के
loc.	ए मे or ऐह् मे or ए करे मे	ऐन्ह मे or ऐन्ह करे मे	ऐन्ह लोगन् मे



b) Emphatic form: इहै or इहौ *even he, even this*.

Singular.

nom.	इहै or इहई	इहौ or इहउ
acc., dat.	एही के	एहू के
instr., abl.	एही से	एहू से
gen.	एही कै or एही करू or ए करै or ए करे ही	एहू कै or एहू करू or ए करौ or ए करे हू
loc.	एही मे or ए करै मे or ए करे ही मे	एहू मे or ए करौ मे or ए करे हू मे

Plural.

nom.	इहै or इहई	ऐन्ह हूँ
acc., dat.	ऐन्ह ही के	ऐन्ह हूँ के
instr., abl.	ऐन्ह ही से	ऐन्ह हूँ से
gen.	ऐन्ह ही कै or ऐन्ह ही करू or ऐन्ह करै or ऐन्ह करे ही	ऐन्ह हूँ कै or ऐन्ह हूँ करू or ऐन्ह करौ or ऐन्ह करे हूँ
loc.	ऐन्ह ही मे or ऐन्ह करै मे or ऐन्ह करे ही मे	ऐन्ह हूँ मे or ऐन्ह करौ मे or ऐन्ह करे हूँ मे

*Note:* Like ई are declined ऊ *that*, ते *he*, ते *which*, के *who*; only substituting ऊ, ओ, उ, ओ and ते, ति, ते, etc. for ई, ए, इ, ऐ respectively. — All forms with ऐ or ओ may, optionally, be spelled with इ or उ; e. g., ऐन्ह के or इन्ह के *to these*, and ओन्ह के or उन्ह के *to those*, etc.

442. 2. Long form: तवन् or तउन् or तौन् *he, this*.

Sing. and simple plur.

	Com. gen.	Fem.
nom.	तवन्	तउनी
acc., dat.	तौने के	तौनी के
instr., abl.	तौने से	तौनी से
gen.	तौने कै, के	तौनी कै, के
loc.	तौने मे	तौनी मे

Compound plural.

	Com. gen.	Fem.
nom.	तौनेलोग्	तौनीलोग्
acc., dat.	तौनेलोग् के or तौनेलोगन् के	तौनीलोग् के or तौनीलोगन् के

Com. gen.

Fem.

instr., abl.	तौनेलोग् से	or तौनेलोगन् से	तौनीलोग् से	or तौनीलोगन् से
gen.	तौनेलोग् कै, के	or तौनेलोगन् कै, के	तौनीलोग् कै, के	or तौनीलोगन् कै, के
loc.	तौनेलोग् मे	or तौनेलोगन् मे	तौनीलोग् मे	or तौनीलोगन् मे

*Note:* Like तवन् are declined तवन् *which* and कवन् *who*; also आपन् *own* (§ 449). — Their forms may, optionally, be spelled with अच or अउ or औ according to § 34; e. g., तउने के or तौने के *to this*.

442a. . Short form: के or केहू. Long form: कौनो *any one*.

Sing. and simple plur.

Compound plural.

nom.	के	केहू	कौनो	केलोग्	केहू लोग्	कौनो लोग्
a., d.	के के	केहू के	कौनो के	{ के लोग् के	केहू लोग् के	कौनो लोग् के
i., abl.	के से	केहू से	कौनो से	{ or के लोगन् के	केहू लोगन् के	कौनो लोगन् के
gen.	के कै, के	केहू कै, के	कौनो कै, के	etc.	etc.	etc.
loc.	के मे	केहू मे	कौनो मे			

*Note:* Like केहू is declined तेकेहू *whosoever*.

### 3. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN.

443. The reflexive pron. *self* is आप्. It is alike for both genders, and is declined regularly like a subst., but has no plur.; the sing. form being used for both numbers; dat. sg. and pl. आप् के *to himself* and *to themselves*.

444. *Affinities.* W. H. and P. use the same refl. pron. आप्; O. has आपे or आपण, B. आपनि (with obl. आपना), M. आपण्; while in S. it is पाण; H. H. has in the dir. form आप्, but in the obl. आप् or अपने. The M., B. and O. forms आपण and H. H. obl. अपने are properly the corresponding possess. pron. (*own*), see § 449; it is in fact a sort of possessive declension. see §§ 440. 432.

445. *Derivation.* The original of the refl. pron. is the Skr. subst. आत्मा (nom. sg. of आत्मन्) *soul* or *self*. In Pr. it becomes आप्पा or अत्ता (H. C. 2, 51. Vr. 3, 48) or आप्पो (H. C. 3, 56) or Ap. Pr. अप्पु (or st. f. अप्पउ H. C. 4, 422). In Gd. it is आप्; in O. H. and Br., also, आप्. The Pr. form अत्ता, I believe, has left no trace in Gd. In Pr. the pron. also assumes a long form

अप्पाणो (H. C. 2, 51. 3, 56), Ap. Pr. अप्पाणु (H. C. 4, 396), which survives in the S. पाण with the loss of the initial अ; O. H., also, has it as m. अपान्, f. अपानि (Kl. 124, 231). Cw. 46 mentions also a Pr. form अत्ताणो, which, however, has left no trace in Gd., and is, probably, a false reading.

#### 4. THE HONORIFIC PRONOUN.

446. The hon. pron. is substituted for the pron. of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sg. तै<sup>०</sup> and pl. तूँ, in respectful address. It is, in the wk. f. रावर् or राडर् c. g., in the st. f. रडरा or रौरा m., रडरी or रौरि f. It is declined regularly like a subst. (§ 379). But the refl. pron. आप् may also be used as a honorific; and in that case it always forms the comp. plur. आप्लोग् when applied to more than one person.

447. *Affinities and Derivation.* The use of राडर् as a hon. pron. seems to be confined to E. H.; but आप् and its cognate forms are used so in all Gds.; thus B. uses आपनि (S. Ch. 114. 115. note, with obl. f. आपना or आपनका), O. आपणा (Sn. 18), W. H. आप्, P. आप् (Ld. 20, 58), etc. — The original of राडर् I believe to be the Skr. noun राजकुल<sup>०</sup> (or राजकुल्य) *royal*, Pr. राअडल<sup>०</sup> or रौडल<sup>०</sup> (Vr. 4, 1. H. C. 1, 267), see § 78.

#### 5. PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

448. By the term. *pron. adjectives*. I designate the possessive pron. (as *mine, thine, own*), the correl. adj. of quantity and quality, and the indefinite pron. *all, whosoever, some*.

##### a) Possessive pronouns.

449. Possess. pron. may be derived from the first and second pers. and from the refl. pron. Those of the first pers. pron. are: wk. form मोर् c. g. *mine*, or st. f. मोरा m., मोरी f.; and wk. f. हमार c. g. *our*, or st. f. हमरा m., हमरी f. Those of the second pers. are: wk. f. तोर् c. g. *thine*, or st. f. तोरा m., तोरी f.; and wk. f. तोहार c. g. *your*, or st. f. तोहरा m., तोहरी f. Those of the refl. pron. are: wk. f. आपन् c. g. *own*, or st. f.

अपना m., अपनी f. They are declined regularly like adj. of the corresponding form (see § 386). The possess. pron. of the third pers. is identical with the gen. of the near or far dem. pron.; viz., wk. f. एकर or ओकर c. g. *his* or *her*, or st. f. एकरा or ओकरा m., ओरी f.; and wk. f. ऐन्हकर or ओन्हकर c. g. *their*, or st. f. ऐन्हकरा or ओन्हकरा m., ओरी f.

*Note:* The following bye-forms also occur: हमारा *our*, तोहारा *your*, fem. ओरी. — The adj. निन् *own* is also frequently used as a refl. pron.

450. *Affinities.* The forms of these pron. do not differ materially in the Gds., exc. in M., S. and, partially, P. They are: of the first pers., B. मोर, आमार; O. मोर or मोहोर, अम्भर; W. H. मेरो, हमारी (Br.) and मारो or म्हारो, मारो or म्हारो (Mw.); G. मारो, अमारो; N. मेरो, हम्रो; but P. मेरा, असाडा or साडा; M. माका, आम्-चा; S. मूँ-जो or मुहुँ-जो, असँ-जो. Of the second pers., B. तोर, तोमार; O. तोर, तुम्भर; W. H. तेरो, तुम्हारो or तिहारो (Br.) and थारो (or थाडा), थारो (Mw.); G. तारो, तमारो; N. तेरो, तिम्रो; but P. तेरा, तुसाडा or तुहाडा; M. तुका or तुम्-चा; S. तो-जो or तुहुँ-जो, तव्हँ-जो or अव्हँ-जो. It should be observed, that B. and O. use आमार, अम्भर and तोमार, तुम्भर as sing. *mine*, *thine*, and form new plur., B. आमा-देर and even मो-देर *our*. तोमा-देर, तो-देर *your*, O. अम्भमानङ्कर, तुम्भमानङ्कर. Similarly also N. हमीहेर-को, तिमिहेर-को or तिमिहेर-को. B. forms also आमादिगेर or आमार-देर or आमार-दिगेर and similarly तोमादिगेर, etc. — Of the refl. pron : E. H. आपन् or अपना, O. H. आपुन् or अपना, Br. अपनी or आपनी, M. आपला, P. आपणा, N. आफना, G. आपणो, but also आपन्-नो, O. आपणा, but also आपण-र (Sn. 18), S. पाँ-जो or पाँहँ-जो. — The possess. pron. of the third pers. are made in all Gds. in the same way as in E. H.

451. *Derivation.* It will be observed that these adj. pron. are made by simply adding the gen. aff. (see the list in §§ 374. 377 also §§ 272—280) to their corresponding subst. pron. In some cases the aff. still remains a separate word; thus in S. मूँ-जो *mine*, M. आम्-चा *our*, P. तुसा-डा *your*, S. पाँ-जो *own*, Mw. आप-रो *own*, O. आपण-र *own*. In others it has coalesced with the base into one

word; as E. H. मोर *mine*, हमार *our*, etc. The latter contain two of the ancient gen. aff. केर and कर, on the derivation of which see § 377. The former appears in the ordinary Pr. possess. pron. of the plur. अम्हकेरो *our*, तुम्हकेरो *your* (H. C. 2, 147); in the sing., however, the ordinary Skr. forms seem to have been used, thus Pr. मई *mine* = Skr. मदीय (H. C. 2, 147). The aff. कर always elides क्, and coalesces with the base; thus in the Ap. Pr. महारु (H. C. 4, 358) or महारा (H. C. 4, 434) *mine* (for \*महकरु or \*महकरा, मह being the gen. of हउं I, cf. H. C. 3, 113), or contracted in the Nāgara Ap. मेरो (Md. त्वदीये तेर । मदीये मेर ॥); so also in Br. मेरौ or in Mw. मारो or म्मारो. The E. H. मोर is founded on a form \*महुकरो (from gen. महु, H. C. 4, 379) or has been assimilated to तोर *thine*. Again Ap. Pr. तुहार (cf. H. C. 4, 434) *thine* stands for \*तुहकह (from gen. तुह, H. C. 3, 99) and is contracted in E. H. to तोर. The Br. तेरौ and Mw. बारो presuppose an original form \*तहकरा (from gen. तह, see § 430, 2) or have been assimilated to मेरो, म्मारो. Again Ap. Pr. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 434) *our* (= \*अम्हकरा, from gen. or base अम्ह H. C. 3, 113. 114) becomes, by transposition of ह्, H. H. हमारा, W. H. हमारौ; or, by elision of ह्, B. अमार, G. अमारो; or, by elision of अ, Mw. म्मारो; or, by shortening अ, O. अम्भर, E. H. हमरा. Similarly Ap. Pr. तुम्हारा for तुम्हकरा, whence H. H. तुम्हारा, E. H. तोहरा, etc. — The P. form असा-डा (or सा-डा with loss of अ, just as in Mw. म्मारो), तुसा-डा or तुहा-डा are made with the old gen. aff. डा (= M. P. दा, see § 377, 3); as to the सू of असा, तुसा see § 430, 3. 4. It will be observed that in P. and M. the plur. only, but in S. both the plur. and sing. are made by a separate gen. aff. As regards the M. forms माका, तुका see § 430, 5. — As to आपन् or अपना, see §§ 60. 111. The Mw. आपरो contains either the gen. aff. रो, or the रू is a modification of the Pr. ल् of अपुल्लो (H. C. 2, 163). — The S. पढ-तो appears to contain the old gen. \*पानह (Ap. अपपाणहो). contracted to पान्ह = पौह (see § 132, note).

b) Correl. pron. of quantity and quality.

452. The pron. of quant. are: एता or ऐतना *this much*,

तेता or तेतना *that much*, जेता or जेतना *as much*, केता or केतना *how much*. They are strong forms, and consequently are treated precisely as adj. of a like form; that is, they have a fem. in ई (§ 384, as ऐती or ऐतनी, etc.), and an obl. form in ए (§ 386, as gen. एते कै or ऐतने कै *of so much*, etc.). Sometimes also the forms ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक् or इतेक् इतिक् or इतक् or अतेक्, etc.; उतेक् or उतिक्, केतेक् or कितेक् or कतेक् or केतिक् or कितिक् or कितक्, and so forth of जेत°, तेत°, are met with (see Bs. in J. R. A. S. vol. III, 490 and Kl. 141), see § 26. I have also met with the forms जैठा or जौया *as much*, कौया *how much*.

453. *Affinities*. Nearly the same forms are used in all Gds.: thus B. एत, अत, तत, यत, कत or एतक्, अतक्, etc. (S. Ch. 84); एत, etc. are sounded *etā*, etc., but एतक् *etak*; hence gen. एत-र, but एतके-र. O एते, तेते, येते, केते, W. H. (Br.) इन्नो or इतनो, उन्नो or उतनो, तिन्नो or तितनो, etc. or (Mw.) इत्तो, उत्तो, तित्तो, etc., P. इतना, उतना, तितना, etc., G. एटलो, अटलो, तेटलो, etc. (Ed. 44), S. एतिरो or हेतिरो, ओतिरो or होतिरो, तेतिरो, etc. (Tr. 224), M. इतका or इतकाला, तितका or तितकाला, etc. (Man. 52; also कितो or कितोक्? as Tr. 223), N. यति, उति, तति, जति, कति.

454. *Derivation*. The quant. pron. in Pr. are एन्निओ, तेन्निओ, जेन्निओ, केन्निओ (H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Pr. एन्निउ (H. C. 4, 341), केन्निउ (H. C. 4, 383), etc.; and in the strong form: Pr. एन्निओ, etc., Ap. एन्निउ, etc. The Mg. Pr. would have wk. f. एन्निए or एन्निइ or एन्निअ (Vr. 11, 11) or st. f. एन्निअए or एन्निअके or एन्निअकए (see § 202), etc. Now Mg. एन्निअ contracts to O. एते, N. यति, etc.; Mg. एन्निअए to E. H. एता; Mg. एन्निअके to E. H. ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक्, B. एतक्; Mg. एन्निअकए to M. इतका. In Pr. the pleon. suff. लो may be added: एन्निओ (for एन्निओलो, see § 58, note) or Ap. Pr. एन्नुओ, etc., whence G. एटलो, etc. (with ट् or ट् for त् or त्, as in Pr. पट्टण for Skr. पत्तन H. C. 2, 29), S. एतिरो, etc., E. H. ऐतना (see §§ 58. 111. 214). In M., the pleon. suff. ला may be super-added to the pleon. suff. का, thus इतकाला, etc. (lit. Ap. \*एन्निअकअलउ). The Gd. forms उति, उतेक् or उतिक्, अतिरो, etc. are similarly derived from the Pr. एवन्निआ (see Wb. Bh. 422), as explained in

§ 438, 1. 7. — The Pr. forms एन्निओ, तेन्निओ, etc. are in Skr. इयत्किः, तावत्किः, etc. — The E. H. forms कौया, तौया or तैठा are perhaps derived from केवत्तिन्न, तेवत्तिन्न with an anomalous aspiration, as in M. केवठा, and cerebralisation, as in G. तेठलो.

\* 455. *Cognate quant. forms.* By the side of the forms एतुलो, तेतुलो, etc. The Ap. Pr. has the forms एवडु, तेवडु, जेवडु, केवडु (H. C. 4, 407. 408), made by adding the pleon. suff. डु to the quant. pron. एव, तेव, जेव, केव, in Ved. Skr. ईवत्, कीवत्. M. has them in the strong form एवढा or (with pleon. ला) एवढाला, तेवढा or तेवढाला, etc. (Man. 52); so also G. एवडो, आवडो, तेवडो, etc.; S. also has them, but in the shorter form एडो or हेडो, ओडो or होडो, तेडो, etc. (Tr. 224), made by adding the pleon. suff. डो to the short quant. pron. ए, ते, जे, के (see § 438, 1), so also P. wk. f. एड्, or ऐड्, तेड् or तैड्, etc., and st. f. एडा, तेडा, etc.; also O. एडे, तेडे, जेडे, केडे (Bs. II, 336). In this form the quant. pron. usually expresses *size*, i. e., *so large, how large*, etc. In S. the diminutive suff. डो may be added, as एडिडो or हेडिडो, ओडिडो or होडिडो, तेडिडो, etc. (Tr. 224), meaning *so small*, etc. — The W. H. has also तै, जै, कै which are derived from the Skr. quant. pron. तत्तिः, यत्तिः, कत्तिः, Pr. तई, जई (H. C. 1, 177), कई (H. C. 1, 180?), Ap. Pr. तइ, जइ, कइ (H. C. 4, 376).

456. The pron. of qual. are: अइसन् or ऐसन् *of this kind*, तइसन् or तैसन् *of that kind*, जइसन् or जैसन् *of which kind*, कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*. They are the same in the masc. and fem., and are declined regularly, like any adj. (see § 386). But they may also take the strong obl. forms; viz. in the sing., m. ऐसने, f. ऐसनी, etc., in the plur. m. ऐसनन्ह् (or ऐसनेन्ह्), f. ऐसनिन्ह्, etc.

457. *Affinities.* There is much difference among the various Gds. as regards these pron. There are four main types, the characteristics of which are: 1) स, 2) ह, 3) व or म and 4) ड or र or ल. To the first or स्-type belong: E. H. ऐसन्, तैसन् and in Bs. also ऐस् or अस् or यस्, तैस् or तस्, etc.; W. H. ऐसौ, वैसौ, तैसौ (Br.) or इस्यो, उस्यो, तिस्यो (Mw.), etc.; M. असा or असला or असलाला, तसा or तसला or तसलाला, etc. (Man. 52); and

N. वसो, उसो, तसो, etc. Of the second or ह-type are: P. एहा or इहा or अतिहा or अतेहा, तेहा or तिहा, etc., S. इहगे or हिअगे, तिहगे, etc. Of the third or व-type are: G. एवो, अत्रो, तेवो, etc., B. एमत् or एमन्, तेमत् or तेमन्, etc., O. एमन्त्, तेमन्त्, etc. Of the fourth or उ-type are: Mw. ऐगे or ऐरो, वैगे or वैरो, तैगे or तेरो, etc., Gw. ऐनो or ऐनू or अनू, वनो or वनू, तनो or तनू, etc. (Kl. 141).

458. *Derivation.* The qual. pron. in the Ap. Pr. are either अइसो, तइसो, जइसो, कइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or एहु, तेहु, जेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or in the strong form, एहउ or (contr.) एहो, etc., (K. I. 9, in Ls. 449). The former set produces the स-type, the latter the ह-type. M. असला, etc. and E. H. ऐसन्, etc. add the pleon. suff. ल or न्, see §§ 111. 214. M. even reduplicates the suff. ल in असलाला, etc. The S. इहगे, etc. add the pleon. suff. उ. The P. अतिहा preserves the ह-type in a more complete form; for it stands for a Pr. form एदिहओ = Skr. ईदृशः (see § 438, 4). — The Skr. qual. pron. are ईदृशः, तादृशः, यादृशः, कीदृशः, which become in Pr. एरिसो, तारिसो, जारिसो, केरिसो (H. C. 1, 142) or एदिसो, तादिसो, etc. (see Ls. 115). As a rule र (or द्र) is elided (see § 124), whence the Ap. Pr. अइसो, etc. (see § 25, note); and स (or श्) is changed to ह, whence Ap. एहो, तेहो contracted for \*अइहो, \*तइहो, etc. (see Ls. 455). It may be observed, that the P. and S., which alone have the ह-type, similarly change the स (or श्) of Pr. बीसा 20, तीसा 30 (Skr. त्रिशति, त्रिंशत्) into ह, P. बीह, तीह, S. बीह, तीह. — The forms of the व- and उ-types were originally quant. pron. The Skr. इयत् (Ved. ईवत्), तावत्, etc. become in Pr. एव, तेव, etc. or एम, तेम, etc. (cf. Wb. Bh. 422. Ls. 458), whence G. एवो, तेवो, etc. and B. एमन्, तेमन्, etc. (with pleon. suff. अन्, see §§ 209. 214); and the O. एमन्त्, B. एमत्, etc., perhaps, are based on the Skr. इयत्कः, etc., Pr. \*एवन्तओ, and probably contain the suff. Skr. वत्, मत्, Pr. वन्त, मन्त (see §§ 232. 236). — The Mw. ऐगे or ऐरो, etc. are identical with the S. quant. pron. एगे, P. एडा, etc.; and so also the Gw. ऐनो, where उ has been changed to न् (see §§ 106. 438, 2) — The forms, Br. वैसो and Gw. वनो



are founded on the Ap. Pr. forms \*एव्हसो (= Skr. *~ एवाद्वा*) and एवडो respectively.

c) Indefinite pronouns.

459. The indef. pron. *all, every one* is सब् or सभ or emph. सबै or सभै. It is the same in both genders, and is declined regularly like any other adj. of the weak form. But when plurality is to be emphasised, it has an obl. form सभन् or सबहन्; thus gen. सब् or सभ कै of *all* taken as *a whole*, but सभन् or सबहन् कै of *all* taken *severally*.

460. *Affinities.* The forms of this indef. pron. are nearly alike in all Gds. Thus B. सब्, O. सबु, W. H. सब् or सबरू, P. सभ, G. सभ or सर्व (Ed. 44, 1), S. सभु m., सभ f., or सभुको m., °की f., M. सर्व, N. सब्. S. has the emph. forms सभोई and मिड्योई or मिडोई. — E. H. also uses सकर् or सगर् and सार्ग *all, whole*.

461. *Derivation.* The original is the Skr. सर्वः, which becomes in Pr. सव्वो, in the Ap. Pr. सव्वु (H. C. 4, 366) or \*सव्वु (cf. H. C. 4, 399, see § 135, note). The former becomes O. सबु, E. H., N., Br. सब्, the latter Br. सबरू (emph. सबरै). The form सभ has an anomalous aspirate (see § 131), perhaps analogous to N. आफु *self* for आपु, आधि *before* for आगि, etc. — The S. सभुको adds the pleon. suff. को. — The G. and M. सर्व is a semitats. — The strange S. मिड्योई or मिडोई, I believe, to be merely a curtailment of the emph. सभोई or सबोई. The final ई is the emph. particle; the initial म् of the remainder मिडे stands for व (see § 134); the final इड्यो or इडो is a pleon. suff., the same as in S. पेहेर्यो or पेहेरो *first* (see §§ 118. 213), योरिडे *very little* (Tr. 79), एडिडे *so small* (§ 455). In S., स् often changes to ह् (see Tr. XXX); hence सर्व° may have become हर्व° or हर्म°, next ह्र° (by suppressing अ), next म° (cf. Mw. हारो or मारो *our* for Br. हमारो). — The E. H. सगर् is the Skr. सकल° (see § 102); and सार्ग is, perhaps, really the past part. of सार्ग *to complete*, the causal of the R. सृ (= Skr. part. सारितः), or it may be the Skr. सार्वः.

462. The indef. pron. *whoever* is नेकेहू which is both masc. and fem.; and नेकिहु *whatever*, which is used with *things* only.

They are compound forms, made of ते and केहू or किहु, and are declined regularly like their component parts; thus gen. sing. तेकेहू के *of whomsoever*.

463. *Affinities and Derivation.* This pron. is formed in the same way in all Gds. by compounding the relat. with the indef. pron. Thus S. तेको m., तेका f., तेकी n. (Tr. 213); B. तेकिहु or तेकोन् n. (S. Ch. 127), etc. As to its derivation, see § 438.

464. The indef. pron. *some* is केतना or कई which is masc. and fem., and किहु or कुह् or कहु which refers to *things* only. They are declined regularly like adj. Thus gen. केतने लोगन् के *of some men*, कई घोर्न् के *of some horses*, किहु बात् के *of some thing*. When केतना is used independantly, it forms the obl. केतनन्, and to कई the pleon. aff. एक् (§ 289) is added; thus gen. केतनन् के or कईएक् के *of some*.

465. *Affinities and Derivation.* The impersonal indef. pron. is in B. किहु, O. किहि, Br. कहु, H. H. कुह्, M. काँही, Mw. काँई or कई, S. की, P. कुह्. I know no satisfactory derivation for किहु, perhaps it is Pr. \*किंचिहु = Skr. किञ्चित्बलु.

466. Here may be added the E. H. आन् or दूसर् or अउर् or पराई *another*, and एक् दूसर् *one another*.

*Note:* आन् is the Mg. अन्ने (cf. H. C. 3, 58), -Skr. अन्यः; — अउर् is the Mg. अवले, Skr. अपजः; — पराई seems to be connected with the Skr. परकीयः; it also occurs in the Ap. Pr. पराई (H. C. 4, 350) or पराया (H. C. 4, 376). — On दूसर् see § 271.

## 6. PRONOMINAL ADVERBS.

467. The E. H. pron. adv. are the following: a) *of place*, इहँ or इहाँ or इहवाँ or एठे or एठाँ or ऐठेन् or ऐठान् or ऐठाई *here*; ताँ or तहँ or तहाँ or तहवाँ or तेठाँ or तेठेन् *there*; जहाँ or तहँ or जहवाँ or जेठेन् *where*; काँ or कहँ or कहाँ or कहवाँ or केठेन् *where?* The same in emph. form are: इहवै or ऐहीठे or ऐहीठाँ *even here*; तहवै or तेहीठे or तेहीठाँ *even there*; जहवै or जेहीठे or जेहीठाँ *even where*; कहवै or केहीठे or केहीठाँ *even where?*

b) of direction, ऐहर् or ऐह्वर् *hither*; ओहर् or ओह्वर् *thither*; तेहर् or तेह्वर् *thither*; नेहर् or नेह्वर् *with*; केहर् or केह्वर् *with*?

c) of time, अब् *now*, तब् *then*, तब् *when*, कब् *when*? In emph. form: अबहीँ or अबहियैँ *even now*; तबहीँ or तबहियैँ *even then*; तबहीँ or तबहियैँ *even when*; कबहीँ or कबहियैँ *even when*?

d) of manner or cause: यूँ or एउँ or एओँ or अइसे or ऐसे *in this manner or for this cause*; त्यूँ or तेउँ or तेओँ or तइसे or तैसे *thus or therefore, also then*; त्यूँ or तेउँ or तेओँ or तइसे or तैसे *in which manner or for which cause, also when*; व्यूँ or केउँ or केओँ or कइसे or कैने *how or why* or काहे *why*, केहू काहू or काहे बदे *what fore, काहेँ why not*?

468. *Affinities.* Forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. — a) *Adv. of place*; B. (a) एया or हेया, ओया or होया, तथा or सेया, यथा (i. e. तया), कोया or\* (h) ए जाने, ओ खँ, से खँ, ये खँ, कोन् खँ, or (d) हेदे *here*, or (γ) हेरो *here*. O. (α) एठा, सठा, येठा, कोठा, or (h) ए-ठा-रे, येउँ ठारे, केउँ or कोँ ठारे, etc. Bs. (α) ऐह्यँ or ऐह्यन्, ओह्यँ or ओह्यन्, तेह्यँ or तेह्यन्, etc., or (b) उहँ or उहँ or उहवाँ, इहँ, etc. (as in E. H.); (W. H.) Br. (a) इत् or इतै, उत् or उतै, तित् or तितै, जित् or जितै, कित् or कितै or कत्, or (b) यहाँ or यँ, वहाँ or वँ, तहाँ or तँ, नहाँ or नँ, कहाँ or काँ; Mw. (α) अठै or अठी or ईँठै, उठै or उठी or ऊँठै, जठै or जठी (or जैँठै?), कठै or कठी or कैँठै or कोठै (also अउँ, जउँ, etc., Kl. 265); P. (a) इत्ये, उत्ते, तित्ये, जित्ये, कित्ये; S. (a) इति or हिति or इते or हिते or इत्ये, उति or हुति or उते or हुते or उत्ते, तिति or तति or तित्ये or तिते or तित्ये or तते, जिति or जित्ये or जति or जिते or जित्ये or जते (also जतते or जतत्ये), किति or कित्ये or कति or किते or कित्ये (Tr. 392. 393); G. (b) हियाँ, अहाँ, तयाँ or तहीँ or तहाँ, जयाँ or जहीँ or जहाँ, कयाँ or कहीँ or काँहाँ (Ed. 115. Bs. II, 336. 337); M. (a) येयेँ, तेयेँ, तेयेँ or जिये, केयेँ or (α) कोठे (Man. 100); N. (b) यहाँ or यहाँ or जाहाँ, वहाँ or वहाँ, तहाँ or तहाँ, नहाँ or नहाँ, कहाँ or काँहाँ.

b) *Adv. of direction*; B. (c) एमने, अमने, कमने; O. (γ) एने, कने; E. H. (c) ऐह-रू or ऐह्व-रू, etc.; in some parts also (γ) एने or (c) एमह-रू or (γ) एनह-रू, etc. (cf. Kl. 266); W. H. इधरू, उधरू, तिधरू,

निधरू, किधरू; P. unknown; S. (γ) एडे or हेडे or एडहँ or ऐडहँ or एडहुँ or हेडहुँ, ओडे or होडे or ओडहँ etc., तेडे or तेडहँ or तेडहुँ, नेडे etc., केडे etc.; G. (γ) आणी-गम्, तेणी-गम् (cf. Bs. 336. 337); M. (c) इकडे or हिकडे (Man. 127), तिकडे, त्रिकडे, किकडे; N. (b) वॉहिँ, वॉहिँ, तॉहिँ, तॉहिँ, कॉहिँ. The adv. of place may also be used in all Gds.; generally with the dat. aff. added; e. g., E. H. तहाँ के, O. सेहा कु *thither*, etc.

c) *Adv. of time*; B. (c) एवे, तवे, ववे, कवे (S. Ch. 207) or (h) ए-खन्, त-खन्, व-खन्, क-खन्; O. (c) एवे, तेवे, येवे, केवे; E. H. (c) अब्, तब्, जब्, कब्; W. H. (c) अबे or अबे, तबे or तौ (= तब्), जबे or जौ, कबे, or (d) जदू or जदै or जदा or तदू, तदू or तदै, कदू or कदै or कदा or कदू, or (e) जरै, तरै; O. H. (c) ताम, जाम; P. (d) तदू, जदू, कदू; S. (c) तौ, जौ, or (γ) तडिहीँ, जडिहीँ, कडिहीँ; M. (c) एवहाँ, तवँ or तेवहाँ, जवँ or जेवहाँ, केवहाँ (Man. 100. 125), or (a) आताँ *then* (Man. 100); N. (c) अब्, तब्, जब्, कब्, or (c) अबले or ऐल्हे, तडले or तैल्हे, जडले or जैल्हे, कडले or कैल्हे, or (e) जरू, तरू.

d) *Adv. of manner*; B. (γ) हेन्, केन्, or (c) एमन् or एमत् or एमनि or एमने or एमते, अमनि, तेमन् or तेमत् etc., येमन् or येमत् etc., केमन् or केमत् or किमत् etc. (S. Ch. 216. 217. 218); O. (c) (एमन्त, सेमन्त, येमन्त?), केमन्त or कियौँ or काहिँ-के or काहा-रू, O. H. एम or एमि, तेम or तिमि, जेम or जिमि, केम or किमि; P. (c) एउँ, तउँ, जउँ, कीउँ; S. (c) ईँअ or हीँअ or ईँअ or हिँअ or ईँ, उँअ or हूँअ or उँअ or हुँअ or उँ or हुँ, तीँअ or तिँअ or तिँ, जोँअ or जिँअ or जिँ, कीँअ or किँअ or किँ; G. एम्, आम्, तेम्, जेम्, केम्; M. (f) असेँ, तसेँ, जसेँ, कसेँ (Man. 101. 126); N. (f) यसै, तसै, जसै, कसै, or यसै, तसै, जसै, कसै, or (h) यसो-गरि, तसो-गरि, etc., क्यान् *why*.

I may add here, that pron. adv. implying *from* or *up-to* are made in all Gds. by adding abl. or loc. aff. to the above mentioned pron. adv. Thus O. क-ठुँ *whence*, E. H. कहाँ-से or केहरू-से *whence*, कबू-से *since when*, कबू-तक् or कहाँ-तक् *how long*, S. के-सीँ or का-सीँ or के-सीँअ or के-ताईँ *how long* (Tr. 394); N. काँहाँ-बाद or काँहाँ-देखि *whence*, etc. But in P., M., Mw., S. and occasionally in the other Gds. they may be made by giving to the adv. of place or direction a different (abl.) inflection; thus P. (a) इथोँ

*hence*, उत्थो<sup>ॐ</sup> *thence*, etc. (Ld. 70. 103); M. (a) एधून् (Man. 126) or इकडून् *hence*, तिकडून् *thence*, etc. (Man. 100, 2. d); Mw. (a) अठा चूँ *hence*, कठा चूँ *whence*, etc.; S. (a) इतौ or इताऊ or इतहूँ or इताहूँ or (γ) एडाँ or एडाऊ or एडहूँ or एडाहूँ *hence*, etc. (Tr. 394. 39P); O. काहुँ *whence*.

469. *Derivation.* The case of the pron. adv. is similar to that of the pron. themselves (see § 438). Here also, there are six different types, marked *a* (or *a*), *b*, *c* (or *γ*), *d*, *e*, *f* respectively; and the adverbs are in reality obl. forms of what were originally qual. or quant. pron. adj. Thus: 1) the Ap. Pr. uses the obl. form (or loc. sg.) in हे of the quant. pron. एन्निअ, etc. as pron. adv. of place (as explained in § 438, 7), एन्ने, तेन्ने, etc. (H. C. 4, 436); in P. and S. they are contracted to इत्ये (for \*इन्ने), तित्ये or (eliding ह्) W. H. इतै, तितै or S. इते, तिते or (shortening the final ए) इति, तिति, etc. The M. येये<sup>ॐ</sup>, तेये<sup>ॐ</sup>, etc. are similarly contracted from Ap. Pr. एन्निहिं, तेन्निहिं (with the obl. or loc. suff. हिं H. C. 4, 357, see also § 378, 3); and the B. एया, तया (also एयाय्, तयाय्, see S. Ch. 214. 222), etc. from the Pr. एन्नाहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134), etc. There is also a series of by-forms of this *a*-type (marked *a*) which substitute ङ् for य्; e. g., Mw. अठै, तठै (like S. इत्ये), E. H. ऐठै<sup>ॐ</sup>, तेठै<sup>ॐ</sup> (like M. येये<sup>ॐ</sup>), O. एठा, सेठा (like B. एया), etc.; analogously to the change in the pron. adj., G. एटलो *so many* for E. H. ऐतना, S. ऐतिरो, etc. It appears, that some confusion originated at an early period between the terminations या and ठा, ये<sup>ॐ</sup> and ठे<sup>ॐ</sup>, ये and ठे and the nouns (loc.) यान् or ठान्, याई<sup>ॐ</sup> or ठाई<sup>ॐ</sup> in a place. The E. H. emph. forms एही-ठाई<sup>ॐ</sup> or एही-ठे<sup>ॐ</sup>, etc., and the O. येडै-ठारु, कंडै-ठारु can hardly be explained on any other theory. Indeed, the real phrases, E. H. ए यान् in this place, ते यान् in that place, etc., B. ए खान्, त खान् (with ख् for य् as in Pr. खाणू for Skr. स्वाणू; H. C. 2, 7) are not unfrequently used. — Again 2) Ap. Pr. uses the loc. sg. in हिं or इं of the quant. pron. एन्व as a pron. adv. of time and manner: एन्वहिं *now* (H. C. 4, 420) and एन्वइं or एन्वइ *thus* (H. C. 4, 421. 420). In B. and O. they are contracted to एवे or एवे, and in W. H. shortened to अबै *now*,

O. H. इमि *thus* (for \*एमि), S. इएँ *thus* (for \*इमेँ or \*इवेँ). Similarly the W. H. तत्रै, O. H. तिमि, S. तिएँ, etc. postulate an Ap. Pr. तेम्बहिँ or तेम्बइ, etc. The Ap. Pr. also uses the plain obl. form (without suff., H. C. 4, 345) एम्ब *thus* (H. C. 4, 420), तेम or तेवँ or तिम or तिवँ *thus*, etc. (H. C. 4, 401. 397). They become in O. H. and G. एम, तेम, etc., in S. एउँ, तउँ (changing व *va* to उ) or इअँ, तिअँ (eliding म् or व्) or ईअँ, तीअँ, etc. (with ई, perhaps, to compensate for the elision of the conj. म्), in W. H. contracted यौँ, त्यौँ, etc. or E. H. यूँ, त्यूँ (for \*एउँ, \*तेउँ) *thus*, etc.; but also as adv. of time M. तँ *then*, E. H. and H. H. अब् *now*, तब् *then*, N. अब्, तब्, etc. B. adds the pleon. suff. अन्, thus एमने or एमनि or एमन् *thus*, etc. (= Ap. Pr. \*एम्बउइ); so also W. H. एवन् *thus*, etc. B. also uses these forms as adv. of place or direction, thus एमने *here* or *hither*. N. adds to them the pleon. suff. ल and uses them as adv. of time; thus ऐल्ले (= Ap. Pr. \*एविल्ले) or अइले (= Ap. \*एविल्लइ), etc. The O. H. and E. H. use the shorter form ए, etc. for एव or एम्ब, etc., and add the pleon. suff. न (= Ap. उ); thus एने *here* or *hither*, etc. (for B. एमने, Ap. Pr. \*एम्बउइ); so also S., which preserves the original उ; thus एउे *hither*, etc. S. also uses the obl. or loc. suff. हँ and हुँ (H. C. 4, 340, see also § 378, 3) instead of ए; thus एउहँ or एउहुँ *hither*, etc. These last forms are purely Ap. Pr., exc. that in that language they would be loc. *plur.* Similarly the obl. suff. हँ is used in the M. एव्हँ *now*, etc. (for \*एव्हँ with transposed ह् for \*एवहँ). In the M. forms इकडे *hither*, etc. (shortened for \*एकडे) both the pleon. suff. क and उ have been added. The simpler forms तिको, तिको (without उ) occur in Mw. (see Kl. 132). This seems to me more probable, than the assumption of a compound इ + कडे *on this side* from the subst. कउ *side* (as Man. 127). S. also uses the obl. or loc. suff. हिँ (H. C. 4, 347. 357), probaby confused with the emph. aff. ई or हो, in तडिहोँ *then*, etc. — The Ap. also uses the forms ताम, त्राम (for तेम, तेम = Skr. तावत्, यावत्, H. C. 4, 406) as adv. of time. They are in O. H. (Chand) ताम, त्राम and in S. तौँ, त्रौँ. — The E. H. ऐह्र *hither*, etc. (lit. ऐह-इ) contain the loc. suff. र (shortened for रे,

as in O. *हत-रे in the hand*) and the obl. form *ऐह्* (on which see § 438, 1); similarly E. H. *ऐह्वर्* (transposed for *ऐवहर्*), *ऐमहर्* or *ऐम्हर्*, *ऐनहर्* or *ऐन्हर्* *hither*, etc. contain the obl. forms *ऐवह्* or *ऐमह्* or *ऐनह्* of the bases *एव* or *एम* or *एन*. — Again 3) the Ap. Pr. has the pron. adv. *तहाँ*, *जहाँ*, *कहाँ* (H. C. 4, 355). They are stated by H. C. to be abl. forms in the phrases *तहाँ होतओ आगदो he came thence*, etc. That phrase means lit. *he came being there*, i. e., *from there*. In fact, *होतओ* is the abl. aff. added to the adv. of place *तहाँ*, just as in O. H. *तहाँ हुंतो*, E. H. *तहाँ से* (see §§ 376, 1. 468, p. 312). Those Ap. Pr. forms are still used as adv. of place in E. H. and W. H. *तहाँ there*, etc. or, slightly modified, in G. and N. *ताँहाँ*, etc. They are, I think, derived by means of the obl. suff. *हं* (forming gen., abl. and loc. in Ap. Pr., see § 376, 4) from the qual. bases Ap. Pr. *एह्*, *तेह्*, etc., but shortening *ए* to *इ* or *अ*; thus Ap. Pr. *एहहं*, E. H. *इहाँ* (for \**इहअं*), W. H. *यहाँ*; Ap. Pr. *तेहहं* or *तहाँ*, E. H. *तहाँ* (compare Ap. Pr. *तुम्हहं होतओ आगदो he came from you*, H. C. 4, 373). Similarly the Ap. Pr. obl. or loc. suff. *हिं* is contained in the G. *तहीँ there*, etc. (for Ap. \**तेहहिं*) and perhaps in the N. *ताँहिँ thither*, etc. — Again 4) the forms M. *असेँ*, N. *यसेँ*, E. H. *ऐसेँ thus*, etc. are obl. forms of the Ap. Pr. qual. pron. *अइसो*, etc. (H. C. 4, 403, the Ap. instr. would be *अइसेँ*, loc. *अइसइ* or *अइसे* H. C. 4, 342. 334, but see § 367, 2. 4 on such obl. forms). — Again 5) the W. H. forms *इधरू hither*, etc. are perhaps contracted for *इदह-रू* and connected with the Pr. qual. pron. *एदूह्*, etc. (H. C. 2, 157); the medial *अ* being suppressed and the loc. aff. *रू* (for *रे*) added. To this type belong the B. *हेदे here* (S. Ch. 215) for \**एधे* or \**एदहे* = Pr. loc. sg. *एदूहे*, and the W. H. adv. of time *जदै* or *जदा* or *जदू* or *जद when*, *तदै then*, etc. for \**जदहे* (eliding *ह्*) or Pr. *जेदूहे*, etc. Similarly W. H. has *इधरू hither*, etc. by the side of *इधरू*, etc. — Again 6) the Mw. *तरै*, *जरै*, N. *तरू*, *जरू then, when* are, perhaps, connected with the Skr. *तर्हि*, *जर्हि*; or they may be of the same origin as the P. *तेजे whither*, *तेजे thither* (see Nro. 2 changing *इ* or *उ* to *रू*); and the B. *हेरो here* (S. Ch. 215) also belongs to this type. — Lastly, the B. *ए खन् now*, etc. are com-

pounds of ए *this* and खन् *moment* (Skr. क्षण, Pr. क्षण H. C. 2, 20), and the N. यसो गरि *thus*, etc. of यसो *such* and गरि *having done* (conj. part. of the R. कर् to do, for करि); just like B. ए खान् *here* (see Nro. 1).

## FOURTH SECTION. INFLECTION OF VERBS.

### FIRST CHAPTER. FORMS OF THE VERB.

470. There are two *kinds* of verbs, the transitive and the intransitive; two *degrees*, the simple and the causal, of which the causal is always transitive; two *voices*, the active and the passive, of which the intransitive verb possesses only the active, but the trans. has both; four *moods*, the indicative, conjunctive, imperative, infinitive, to which may be added as a fifth mood the participles.

#### 1. KINDS.

471. A trans. verb is formed from an intrans. by lengthening the radical vowel, viz. अ to आ, इ to ई or ए, उ to ऊ or ओ; and *vice versa* an intrans. from a trans. by shortening the same vowel. Thus from the intr. कट् to be cut comes the trans. काट् to cut; similarly गड् to be buried, गाड् to bury; मर् to die, मार् to kill; लड् to be laden, लाड् to load; मिल् to be mixed, मेल् to mix; दिख् to be seen, देख् to see; दिस् to be seen, दीस् to see; लिप् to be smeared, लीप् to smear; खुल् to be opened, खोल् to open; हुट् to be loosed, होड् to loose; गुय् to be plaited, गूय् to plait. Again from the trans. उखाड् to pluck up comes the intr. उखड् to be plucked up; likewise नहाय् to bathe, नह् to flow, etc., see also § 351. Trans. and intr. verbs are conjugated alike, except in the 3. sg. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. ind., where they have different forms (see § 504); e. g., tr. कइल्स् he did, but intr. गइल् he went.



472. *Affinities.* In all Gds. these sets' of trans. and intr. verbs occur; but in M. and S. the trans. root may optionally end in इ; thus M. सुट् to get loose, but सोडि to loose; S. मर् to die, but मारि to kill (see Tr. 48); e. g., M. सुटतो I get loose, but सोडितो I loose or (in Konkani, see Man. 68, note) सोडतो; again सुट्ला it got loose, but सोडिला he loosed; again सुटत् getting loose, but सोडीत् loosing, etc.; again S. मरण् to die, but मारिण् (or in Lārī) मारण् to kill; again मरु die thou, but मारि kill thou; again मर्दो dying, but मारिंदो killing; again S. सुनि or सुनु hear thou, सुनंदो or सुनींदो hearing, etc. But E. H. कुटतो, कुटलो, कुटत्; मरब्, मर, मरत्; and so also झोडतो, झोडलो, झोडत्; मारब्, मार, मारत्; सुन्, सुनत्.

473. *Derivation.* As a rule, the E. H. intrans. and its respective trans. verb correspond to the simple verb and its resp. causal in Skr., where the causal is made by lengthening the radical vowel of the simple verb with *guna* or *vrddhi*. In some cases, however, the E. H. trans. and intr. verbs correspond to the Skr. act. and pass. verbs; see § 351. The originally causal character of such Gd. trans. verbs is shown by their possessing the Skr. causal suff. इ in M. and S.

## 2. DEGREES.

474. The causal is formed from the simple verb by adding the suff. आब् to the root (see §§ 339. 349). To the causal root, thus formed, the infin. suff. अब् or इब् is reattached. If the simple root contains a long vowel it is shortened; viz. आ to अ, ई and ए to इ (or ऐ), ऊ and ओ to उ (or ओ). Thus S. V. करब् or करिब् to do, S. R. कर, whence C. R. कराब्, inf. कराइब् (eliding व् by § 33) to cause to do; or S. V. मिल् to mix, S. R. मिल्, whence C. R. मिलाब्, inf. मिलाइब् to cause to mix; similarly S. Vs. पीयब् to drink, लेब् to take, घूमब् to turn, बोलब् to speak, whence C. Vs. पियाइब् to cause to drink, लियाइब् or लेयाइब् to cause to take, घुमाइब् to cause to turn, बुलाइब् or बोलाइब् to call, etc.

*Exception.* खाब् or खाइब् to eat, R. खा, forms its causal खियाइब् to cause to eat for \*खयाइब् (cf. § 55).

*Note:* Observe that, according to §§ 25. 33. 34, the suff. *आव्* may, in certain positions, undergo various changes, viz. *व* is elided before *इ* or *ई*; *आ*, when antep-multiplicate. is shortened to *अ*, and *व्* vocalised to *उ*, while *अ + इ* may change to *ऐ* and *अ + उ* to *ओ*. Thus *चलाई* *he will cause to walk* (for \**चलावी*); *चलडवो* or *चलैवो* *I shall cause to walk* (for \**चलाविओ*); *चलउतो* or *चलौतो* *I cause to walk* (for \**चलावतो*); but *चलावत्* *he causes to walk* (not *चलउत्*).

475. *Affinities.* The causal is formed nearly in the same way in all Gds.; but B., O., H. H. and S. use the caus. suff. *आ*, as C. R. *पढा teach* of S. R. *पढू read*; E. H. and G. have *आव्*, as *पढाव्*; W. H. has *आव्* or *आउ*, as *पढाव्* or *पढाउ*; P. and N. have *आउ*, as *पढाउ*; M. has *अवि*, as *पढवि*. The shortening of *आव्* to *अव्* (as in M.) also occurs occasionally in Hindī (poetry), as *पुनव्* for *पुनाव् fill* (see Kl. 207) and *पुरव्* for *पुराव् fill* (Kl. 228); so also the contraction of *आव्* to *औ*, as *रिसौ* for *रिसाव् be angry* (Kl. 228); and H. H. optionally contracts *आव्* to *ओ* in *डुबो* or *डुबा immerse* of R. *डूब*, and *भिगो* or *भिगा* (for *भिगाव् moisten* of R. *भिग*; also in P. *भिगो* (Ld. 67); M. occasionally changes *अवि* to *इव* in trans. verbs, as *सोडिव* or *सोडवि loose* (Man. 78, note. 110), and sometimes retains *आव्*, as *बोलावि* or *बोलवि call* (Man. 109). — Monosyllabic roots, ending in a vowel, form in most Gds. irregular caus.; thus the C. Rs. of R. *खा eat* are in B. *खानोया* (S. Ch. 129), O. *खुआ* (Sn. 37), E. H. *खियाव्*, W. H. *खवाव्* (or *खव* Kl. 207: 217), P. *खुआउ* (Ld. 67), M. *खववि* (Man. 77), G. *खवाउ* (Ed. 114), S. *खारा* (Tr. 257), H. H. *खिला*. Again of R. *दे give* they are in B. *देओया* (S. Ch. 129), O. *दिया* (Sn. 37), E. H. *दियाव्* (also Bs. *दिवाव्*), W. H. *दवाव्* or *दिराव्* (Kl. 214), M. *देववि* or *देविव्* (Man. 118), G. *दवाउ*, S. *डिआर* (Tr. 256), H. H. *दिला*. Exactly analogous are the C. Rs. of the Rs. *जा go* and *ले take*; but H. H. has *लिया cause to take*, not \**लिला*. Similarly formed are the C. Rs. of *पी drink*, *सी sew*, *जी live*; thus S. *पिआरू*, *सिआरू* (Tr. 256), G. *सीवाउ* (Ed. 114), H. H. *पिला*, *सिला*, *जिला*; but E. H. regularly *पियाव्*, *सियाव्*, *जिलाव्*. Also of the Rs. *चू leak*, *सो sleep*, *रो weep*,

धो *wash*, ढो *carry*, बो *sow*; thus H. H. चुला, सुला, रुला, धुला, ढुला, G. बड़ाड् (but H. H. बोझा), S. चुझार् (Tr. 256). Some roots which end in consonants, form irregular causals in the same manner; thus R. सिख् or सोख् *learn* has in H. H. सिखला, S. सेखार् (Tr. 257) *teach*; but regularly in E. H. and W. H. सिखाव्, N. सिखाउ, M. भिक्खि (Man. 78), B. and O. (also optionally H. H.) सिखा; again R. देख् *see* in H. H. optionally दिखला or दिखा, P. दिखाल् or दिखलाउ (Ld. 67), S. डेखार् (Bs. I, 242) *show*, but regularly E. H. and W. H. दिखाव्, N. देखेउ, etc. Again R. कह् *speak* in H. H. optionally कहला or कहा (*be called*, in pass. sense, see § 354, 2), G. केहेवडा (Bs. I, 243), but regularly in E. H. कहाव्. Again R. बह् or बिह् *sit* (Skr. उपविष्) in H. H. बहला (in the sense of *amuse*, lit. *cause to sit*), P. बहाल् (Ld. 87), S. बिहार (Tr. 256). Again R. बैह् *sit* (Skr. उपविष्ट) in H. H. optionally बिठला or बैठाल् or बैठा; and R. पैह् *enter* (Skr. प्रविष्ट) in H. H. पैठाल् (Kl. 186). Again R. पाह् *see* in M. पाहववि (cf. Man. 75); R. लिह् *write* in M. लिहववि (Man. 77); R. जोह् *regard* in H. जुहार *salute* (lit. *cause to be regarded*); R. ऊम् *be excited* (cf. H. C. 2, 57) in H. उभार् *excite*; R. उय् *rise* in S. उयार् (Tr. 257); R. सुम् *sleep* in S. सुम्हार; R. डिन् *be afraid* in S. डिन्नार्; R. विहिन् *bathe* in S. विहिन्नार् (Tr. 257); R. जम् *eat* in G. जमाड् (Ed. 50); R. घट् *diminish* in G. घटाड् (Bs. I, 243), and others.

476. *Derivation.* Caus. verbs are formed in Skr., as a rule, by adding the suff. अय (or इ) to the S. R., but exceptionally also by means of the suff. आपय (or आपि), as क्षापयति *he causes to tremble* from S. R. क्षाय्; चापयति *he causes to collect* from S. R. चि, etc. In Pr. these two suff. become ए and आवे resp. (Vr. 7, 26. 27); in later Pr. (by a change of class, see § 347) अ and आन्, and finally in Gd. अ-quiescent and आव् (see § 349). Besides, while in Skr. the formation with आपय is exceptional, in Pr. the two modes of formation with ए and आवे are equally common; and finally in Gd. the formation with आव् (or आउ or आ) is the exclusive one, while the other is only preserved in the trans. verbs (see §§ 471—473). Thus Skr. S. R. मृ *die*, C. R. मार्य (or

मारि) *kūl*. Pr. मारे or मार, E. H. मार; again Skr. कृ *do*; C. R. कारय (or \*कारय), Pr. कारे or कार or करावे or कराव, E. H. कराव; or in the 3. sg. pres. ind. Skr. मारयति, Pr. मारेइ or मारउ, E. H. मारे; Skr. कारयति, Pr. कारेइ or कारइ or करावेइ or करावइ, E. H. करावै. — The Gd. suff. आव् changes व् to उ in N. and P. (cf. § 34) and drops it in B., O., H. H. and S.; it also shortens आ to अ in M. The Pr. suff. आवे becomes in M. अवि or अव (cf. § 472); the former is trans. and forms causals, the latter is intr. and forms potent. pass. (see § 483). — The irregular monosyll. verbs appear to use the double causal, (see §§ 477. 478) in the place of the ordinary one; compare e. g., M. खावळि *cause to eat* (for \*खावाळि), B. खाओया (for \*खावा with आओ for आव्), W. H. खवाव्, O. लुआ (with उ for अव्) with M. नित्रवळि or नित्रवि *cause to cause to sleep* (Man. 109); again S. खार *cause to eat* (contr. for \*खारार) with S. फेरार *cause to cause to turn* (Tr. 258). The G. खवाड् *cause to eat* is transposed for \*खवडा; the original form is preserved in G. केहेवडा *cause to speak* from R. केह्, and the suff. अवडा or खवाड् belong to the double causal, as may be seen from the M., where roots in ह्, as a rule, take the double caus. suff. अवळि (Man. 77); e. g., लिहवळि *cause to write* from R. लिह्. Similarly the S. suff. आर् or आरा (for \*आवार or \*आवराव्), H. H. आल् or आला are double causal suff. The origin of these strange forms °डा, °रा, °ला which are confined to the W. Gds. (espec. G. and S.) is very obscure. The identification of ल् with the य् of the Skr. caus. suff. अय (as Bs. I, 241) is hardly correct; for the H. ल् as well as the S. र् are modifications of the G. ड् (or ड्)<sup>1)</sup>, but the Skr. य् could not possibly change into ड्. It should be observed, that there is a remarkable similarity between the Gd. caus. formation and that of Psh. The latter language forms causals by means of the suff. अव or एद्; the former corresponding to the M. अवि, G. आव्, S. आ; the latter to the G. आड, S. आर्,

1) Not *vice versa*; ड् sometimes changes to ल्, see § 105; but never ल् to ड्.

H. H. आल्. See also the remarks in § 354, 2. A few instances of caps. in आउ occur in the Pr.; e. g., भमाडेइ or भमाडइ (besides the regular भामेइ or भमावेइ or भमावइ) of R. भम् roam (H. C. 3, 151); also तमाडइ (H. C. 4, 30. see also H. C. 4, 161); धंसाडइ *he looses* (H. C. 4, 91).

477. From the caus. verb an other causal may be formed, precisely in the same way, by adding the suff. आव् to the caus. root, the long आ of which is shortened to अ. Thus S. V. पठ्वाच् to read, S. R. पठ्, C. R. पठ्वाच् *cause to read* (i. e. *teach*), whence other C. R. पठ्वाव्, inf. पठ्वाइव् to *cause to cause to read* (i. e. *to cause to teach*). This I shall designate the *double causal*. It may, obviously, be formed from the simple verb immediately, by adding to the S. R. the compound or reduplicated suff. अवाव्. These double causals are conjugated in every respect like the ordinary causals.

*Note:* The double caus. of a trans. verb implies that something is done by the intervention of a *third* person; as कर्ब् means *to do*, कर्वाइब् to *cause an other person to do it*, but कर्वाइव् to *order an other person to cause a third person to do it*. In the case of an intr. verb, the double caus. has the sense of an ordinary caus., and the ordinary caus. the sense of a trans.; as बनब् to *be made*, बनाइब् to *make*, बनवाइब् to *cause an other person to make it*.

478. *Affinities and Derivation.* The double caus. probably exists in all Gds., and it is formed in the same way by reduplicating the ordinary caus. suff. Thus E. H. has अवाव्, W. H. अवाव् or अवाउ, P. अवाउ, M. अववि or अव्वि (Man. 109), G. अवाव् (or अवडा), S. आरा (Tr. 257), H. H. (and probably B. and O.) अवा. Thus of R. पठ् *read*, double caus. R. in E. H. पठ्वाव्, W. H. पठ्वाव् or पठ्वाउ, P. पठ्वाउ, M. पठ्वावि or पठ्वावि, G. पठ्वाव्, S. पठ्वा, H. H. पठ्वा to *cause to cause to read*. The principle of the formation of the double caus. seems to be analogous to that of the redundant forms of subst. (see § 203). As there the pleon. suff. क, so here the caus. suff. आपि is reduplicated (i. e. \*अपापि or \*अपापय).

## 3. VOICES.

479. The passive voice is formed by adding to the past part. of the act. verb the auxiliary जाइब्, which is the same as the intrans. verb जाइब् to go and is conjugated in the same manner. The past part. undergoes no change whatever may be the gender or number of the subj. Thus act. खाइब् to eat, pass. खायल् जाइब् to be eaten; or पढ़ैला he reads, pass. पढ़ल् जाला it is read. This I shall call the *compound passive*.

*Exception.* The pass. of the verbs जाइब् to go and होइब् to become is not formed with their ordinary past part. गयल् and भयल् but with the special past part. forms जायल् and होयल् (see § 304).

*Note:* Observe that the comp. pass. is very rarely used in E. H. or, indeed, in any of the Gds. It is commonly paraphrased by means of compound verbs; e. g., to be beaten is मारू खाइब्, lit. to eat a beating, not मारा जाइब्.

480. *Affinities.* All Gds. form this pass. by composition with the verb जाइब्, except S. and optionally Mw., N. and P. In the latter it is made by adding some suffix to the root; viz. S. इन्, Mw. इन् (see Kl. 214), N. इय, P. ई. But P., Mw. and, probably, N. also use the comp. pass. The B. and O. do not use their past part. in इल् but that in अ in the formation of the pass. base, after the manner of the W. Gds. The E. H. and M. alone use the part. in अल् (or इल्) for the pass. (see § 303). Thus E. H. पढ़ल् or पढ़िल् जाय् it may be said, M. पढ़िला (or पढ़ला) जाए it was wont to be read (Man. 99); but B. पढ़ा जाय् (S. Ch. 142), O. पढ़ा जाये (Sn. 39), H. H. पढ़ा जाए (or जावे), W. H. पढ़ि जाए or पढ़्यो or पढ़्यो जाए, P. पढ़िआ जावे (Ld. 60), G. पढ़्यो जाय्; but S. पढ़िने (Tr. 259. 331), Mw. पढ़ीनै, N. पढ़िये, P. पढ़ीए<sup>1</sup>). The latter kind of pass. is occasionally preserved in H. and M.; thus

1) Thus in the 3. sg. fut. pass. Mw. पढ़ीतैलो it will be read, N. पढ़ियेला, P. पढ़ीएगा.

in the H. H. respectful imperatives: कीजे (cf. S. किंजगु *to be done* Tr. 260), दीजे, पीजे, लीजे, सीजे, मूजे, हूजे lit. *let it be done, given, drunk, taken, sewn, died, been* (cf. Kl. 164, d); also H. H. करिये, पढ़िये, etc. *let it be done, read, etc.*, W. H. करीजे or करजे, पढीजे or पढजे, etc. (Kl. 212, a); again in the M. पाहिजे *it is wanted* (Man. 90). In O. E. H., O. W. H., O. P. and O. M. they are also often met with; in O. M. sometimes even in an active sense (Man. 139). Thus in O. E. H. (Tulsī Dās) करिय or करिये or करीजे *let it be done* (Kl. 220. 422), करियत *being done* (part. pres., cf. Kl. 220, a), O. P. करीअतु or करीअत; in O. M. करिजे *let it be done*, करिजेतो *it is being done*, करिजेला *it has been done*, करिजेल *it will be done* (Man. 139). Similarly in S. इडिजे *it may be given up*, इडिजेयो *it is being given up* (Tr. 301. 333).

481. *Derivation.* The origin of the modern comp. pass. can be distinctly traced. In Skr. the pass. is made by the suff. व. In Pr. this becomes ईअ or इअ (Vr. 7, 8. H. C. 3, 160), and in Gd. इय or ई or इअ or अत or इत. Thus Skr. पठ्यते *it is read*, Pr. पढीअइ or पढिअइ, whence P. पढीए or N. पढिये or Mw. पढीजे or पढजै or S. पढिजे. Again Skr. क्रियते *it is done*, P. किअइ (H. C. 1, 97) or करिअइ (H. C. 4, 250) or करीअइ, whence H. H. कीजे, S. किये, Mw. करीजे or करजै, O. M. करिजे, P. करीए, N. करिये. In O. H. and M. H. (Bs. or Br.) the pass. forms पढि जाय्, करि जाय् are used. This shows that the old forms पढिजै, करिजै began to be looked upon as compounds of the past part. पढि, करि (= Pr. पढिअ, करिअ, Skr. पठित, कृत, see § 302) and the verb जै (contracted for जाय्, Pr. जाइ, Skr. याति) *it goes*. This misunderstanding, being once established, naturally led to the further step of using the ordinary past part. (in अत्त and यो or आ) in conjunction with the verb जा *to go* to form the pass.; thus पढिजै became पढि जाय्, पढा or पढ्यो or पढल् जाय्. It is probable, however, that the old Skr. suff. व itself is a curtailment of the R. या (= Gd. जा) *to go*; so that the language has merely reverted to the point whence it started. It may also be observed, that there is a tendency in Pr. to shorten a final radical अ, which would facilitate the con-

fusion of the R. ग् (= गा) with the suff. त्. Thus Pr. has गन्ति *they go* (H. C. 4, 388) for Skr. गन्ति; Pr. उत्थि *he rises* (H. C. 4, 17) from R. उथा (= \*उत्थाति); Pr. यथि *he raises* (H. C. 4, 357) = Skr. स्थापयति; Pr. दधि *he gives* (Wb. Spt. 59) from R. दा; etc.

482. Besides the comp. pass., made with ग्ङ् (§ 479), E. H. possesses an other pass., the root of which is made by adding the suff. श्वा to the root of the act. verb. If the latter contains a long vowel, it is shortened, precisely as in the formation of the causal (see § 474). These pass. roots in श्वा are conjugated precisely as any other intrans. roots in श्वा. Thus act. R. पठ् *read*, pass. R. पठ्वा *be read*, inf. पठ्वाङ् *to be read*, just like inf. ग्वाङ् *to go* of the intr. R. ग्वा *go*; again act. R. घूर् *turn*, pass. R. घूर्वा *be turned*, inf. घूर्वाङ् *to be turned*, etc. Though this pass. may be used in the same sense as the comp. pass., yet properly and generally it has a peculiar, viz. a potential, signification. Hence I shall call it the *potential passive*. Thus पठ्वाला means *it can be read*, while पठल् ग्वाला means *it is read*.

*Exception.* The R. खा *eat* makes its pot. pass. R. खिया *be eaten*.

*Note:* As the pot. pass. may have the sense of the ordinary pass., so the comp. pass. may have that of the pot. pass. Thus पठल् ग्वाला may mean *it can be read*, and पठ्वाला *it is read*.

483. *Affinities.* The pot. pass. also exists in M. and G. I think it probable that other Gds. also possess it, but it does not seem to have attracted the attention of grammarians. In M. it is formed by means of the suff. श्व or श्वव, and in G. by the suff. श्वा or श्वा. The longer suff. श्वव and श्वा. are used with monosyllabic roots and roots ending in इ. Thus E. H. छोडाव् *it can be loosed*. G. छोडाव्, M. सोडेवे; again E. H. कहाव् *it can be said*, G. केहेवाव्, M. कहवेवे. This pass. is called in the Man. 75 „the potential verb“ and in Ed. 54 „the first potential mood“, in Ed. 107 „the passive verb“ and in Ed. 51, d apparently „the deponent“. It is constructed in E. H. and G. with the instr. case of the agent, but in M. either with the act. (classically) or



the acc. (colloquially), see Man. 75, 128. note, where, however, the case is erroneously called the dative.

484. *Derivation.* A comparison of the suff. of the pot. pass. with those of the causals (§§ 474. 477) will at once show their identity. Thus the E. H. and G. pot. pass. suff. *आ* is identical with the B., O., H. H. and S. caus. suff. *आ*, and the G. pot. pass. suff. *आ* with the H. H. double caus. suff. *आ*; again the M. pass. pot. suff. *अव* and *अव* are the same as the M. caus. suff. *अवि* and double caus. *अवि*, even as regards the shortening of the original *आ* of the suff. *आव* or *आव*. Again the pot. pass. suff. and the caus. suff. have precisely the same influence on the root; thus in E. H. the R. *खा eat* becomes *लिया* in the pass. and *लियाव्* in the caus. (see §§ 474, exc. 482, exc.). Lastly the longer pass. suff. *आ* and *अव* and the double caus. suff. *आव्* and *अवि* are used precisely in the same way; viz. they are added principally to monosyllabic roots. So far, then, there can be no question as to the identity of the forms of the pot. pass. and the two causals. But the sense and mode of construction of the pot. pass., also, prove that identity. In fact, it is merely a caus. with a peculiar reflexive sense. Thus E. H. caus. *मै पौयी पढउलो* might be translated: *I caused (some one) to read the book*, or briefly, *I caused the book to be read*. Similarly the E. H. *पौयी पढायल्* is either *the book caused (some one) to read itself* or *the book caused itself to be read (by some one)*. It will be seen at once that, practically, this is the same as the pass. *the book was read*. It will also be noticed, that the agent who reads (*some one* or *by some one*) may be expressed either by the acc. or the act. case. Accordingly both cases may be used in M., *मत्ता* (acc.) or *मक्क्याने* (act.) *पौयी पढवली* *by me the book was read*, lit. *the book caused me to read itself* or *the book caused itself to be read by me*. In E. H. and G. the instr. only is employed; thus E. H. *मो से पौयी पढायल्* or G. *मारा खौ पौयी पढायी*. This pass. is now commonly used in a potential sense, *by me the book could be read*; but that sense is not really inherent in the peculiar form of the verb,

but only attached to it conventionally. For even the ordinary comp. pass. may take that meaning; thus मो से पोयी पढल् गयल् *by me the book could be read*. On the other hand, the pot. pass. may have the ordinary pass. sense; see § 482, note.

#### 4. MOODS.

485. *Infinitive*. The infinitive is made by adding the suff. अत् or इत्, obl. अवे or इवे or ऐ to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 308—310. Thus पढ् to read of R. पढ्; पढवे से or पढे से *by reading*; again खाइव् or खाव् to eat of R. खा; खइवे or खैवे or खावे or खाये से *by eating*, etc.

*Note*: For affinities and derivation, see §§ 313. 314.

486. *Adjective participles*. The pres. part. is made by adding the suff. ऋत् c. g., and the past part. by adding the suff. अल् or इल् c. g. to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 298. 299. 302. 303. Thus पढ्त् c. g. *reading*, पढल् c. g. *read*; खात् c. g. *eating*, खाइल् or खायल् c. g. *eaten*, etc. The fut. part. is identical with the infinitive, see §§ 310. 485.

*Note*: For exceptions see § 304; and for affinities and derivation see §§ 300. 301. 305—307.

487. *Prayogas*. The past and fut. part. are used with a pass. sense in the pass. and the infin. respectively, but with an act. sense in the past and fut. tenses act. Thus E. H. मैं छोडल् बाटो *I am loosed*, मैं छोडव् बाटो *I am to be loosed*, but घोरा के (or घोरा) मैं छोडलो *I did loose the horse*, घोरा के मैं छोडवो *I shall loose the horse*, or पोयी के (or पोयी) मैं पढलो *I did read the book*, पं के मैं पढवो *I shall read the book*. The latter usage (with the part. in the act. voice and the subj. in the nom. case and the obj. in the acc.) is what I have called (§ 371) the *pass-act. construction*, or the कर्तरि प्रयोग of the native grammarians. It is peculiar to all E. Gds. Thus the above sentences are in B.: आमि (or मुइ) छोडा जाइ, but घोडा के (or घोडा) आमि छोडिलाम् and घं के आं छोडिब; पोयी के आमि पढिलाम् and घं के आं पढिब; in O. मुहि छोडा जाइ, but घोडा कु मुहि छोडिलि (or अम्मे छोडिल्लु) and घं कु मं छोडिबि

(or  $\text{अ}^0$  होडिआ); पोथी कु मुहि पड्लि and  $\text{प}^0$  कु म<sup>0</sup> पड्लि. On the other hand, the W. and S. Gds. always use these participles in the pass. sense, and, in consequence, where they are employed to express the pret. ind. and pres. conj. (see § 509, 3) tenses act., they take the subj. in the act. case and the obj. in the nom., and agree with the latter in number and gender. This usage I call the *pass. constr.*; and it is the कर्मनि प्रयोग् of the nat. gramm. Thus M. मी सोडिला जातो<sup>०</sup> *I am loosed*, but घोडा मी<sup>०</sup> सोडिला *I did loose the horse* (lit. *the horse was loosed by me*) or पोथी मी<sup>०</sup> वाचिली *I did read the book* (lit. *the book was read by me*), घोडा मी<sup>०</sup> सोडावा *I may loose the horse* (lit. *the horse may be loosed by me*), or  $\text{प}^0$  मी<sup>०</sup> वाचावी *I may read the book* (lit. *the book may be read by me*). The same in W. H. हौ<sup>०</sup> होइयो जावो<sup>०</sup>, but घोडा मै<sup>०</sup> ने होइयो, पोथी मै<sup>०</sup> ने बच्चो; or in S. चाँडं हडिओ चाँहियाँ<sup>१</sup>), but घोडा मूँ हडिओ, पोथी मूँ पड्लो; or in H. H. मै<sup>०</sup> होडा जाता हूँ, but घोडा मै<sup>०</sup> ने होडा, पोथी मै<sup>०</sup> ने पड्लो. There are, however, a few verbs in M., which take the E. Gd. *pass.-act. constr.*; as पठ्ठो<sup>०</sup> to read, पावणो<sup>०</sup> to obtain, पिणो<sup>०</sup> to drink, बोलणो<sup>०</sup> to speak, लेणो<sup>०</sup> to take and others (see Man. 32); thus मी पोथी पठ्लो<sup>०</sup> *I did read the book*, not मी<sup>०</sup> पोथी पड्लो. — There is a third kind of constr. which is also confined to the W. and S. Gds. It is likewise a *pass. constr.*, but differs from the ordinary one, by having the obj. in the acc. case, and the part. in the nom. sing. masc. or neut. It is, in fact, a sort of impersonal *pass. constr.*, and is called by nat. gramm. the भावो प्रयोग्. Thus in this constr. the above sentences would be: M. घोड्या ला मी<sup>०</sup> सोडिले<sup>०</sup> lit. *as to the horse, it was loosed by me*, पोथी ला मी<sup>०</sup> वाचिले<sup>०</sup> lit. *as to the book, it was read by me*; W. H. (Br.) घोडा को मै<sup>०</sup> ने होइयो, पोथी को मै<sup>०</sup> ने बच्च्यो; S. घोडे ले मूँ हडिओ, पोथिअ ले मूँ पड्लो. — Lastly there is a fourth constr., which, I believe to be confined to the N. Gd. (N.). It is *pass.-act.*, but differs from

1) Here, the part. हडिओ is in the pass. voice, but in the pres., instead of the fut. tense, see § 313; but S. has also the old pass. चाँडं हडिआँ यो, see § 480.

that common in E. Gd. by having the subj. in the act. case, with which, however, the verb (i. e. past part.) agrees in number and gender. Thus the same sentences in N. are: घोड़ो मैँ ले ढोड़ियो lit. *as to me, I loosed the horse*, पोथी मैँ ले पढ़ियो lit. *as to me, I read the book*; or with a fem. subj. घोड़ी स्त्री ले ढोड़ी lit. *as to the woman, she loosed the horse*.

488. *Adverbial participle.* This part. is the same as the obl. of the strong form of the adj. part., and ends, according to the tense (see § 486), in अते, अले (or इले), अबे (or इबे). The pres. adv. part. commonly takes the emphatic particle ई, which coalesces with its termination to अतै. In order to distinguish more clearly the resp. time, some noun or case-affix is often added; thus समै *time* after अते, से *from* after अले, के *to* or बटे *for* after अबे. Thus पढ़ते or पढ़तै or पढ़ते समै *on reading* or *during the time of reading*; पढ़ले or पढ़ले से *after reading* or *on condition of reading*; पढ़बे or पढ़बे के or पढ़बे बटे *for reading* or *for the purpose of reading* or *on the point of reading*.

*Note:* The pres. adv. part., as a rule, expresses *coincidence*; the past, *precedence* or *condition*; the fut., *imminence* or *object*. The distinction between the pres. and past, however, is not very strictly observed. — The past adv. part. and the conj. part. may be interchanged, as पोथी पढ़ि आयल् or पोथी पढ़ले से आयल् *he came, having read* or *from reading the book*. — Instead of होते *on being* सते is sometimes used.

489. *Affinities.* These adv. part., as a rule, exist in all Gds., and are used in the same manner, as in E. H. Their termin. are: in B. इते, इले (S. Ch. 148. 184. 185), O. अत, इले (Sn. 28), M. अतँ (or emph. अतँना, Man. 63. 64), H. H. अते (emph. अते ही), ए, अने (Kl. 311, 2. 3. 309, d. e), P. अदे, ए (Ld. 79, 146. 78. 139), S. अदे, ए (Tr. 485. 487). See S. Ch., Kl. and Tr. for syntactical observations and examples. They apply equally to E. H.

490. *Conjunctive participle.* This part. is made by adding the suff. ऐ or इ to the root of the verb. It is, however, usually changed to ए, after a vowel, and dropped after a con-

sonant. In order to emphasise the part. the aff. 'के' is commonly superadded. Thus पढे or पठि or पठ् or पढे के or पठि के or पठ् के *having read* from R. पठ्; खाइ or खाय् or खाइ के or खाय् के *having eaten*; होय् के etc. *having been* from Rs. खा, हो. The simple conj. part. without के is especially used in the formation of compound verbs (see § 537), as कहे देब् or कह् देब् *to inform*, खाय् लेब् *to eat up*, आय् जाइब् *to come on*, etc.

491. *Affinities and Derivation.* The suff. of the conj. part. in Skr. are व or त्वा. The former is used for comp., the latter for simple roots; but in the Ved. Skr. व may be used for either kind. In Pr. (both in Sr. and Mg., H. C. 4, 271. 302) they become इञ्च and ऊण respectively. Both are preserved in Gd.; so, however, that इञ्च is common to the E., W. and N. Gd., while ऊण is confined to S. Gd. and, optionally, E. R. Thus B. has इया (S. Ch. 148), 'O. इ (Sn. 28), E. H. ऐ or इ or *quiescent*, W. H. इ or *quiescent* (Kl. 202, 378. 209, 394), P. इ or *quiescent* (Ld. 79), G. ई (Ed. 113), S. ई or ए (Tr. 280. 281), N. ई; but M. ऊन्, E. R. ऊने (Kl. 209, 394). Thus Skr. कृत्वा (or कर्त्तव्य) *having done*, Pr. Sr. करिञ्च (H. C. 4, 272), E. H. करे or करि or कर्, N. गरी, etc., or Pr. करिऊण, M. करान्, E. R. करान्ने. Or Skr. प्राप्य *having obtained*, Pr. पाविञ्च, E. H. पाइ or पाय्, N. पाई, etc., or Pr. पाविऊण, M. पावून्, E. R. पावूने. I know no satisfactory explanation of the final ए of the E. R. form ऊने. Similar are the O. M. forms ओनि or ओनियौ (also उनि or उनियौ, see Man. 138. 139, as करोनियौ or करोनि *having done*), and the Mg. Pr. form दाणि (Vr. 11, 16, as करिदाणि; also Md. 12, 17) <sup>1</sup>). Analogous to the latter, there might have been a Pr. form \*टूणि, from which rather than from the Mg. दाणि the modern M. and E. R. forms appear to be derived. Both Pr. forms दाणि and टूण (or ऊण) are modifications of the Ved. Skr. and Pāli त्वानं, a by-form of the ordinary Skr. त्वा (see Wb. Bh. 435), which occurs in the

1) Md's sūtra seems to be, क्ते दाणिञ्च स्यात् । पुश्चिदाणि । पत्ते पुश्चिञ्च ॥ i. e., *having asked*; but both H. C. 4, 272. 302 and T. V. 3, 2. 10. 27 omit दाणि and replace it by टूण.

Pr. of the Bh. as त्रापां, just as Skr. त्वा becomes in Pr. त्वा (Wb. Bh. 435) or दुश्च (H. C. 4, 272). If त्वानम् be (with Ls. 289) the acc. sg. of a base त्वान (or त्वन्), the Pr. दापि or Gd. ओनि, ऊने might be a loc. sg. for \*त्रापे or \*तूपे (cf. H. C. 3, 56); and the Gd. ओनिवाँ might be an emphatic form of the same<sup>1</sup>). — Of the Pr. form दुश्च (as in कदुश्च *having done*, गदुश्च *having gone*, H. C. 4, 271) no traces, I believe, have survived in Gd. — The aff. के is itself a contraction of the E. H. conj. part. क्य *having done* of R. कर्. It also occurs in P. के (Ld. 24, 79), in Br. के or कै or कर् or करि (Kl. 202); in E. R. it is curtailed to र् (for कर्); e. g., मार-र् *having beaten* for मार-कर्; खा-र् *having eaten* for खा-कर् (Kl. 209, 394). Mw. has the aff. ने for के; e. g., कर्-ने *having done* = Br. कर्-के (Kl. 209, 394). The two aff. are related to each other precisely as the G. gen. aff. नो is to the W. H. को or कौ (see § 377). In H. H. the aff. is reduplicated, कर्-कै; e. g., मार-कर्-कै *having beaten*; similarly E. R. reduplicates कने (Kl. 209, 394) and N. कन् (shortened for के-ने); e. g., N. गरीकन् *having done*, खाई-कन् *having eaten*, वसी-कन् *having sat*, etc.

492. *Nouns of agency.* This is made by adding the suff. अग्निहार c. g. to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 315. 316. 318. Thus पठ्निहार a reader from R. पठ्; खानिहार eater from R. खा, etc. According to circumstances, these nouns may have the sense of a pres. part. or a fut. part.; thus पठ्निहार may mean *one who is reading* or *one who is going to read*.

Note 1: The masc. strong form in अग्निहार is also used occasionally; likewise the W. H. suff. अनेवारा (for अनेवाला), fem. ०री; but the fem. strong form in अग्निहारी only forms nouns, expressing an act; thus पठ्नेहारा a (male) reader, but पठ्नेहारी the act. of reading (not female reader), see § 319.

Note 2: For affinities and derivation see §§ 320. 321.

1) Ls. 400 supposes दापि to have lost a final anuswāra (for \*दापि) and to have changed the अ of \*दापि = त्रापां to इ.

SECOND CHAPTER. TENSES.

493. There are three tenses, the present, past and future, each of which may be either simple or periphrastic (see § 510). The indicative mood possesses all three; the conjunctive has only two, the pres. and past; the imperative has only one, the present. Every tense possesses two numbers, sing. and plur.; and three persons, first, second and third; and also, though with the exception of the pres. conj. and imper., two genders, masc. and fem.

494. Some of the tenses are formed from the root of the verb, others from the participles. From the root are formed the three pres. tenses of the ind., conj. and imp.; from the part., the past and future tenses, viz. the first and second preterite ind., the past conj. and the fut. ind. Tenses made from the root will be called *radical*; those made from the part., *participial*. A third class, made by adding an auxiliary verb to a participle, I shall call *periphrastic*.

1. RADICAL TENSES.

495. *Present conjunctive and imperative*. These are identical in every respect, and are made by adding to the root the subjoined suff., according to the number and person (but not gender) of the subj. In the 2. sing. the suff. may optionally be omitted. After roots in अ the forms of the suff. are slightly modified by coalescence with that letter.

	Sing.	Plur.		Sing.	Plur.
1. pers.	ओ	ई	after Rs. in अ {	आव्	आई
2. pers.	उ or quiesc. अ	अह् or अ		ओ or आ	आह् or आ
3. pers.	ऐ	ऐ		आय्	आय्

*Note 1:* The pres. conj. is occasionally used in the sense of the fut. indic.

*Note 2:* The 2. pl. ends throughout the conjugation either in अह् *ah* or अ *a*. The latter (अ), being the resultant of the drop-

ping of the final ह् of म्रह्, is always sounded (see § 24, exc.). It is important to observe this circumstance, as, in the future tense, it forms the only difference between the 1. pl. and the 2. pl., and affects the vowel combination. Thus पढब् parhab we shall read, but पढब् parhaba you will read; खाब् khāb we shall eat, but खाब् khāba you will eat, or खाइब् khāib we shall eat, but खाइब् kharba or खाइब् khaiba you will eat (see § 508). So पढ parha read you, but पढ parh read thou. Again पढैल् parhaila you read, not पढैल् parhail (see § 500). — In Kellogg's Hindi Grammar (p. 201. 233—241) the forms of the 2. pl. are given, by mistake, as forms of the 2. sg. Colloquially the plur. is commonly used in the place of the sing. This practice, probably, has been the cause of the misapprehension.

496. *Affinities.* The E. H., I believe, is the only Gd. language, in which the pres. of the conj. and of the imper. are completely identical. In W. Gd. the two tenses are also alike, with the exception of the 2. sg. But in S. Gd., N. Gd. and E. Gd. (exc. E. H.) the differences are more numerous; viz. 2. and 3. sg. differ in B., 2. and 3. sg. and pl. in N., and 1., 2. and 3. sg. and 2. and 3. pl. in M. — The tense, which is now the pres. conj. in E. H., exists in all Gds., but in some of them it has slightly modified its original meaning. It was originally the same as the Skr. and Pr. pres. indic.; and this sense it has preserved in M., though it is now used only in a special case, viz. as a *historical present* or what practically amounts to a *habitual past* (see Man. 59, 3, e. g., तो बहरू निघे *he sallies forth* = *he used to sally forth*); but in O. M. it is employed for the ordinary pres. indic. (Man. 138). Again in B., O. and G. it is both a pres. indic. and a pres. conj. (see S. Ch. 136. 142. Sn. 27. 32. Ed. 54). On the other hand, in E. H., W. H., P., S. and N. it is only a pres. conj. (see Tr. 284—287. Ld. 23, 74. 53)<sup>1</sup>. As a natural

1) Even in these languages it may still be heard occasionally as a pres. ind., e. g., E. H. गुरु तोह् के बोलावै *the teacher calls you*; see also Tr. 287, note and Kl. 206. 212, 402. a; and in O. H. it is still the ordinary



consequence the W. and N. Gd. and E. H. form a new pres. indic. by adding to the old pres. some auxiliary verb (see §§ 500. 501). On the other hand, M. employs, for the purpose of expressing the pres. conj., the part. fut. (called *supine* in Man. 62, see §§ 313. 509, 3), ending in the sing. in *आवा* m., *आवी* f., *आवे* n., in the pl. *आवे* m., *आव्या* f., *आवी* n. G. may do the same; there the termin. are *अवो* m., *अवी* f., *अवु* n. (called *second pres. of the second pot.* in Ed. 54, see § 509, 3)<sup>1</sup>). — In all W. Gds. the pres. conj. (i. e., the old pres. ind.) may be used as a future. Such was the case in O. M. also (Man. 59, 3. note); but it is not so in modern M. In O. M. it was also used in the sense of the *habitual past* (Man. 59, 3. note), as it is in modern M. (see above); but of this usage there are traces even in Pr.; see Wb. Spt. 63; e. g., *तद्वा पा रमसि* *thou wast not wont to enjoy* (Spt. 91), or *तद्वा पा पोसि* *thou wast not wont to direct* (Spt. A, 38). — The following table shows the various Gd. termin. of this tense:

Present conjunctive or old pres. indic.

	M.	N.	B.	O.	E. H.	H. H.	Br.	Mw.	P.	G.	S.
1.	ए <sup>3</sup>	उ, ए	इ	इ, अइ	ओ	ऊ	ओ	ऊ, उ	आ	उ	आ
2.	अस्, एस् <sup>1</sup>	इस्, ए <sup>1</sup>	इस् <sup>1</sup>	उ <sup>1</sup>	उ, अक्.	ए <sup>1</sup>	ऐ <sup>1</sup>	ए <sup>1</sup>	ए <sup>1</sup>	ए <sup>1</sup>	ऐ, ई <sup>2</sup>
3.	ए <sup>4</sup>	ए <sup>10</sup>	ए <sup>7</sup>	अइ, ए <sup>7</sup>	ऐ	ए	ऐ	ए	ए	ए	ए
4.	ऊ	ओ, ए	इ	ऊ, इ	ई	ए	ऐ	आ	ये	ये	ऊ
5.	आ <sup>5</sup>	ओ, ए	अ	अ	अह्, अ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ
6.	अत् <sup>6</sup>	अन्, ए <sup>8</sup>	एन् <sup>8</sup>	अन्ति <sup>9</sup>	ऐ	ए	ऐ	ऐ	अपा	ए	अनि

In the pres. imper.: 1) अ quiesc.; 2) इ or उ; 3) ऊ; 4) ओ or उ; 5) आ; 6) ओत् or उत्; 7) उ (or B. उक्); 8) उन्; 9) अन्तु or उन्त; 10) ओस्.

pres. ind. (Kl. 221, 224). — In the various Gd. grammars this tense is called by a great variety of names; thus *second potential* or *optative* by Ed. 54, *potential* by Tr. 284, *indefinite future* of the pot. mood by Ld. 53, *contingent future* by Kl. 158. 163, *potential future* by Eth. 73; but *pres. subjunctive* by S. Ch. 136. Sn. 52.

1) With trans. verbs the *karmani prayoga* must be used (see § 487), because this part. is properly pass.; but with intrans. verbs the *kartari prayoga*; in the latter case, M. adds in the 2. pers. the suff. स् sg. and त् pl., but the first and third pers. are alike. Thus M. तू सुटावास् *thou*

497. *Derivation.* 1) The Gd. pres. conj. and pres. imp. are the same as the Skr. pres. indic. and pres. imp. respectively. But in the same measure as the Skr. pres. indic. assumed a conj. sense in Gd., it also became capable of doing duty for the pres. imp. and was, consequently, confounded with it; but so, that, as a rule, the pres. conj. superseded the pres. imper., while in the 2. pers. the imp. took the place of the conj. It will be observed that M., in which the pres. indic. has fully preserved its original indic. sense, possesses both tenses (pres. ind. and pres. imp.) in a complete form, and in B. and O., where its indic. sense is predominant, the greater part of the two senses is preserved; while in W. Gd. and E. H., where its sense is almost exclusively conj., the amalgamation of the two tenses is more or less complete. This amalgamation had already begun in Pr.<sup>1</sup>). Thus in the Ap. Pr. the suff. of the 1. sg. उं, 2. sg. हि and, possibly, 2. pl. हु of the imper. are optionally, though commonly, substituted for the suff. मि of the 1. sg., सि 2. sg. and ह 2. pl. pres. indic. (H. C. 4, 383. 384. 385; e. g., Ap. कटुं or कटुमि *I cut* = Skr. कर्तवामि, E. H. काटो or कटो; Ap. रुन्नहि or रुन्नसि *thou weapest* = ved. Skr. रुदसि; Ap. इच्छु or इच्छह *you wish* = Skr. इच्छय). On the other hand, even in the Mh. Pr. the suff. मो and ह of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. pres. ind. are also used for the imper. and conj. (H. C. 3, 176; e. g., M. हसह *you laugh* or *you may laugh* = Skr. हसय or हसत or हसेत; Mh. हंसामो *we laugh* or *we may laugh* = Skr. हंसामः or हंसाम or हसेम). — 2) *Pres. conj.* (= old pres. ind.): a) The termin. of the 1. sg. is in Skr. अमि, Pr. अमि or अमि (H. C. 3, 141. 154. Vr. 7, 3. 30), Ap. Pr. अमि or अउं (H. C. 4, 385).

*mayest get loose*, but त्वाँ घोडा सोडावा *thou mayest loose the horse* (lit. *by thee the horse may be loosed*); again मो or तो सुडावा *I or he may get loose*.

1) Analogous is the occasional use in Pr. of the pres. ind. as a (pret.) conj., of which Wb. Spt. 62. 82 gives a few examples; thus Spt. 326 नङ् पा होंति *if they were not* (= Skr. यदि न भवन्ति). The Gds. do not use the old pres. ind. in this manner, but express the pret. conj. by means of the part. pres. (see §§ 506. 507); thus E. H. जो न होतै.

The former is preserved in the O. अइ, M. एँ, B. ई; e. g., Skr. पठामि *I read*, Pr. पठामि or पठमि, O. पढइ, M. पढे, B. and O. पढि. The latter becomes in O. H. अउ, Br. औ, E. H. ओ, H. H. उ, Mw. उ or उँ, G. उँ, N. उ; thus, Ap. Pr. पढउं *I read*, O. H. पढउँ, Br. पढो, E. H. पढो, H. H. and Mw. पढू, G. पढुँ, N. पढु. The S. and P. अँ, as पढँ, must be a modification either of अउ = ओ or अइ = ए. The Psh. and Pers. have अम्. — b) The term. of the 2. sg. is in Skr. असि, Pr. असि (H. C. 3, 140. Vr. 7, 2), Ap. Pr. असि or अहि (H. C. 4, 384). The former is preserved in the O. H. असि or (by transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, see § 148, note) ऐस, M. अस् or एस्, B. and N. (by shortening of ए) इस्; thus Skr. पठसि *thou readest*, Pr. पठसि, O. H. पठसि or पठेस्, M. पठस् or पठेस्, B. and N. पठिस्. The latter becomes in O. H. अहि (still used in Br., see Kl. 202, 380) or अइ, W. H. ऐ, H. H. and G. ए; also P. एँ and S. एँ or ईँ, but with an anomalous anunasika; thus Ap. Pr. पढहि, O. H. पढहि or पढइ, W. H. पढै, H. H. and G. पढे, P. पढेँ, S. पढेँ or पढोँ. The Psh. has ए and Pers. ई. As to the E. H. and O. उ, O. H. उ or चु (Kl. 218, e. f), see Nro. 3, h. — c) The term. of the 3. sg. is in Skr. अति, Pr. अइ (H. C. 3, 139. Vr. 7, 1), which is preserved in the O. H. अइ (also अहि with anomalous ह्), O. अइ, but generally contracted to ऐ in E. H. and W. H. or ए in the rest; thus Skr. पठति *he reads*, Pr. पढइ, O. H. पढइ, O. पढइ or पढे, E. H. and W. H. पढै, B., M., N., H. H., G., P., S. पढे. The Psh. has ई and the Pers. अद्. — d) The term. of the 1. pl. is in Skr. अमः, in Pr. अमो or अमु or अम or अमो or अमु or अम (H. C. 3, 144. 155. Vr. 7, 4. 31) or इमो or इमु or इम (H. C. 3, 155. Vr. 7, 31), Ap. Pr. इमु etc. or अहुँ (H. C. 4, 386). The form अहुँ, probably, contains an euph. ह् for अउ for Pr. अमु (see § 127, note), perhaps to distinguish it from the 1. sg. अउ (for Pr. 1. sg. imper. अमु, see Nro. 3, g) and to assimilate it to the 1. pl. अहि<sup>1</sup>). It becomes in N. औ, M. and

1) Compare also the O. H. 3. sg. अहि beside अइ (Nro. 2, c). — Cw. XXIX and Ls. 335 give optional 1. pl. termin. अम्हो, अम्ह (e. g., हसम्हो, हसम्ह *we laugh*). These, if correct, would account for the ह् in the Ap. अहुँ; but I know no authority for them; H. C. 3, 147. Vr. 7, 7 give only म्हो,

S. ऊँ, O. उँ or उ; thus Skr. पठामः *we read*, Pr. पठामो or पठामु or पठम्, Ap. Pr. पठहुँ, N. पठौ, M. and S. पठूँ, O. पठुँ or पठु. The Pr. form इम् or इम contracts in E. H. to ईँ (see § 127), B. and O. (shortened) इ; thus Pr. पठिम् or पठिम, E. H. पठौ. The intermediate form would be \*इअँ, which may either contract to ईँ (like M. पाणीँ *water*, for Pr. पाणिअँ, § 83, exc.) or drop final अ (like E. H. करि *having done*, for Pr. करिअँ, § 491); hence E. H. पठौ, O. पठि. But apparently at an early period, it also became transposed to अइँ and modified to अहिँ, in assimilation, probably, to the 3. pl. अहिँ. Both अइँ and अहिँ occur in O. H. and are contracted to हेँ in Br. and ऐँ in H. H.; thus O. H. पठइँ or पठहिँ, Br. पठै, H. H. पठे. In the strange G. and S. form ये, there seems to be a reminiscence of the original intermediate form \*इअँ; thus G. and S. पठये, perhaps for \*पठिअँ or \*पठिअइँ. The Mw. अँ is a modification of the N. औ or the Br. ऐँ, similarly as in the case of the P. and S. 1. sg. अँ (see Nro. 3, a). The Psh. has ऊ, the Pers. ईम्. — e) The term. of the 2. pl. is in Skr. अय, in Pr. अह (H. C. 3, 143. Vr. 7, 4) or अहं (with euph. anusvāra, see H. C. 1, 27. Ls. 336), in Ap. Pr. अह or अहु (H. C. 4, 384). The former is only preserved in E. H. अह or अ, B. and O. अ, and M. अँ (for अहं); thus Skr. पठय *you read*, Pr. पठह or पठहं, E. H. पठह, B. and O. पठ, M. पठँ. The latter, I am inclined to explain as identical with the Skr. अयः of the 2. dual; it would regularly become in Pr. \*अहो or अहु<sup>1)</sup>. In O. H. it becomes अहु or अउ, in Br. and N. औ, in the rest ओ; thus Ap. Pr. पठहु, O. H. पठहु or पठउ, Br. and N. पठौ, E. H., H. H., Mw., P., G., S. पठो. The Psh. has अइँ, the Pers. ईदू; the latter is represented by the Pr. इत्य (H. C. 3, 143 as हस्तित्य *you laugh*) which, however, has left no trace in Gd. — f) The term. of the 3. pl. is in Skr. अन्ति, in Pr. अंति (H. C. 3, 142. Vr. 7, 4), in Ap. Pr. अंति or अहिँ (H. C.

अह for the Skr. स्मः *we are*, where अह is perfectly regular for स्म by H. C. 2, 74. Vr. 3, 32.

1) Just as 1. pl. Pr. आमो or आमु for Skr. आमः; see also Nro. 3, 1; Ls. 468 identifies it with the Skr. अत्मन् of the ātman. 2. pl. imper., but this would have changed to Pr. हँ, as felt by himself, p. 336.

4, 382). The former is only preserved in O. अंति and M. अत् (see § 146, note); thus Skr. पठन्ति *they read*, Pr. पठन्ति, O. पठन्ति, M. पठन्. The latter becomes in O. H. अहिँ or अइँ, E. H. and Br. ऐँ, H. H. ऐँ, also Mw. ऐ and G. ए with loss of *anunásika*; thus Ap. Pr. पठहिँ, O. H. पठहिँ or पठइँ, E. H. and Br. पठैँ, H. H. पठैँ, Mw. पठै, G. पठे. The origin of the Ap. form अहिँ is disclosed by the O. H. termin. अन्हि or एन्हि (for \*इअन्हि) of the pret. tense (see § 503). It appears that अंति was changed to अंदि, then to अन्ति and finally to अन्हि (see § 161). The O. H. अन्हि is preserved in the S. अन्ति, B. एन् (with transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, § 148, note), P. अप्, N. अन्. Thus S. पठन्ति, B. पठेन्, P. पठण्, N. पठन्. The Psh. has ईँ and the Pers. अन्द (softened for अन्त्). — 3) *Pres. imper.*: g) The term. of the 1. sg. is in Skr. अन्ति, which, however, is a peculiar suff. and does not exist in Pr. The latter has the regular suff. आसु or असु (H. C. 3, 173. Vr. 7, 18); in the Ap. Pr. it becomes अउँ (see § 127)<sup>1)</sup> and becomes a suff. of the pres. conj. (or indic., H. C. 4, 385, see § 497, 2, a). In M. it contracts to ऊँ, but remains a suff. of the 1. sg. imper.; while in E. H. it contracts to ओँ and passes to the pres. conj., and so in all W. Gds. and in N. Gd. On the other hand, B. and O. have lost it, and use the suff. इ of the pres. conj. instead. Thus (Skr. पठान्ति), Pr. पठासु or पठसु *let me read*, Ap. Pr. पठउँ *I may read or I read*, M. पठूँ *let me read*, E. H. पठोँ *I may read or I read*, etc. — h) The term. of the 2. sg. is in Skr. अहि (suff. हि) or अ; Pr. has preserved the regular termin. असु besides अहि and अ (H. C. 3, 173. 174. 175. Vr. 7, 18), and the Ap. Pr. has, besides अहि, also ए or इ or उ (H. C. 4, 387. K. I. 62 in Ls. 453). The term. असु must have existed in the Ap. Pr.; for it is still found occasionally in O. H., both in the sense of the imper. and the pres. conj. (see Kl. 218, f. 220, 1). Similarly the term. अहि is used also for the pres. indic. in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 383) and for the pres. conj. in W. Gd. (see

1) I prefer this explanation of the origin of the Ap. term. अउँ to that previously given in § 122, note.

§ 497, 2, b), but in the O. H. is still occurs both for the imper. and the pres. conj. (Kl. 204). The Ap. termin. *ए* is a contraction of *अय* (of the X<sup>th</sup> class or causal imper.) and represents the Skr. and Pr. term. *अ*, while the Ap. term. *इ* is a curtailment of *ए*, and the term. *उ* perhaps a corruption of the *अ*. This is clearly shown by the S., which has preserved both *इ* and *उ*, and uses the former for trans. verbs (which correspond to the old caus. and X<sup>th</sup> class verbs, see §§ 472. 473), while it adds the latter to intrans. verbs (Tr. 251). The term. *उ* is preserved also in O. H. (see Kl. 218, e. 220, 1), E. H. and O., but has assumed also the sense of the pres. conj.; while throughout Gd. (exc. S. and optionally O. H. and E. H.) it becomes *quiescent* (i. e. *अ* qu.) when used in its proper sense of the imper. Thus Pr. *पठसु* *read thou*, but O. H. *पठसु* *read thou* or *thou mayest read*; or Pr. *पठहि* *read thou*, Ap. Pr. *पठहि* *read thou* or *thou readest*, O. H. *पठहि* *read thou* or *thou mayest read* or *thou readest*; or Skr. *पठ* *read thou*, Pr. *पठ*, Ap. *पठु*, O. H. and E. H. *पठु* *read thou* and *thou mayest read*, O. *पठु* *thou mayest read*, E. H. *पठू* *read thou* or *thou mayest read*, all other Gds. (exc. S.) *पठू* *read thou*. Again Pr. *पठे* (cf. H. C. 3, 158) *read thou*, Ap. *पठे* or *पठि*, S. *पठि*. — i) The term. of the 3. sg. is in Skr. *अतु*, in Pr. *अउ* (H. C. 3, 173. Vr. 7, 18) and becomes in M. *ओ* or *उ*, O. *उ*, B. *उ-क्*, N. *ओ-स्* (or after vowels *व-स्*). The additions, *क्* in B. and *स्* in N., are pleon. suff. of obscure meaning and origin; perhaps they are enclitic pronouns, viz. indef. *के* or 3. pers. *से* (see § 503). Thus *पठतु* *let him read*, Pr. *पठउ*, M. *पठो* or *पठू*, O. *पठु*, B. *पठुक्*, N. *पठोस्* (or *तावस्* *let him go*). — k) The termin. of the 1. pl. is in Skr. *आम*; but Pr. substitutes the termin. *आमो* or *आमो* (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20) or *अमु* and Ap. Pr. *अहुं* (K. I. 64, in Ls. 453) of the pres. indic. The same is also done in all Gds.; thus (Skr. *पठाम*), Pr. *पठमो* or *पठमु* *let us read*, Ap. *पठहुं*, N. *पठौ*, M. *पठू*, etc., see § 497, 2, d. — l) The termin. of the 2. pl. is in Skr. *अत*; but Pr. substitutes the termin. *अह* (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20) of the pres. indic. The Ap. Pr. has *अउ* (K. I. 63, in Ls. 453) which is

the same as ऋ of the pres. indic. (see § 497, 2, e), but has dropped ह<sup>1</sup>). It occurs also in all W. Gds., and after vowels in N.; while the Pr. ह is preserved in the E. Gds. and M., and also, after consonants, in N. Thus (Skr. पठत), Pr. पठह *read you*, E. H. पठह् or पठ (parha), B., O. and N. पठ, M. पठे (for \*पठञ् = पठह्); but Ap. पठउ, Br. पठे, Mw., G., P., S. पठे, in fact identical with the 2. pl. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2, e). — m) The term. of the 3. pl. is in Skr. ऋन्तु, Pr. ऋन्तु (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20), it is preserved in the O. ऋन्तु or उन्तु (by transfer of उ into the preceding syllable, § 148, note), M. ऋन्तु or उन्तु, B. and N. उन्तु. Thus Skr. पठन्तु *let them read*, Pr. पठन्तु, O. पठन्तु or पठन्तु, M. पठोन्तु or पठून्तु, B. and N. पठुन्तु. The change of उन्तु to उन्तु is analogous to that of ऋन्तु to ऋन्तु (see § 497, 2, f). The other Gds. substitute the 3. pl. of the pres. conj. — 4) As regards the contracted E. H. terminations, they will be understood from the following examples: Skr. खादति *he eats*, Pr. खादद् or खाद् (H. C. 4, 228), E. H. खाद्; Skr. खादामि *I eat*, Pr. खादामि or खामि, Ap. Pr. खाउं, E. H. खाव्, etc.

*Note:* It may be observed, that B. uses the termin. of the 3. pl. for the 2. pl. in respectful address: thus pres. B. पठेन् *you read* (lit. *they read*), pret. पठित्वेन् *you read* or पठित्वाङ्गेन् *you have read*, पठित्वाङ्गित्वेन् *you had read*, fut. पठिष्वेन् *you will read*, etc. In M. this is always done in the 2. pl. of the pres. conj. (see § 509, 3), the termin. of which ऋवेत् m., ऋव्यात् f., ऋवीत् n. really belong to the 3. pl. See also § 501, footnote on p. 342.

498. The pres. imper. may optionally add the following suff. in the 2. person.; viz., sing. इहे and plur. इह; e. g., पठिहे *read thou*, पठिह् *read you*. This is a respectful form of the imper., implying request or prayer rather than command, and may be called a *precativ*e. Sometimes it is used in the sense of a simple future.

499. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the corresponding suff. of the old Skr. and Pr. future. The use of the fut. to express the imper. is easily intelligible.

1) Ls. reads ऋ, which is probably a false reading for उ or हु.

The corresponding Skr. termin. are: sg. इष्यसि, pl. इष्यथ, in the Ap. Pr. sg. इहहि and pl. इहह or इहहु, in E. H. sg. इहे (for \*इहइ = इहह), pl. इह (for \*इहह); in O. S., and occasionally M. S., pl. इहो (for \*इहउ); e. g., कलिहो *seize ye* (Tr. 266). — The corresponding suff. in W. H. are: sg. इये and pl. इयो; that is, the medial ह् is elided, and the hiatus filled up by the connecting semivowel य्. P. has sg. ई, pl. ईओ (Ld. 44); B. has pl. इओ (S. Ch. 147); and S. has sg. इति or एति or इता or इताइ, pl. इतो or एतो or इताउ or इताह (Tr. 266. 267); G. sg. अन्ते, pl. अन्तो; Mw. sg. अन्ते or ईन्ते or अन्त्ये, pl. अन्तो or ईन्तो or अन्त्यो (Kl. 211. 212); Br. sg. इयै or इयै or इयै or इन्ते or ईन्ते, pl. इयो or इयो or इयो or इन्तो or ईन्तो (Kl. 204). I am inclined to think, that the W. Gd. forms are really passive, but used actively. Thus (Skr. पठ्यसे), Ap. Pr. पठोअहि or पठिअहि or पठेअहि (H. C. 3. 175), Br. पठोयै or पठियै, P. पठो, or Mw. पठोन्ते, S. पठिन्ते or पठेन्ते. G. पठन्ते; plur. (Skr. पठ्यध्वे), A. Pr. पठोअहु or पठिअहु, Br. पठोयौ, P. पठोओ, Mw. पठोन्तो, S. पठिन्तो or पठेन्तो. The increment इज्ज or इज्जा or एज्ज or एज्जा is found also in Pr. All verbs in Pr. may use it in the 2. pers. of the imper. (H. C. 3, 175), while the verb हो (Skr. भू) *to be* and others ending in a vowel (H. C. 3, 178. K. I. 315, in Ls. 357) may adopt it in any tense. This shows, I think, that these forms cannot well be identified with the single Skr. precativ (or benedictive) tense (as Ls. 357)<sup>1</sup>, but constitute a regularly conjugated passive verb which, however, has assumed an active sense (see § 348). Thus *pres. tense*, Pr. होइ or होज्जइ *he is* (H. C. 3, 178) = Skr. भवति or (pass.) भूयते. There is also a longer form होज्जाइ, where the tendency of the pass. suff. य् to revert to its original radical state वा (which is fully developed in the Gd. pass, see § 481) already shows itself; for Pr. होज्जाइ is, as it were, a compound of भू + वाति lit. *he is going to be*; compare the real H. H. compound हो जाए *he becomes*, E. H. होय जाय. Again in the *imper.*, Pr. होउ or होज्जउ *let him be* = Skr. भवतु or

1) It is probable, however, that the Skr. pass. and prec. are formed on the same principle, by compounding the auxil. verb वा *to go* with the root; e. g., 3. sg. भूयात् *may he be* = R. भू and 2<sup>nd</sup> aorist यात्.



(pass.) भूयताँ (lit. \*भूयतु, for the Pr. prefers the parasm. suff.; see Ls. 333); also Pr. होज्ञाउ (H. C. 3, 178) = \*भू + यातु. Again in the fut., Pr. होहिसि or होज्ञहिसि *thou wilt be* = Skr. भविष्यसि or (pass.) भविष्यसे (lit. \*भूयस्यसे, for Pr. incorporates the pass. suff. य, see § 346); also Pr. होज्ञाहिसि (H. C. 3, 178) = \*भू + वास्यसि. Again in the imper., Pr. हससु or हसेज्ञसु *laugh thou* (H. C. 3, 175) = Skr. हस or (pass.) हस्यस्व; also Pr. हसेज्ञहि or contr. हसेज्ञे (H. C. 3, 175), whence S. हसेजि or हसिजि. S. has also a longer form हसेज्ञाइ or हसिज्ञाइ lit. = \*हस् + याहि. Similarly S. pl. हसेजो or हसिजो *laugh ye* presuppose a Ap. Pr. (not mentioned by H. C.) हसेज्ञाहु. In Pr. all the personal suff. may be dropped, and that, in all tenses alike; thus leaving the mere increment इज्ञ or एज्ञ as a universal termination; and this curtailed form may be used with all roots, whether ending in a vowel or consonant; thus Pr. होज्ञ or होज्ञा may mean: *he is* or *he may be* or *let him be* or *he was* or *he has been* or *he will be*, etc.; similarly पढेज्ञ or पढेज्ञा may mean: *he reads*, *he will read*, or *let him read*, etc. (H. C. 3, 177). Of this usage, however, I believe, there is no trace in Gd.

500. *Present indicative.* This tense is made by adding the following suff. to the root of the verb according to the gender, number and person of the subj.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. ऐलो (or ऐल्यो) ऐल्यू	ईला	ईला	ईला
2. ऐले or ऐलेस्	ऐली or ऐलिस	ऐल or ऐलह (or ऐल्यह)	ऐल्यू
3. ऐला	ऐले	ऐले or ऐलेन्	ऐली or ऐलिन्

Optionally the initial ऐ may be changed to अ (§ 26); thus masc. अलो, fem. अल्यू, etc.; but 1. pl. only ईला. After roots in आ or ए and the R. हो, the initial ऐ or अ (but not ई) is dropped. Thus 1. sg. masc. लो, fem. ल्यू, etc.; but 1. pl. always ईला.

501. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) It has been stated in §§ 496. 497 that the old pres. indic. has been changed into the pres. conj. in E. H., N. and the W. Gds. Accordingly these languages (exc. P. see Nro. 2, p. 343) form a new pres. indic. by adding to the old tense some auxil. verb, viz. in Bh. लो, Mth.

हो, N. हूँ, Br. होँ or हूँ (Kl. 206, a), Mw. हूँ or हूँ (Kl. 212, 402), G. हूँ (Ed. 54), S. हो (Tr. 293). The Mth., N., Br., Mw. and G. forms हो, हूँ or हूँ, हूँ or होँ are those of the pres. tense of the auxil. verb *to be* (see § 514, 4. 5); but while Br., Mw. and G. simply add them to the unchanged termin. of the pres. conj., Mth. and N. first reduce the latter to the uniform type ऐ and अ respectively. Thus Br. करौँ होँ or करँ हूँ, Mw. करँ हूँ or करँ हूँ, G. करँ हूँ, but Mth. करै हो, N. गरँ हूँ or गरँ हूँ *I do*; Br. करै है, Mw. करै है or करै है, G. करै है, Mth. करै है, N. गरँ है *thou doest*, etc. The S. form हो is the past part. of the auxil. verb विष्णु *to be* (contr. for विश्वो, Tr. 305, see § 514, 6), and is simply added to the pers. termin. of the pres. conj., but agrees in gender and number with the subj.; thus S. masc. करिष्यँ हो *I do*, fem. करिष्यँ हो, pl. masc. करिष्यँ वा *we do*, fem. करिष्यँ वि, etc. The E. H. form लो is the 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. of the auxil. verb आव् *to come*, curtailed from ऐलो (see § 509, 4). It is conjugated regularly (see § 504), with the exception of the 3. sg. and 1. pl., where it has ला for \*ल् and \*ली (i. e., 3. sg. ऐल् or आयल्, 1. pl. ऐली); and the pers. termin. of the pres. conj., to which it is added, are not the ordinary ones but a uniform type ऐ (as in Mth.) or in अ (as in N.), with the exception of the 1. pl. which preserves its regular term. ई<sup>1</sup>). It may be observed, that in Gw. the forms, sg. लो, pl. ला, are used as an auxil. verb, in the sense of *he is, they are*, etc., by the side of the ordinary W. H. है, है, है, etc. (Kl. 198, 200); e. g., Gw. कोई लो or कोई है or कोई है or कोई है

1) The uniform ऐ-type can easily be explained. In Br. the 2. and 3. sg. pres. conj. ends in ऐ, the 1. pl. in ऐ. In O., the 1. sg. ends in अई which would easily contract to ऐ. Lastly in Br. the 3. pl. एन् is also used in the 2. pl. (see S. Ch. 142 and § 497, note; e. g., करेन् *they do* and *you do*); this is sometimes also done in Bs. (e. g., अहेँ or अहेन् *they are* or *you are*; but the proper 2. pl. अहँ or अह or अहौ is also used); similarly the E. H. 3. pl. ऐ would intrude into the 2. pl. Final anuśāśika is dropped. According to these analogies every person of the E. H. pres. conj. might end in ऐ. The अ-type of the N. is but a shorter form of the ऐ-type (see § 26).

is there any one? In E. H. the forms of the pres. indic. are sometimes used in the sense of a future indic.; e. g., E. H. माई आवैले तब खाईला i. e. *when mother comes, then we shall eat*. Now it will be shown in § 509, 4, that the fut. indic. is made precisely in the same way (by adding the auxil. part. ल *come* to the pres. conj.) in Mw., M. and N.; and it may be observed, that in the Br. and P. their fut. indic., which is made in an analogous way by adding the auxil. part. ग *gone* to the pres. conj. (§ 509, 5), is also used as a pres. indic. in the case of the substant. verb *to be*; thus compare Br. and P. है or हैगा (हैगौ) masc. *he is*, fem. है or हैगौ with Br. होयगौ, H. H. होग, P. होवेगा masc., ०गौ fem. *he or she will be*; again Br. है or हैगे masc. *we are*, fem. है or हैगौ, P. masc. हँ or हँगे, fem. हँ or हँगी with Br. होयँगे, H. H. होँगे, P. होवँगे masc. *we shall be*, fem. Br. ०गौ, H. H. ०गी, P. ०गी, etc. Again the presence of a long vowel in the antepenultimate, as E. H. सूतैलो *I sleep* (of R. सूत), proves the composite character of the forms of the pres. indic. (viz. सूतै + लो); for otherwise, if they were single words, such a vowel would be shortened by the rule of § 25. Lastly these composite forms naturally yield the sense of a pres. indic. Thus सूतैलो which means lit. *I have come (that) I may sleep* or *I have come to sleep*, may easily pass into *I am sleeping* or *I sleep*. Literally these forms express, that the action is the *present result* of preceding events; e. g., „I have come to be happy“ is equal to „I am happy“ now. — 2) The H. H. and P. and, optionally, the Bs., Br. are peculiar in adding the auxil. verb हूँ, हँ, अहेउँ, हौँ resp., not to the old pres. tense, but to the pres. part. in ता, दा, त्, तु resp. Thus sing. Bs. कर्त्तु अहेउँ masc., ०ती अ० fem. (Kl. 241), Br. कर्त्तु हूँ or ०तौ हौँ m., ०ति or ०ती हूँ or हौँ f. (Kl. 202, a. 204, 283), P. कर्त्ता हँ m., ०दी हँ f. (Ld. 29. 37. 46), H. H. कर्त्ता हूँ m., ०ती हूँ f. *I do*; plur. Bs. कर्त्तु अही m., ०ति अही f., Br. कर्त्तु है or ते है m., ०ति or ०ती है f., P. कर्त्ते हँ m., ०दीयाँ हँ f., H. H. कर्त्ते है m., ०ती है f. *we do*, etc. Sometimes the auxil. verb is omitted; but in that case, the forms are properly those of

the pret conj. — 3) In M. the old pres. indic. has assumed the sense of a *habitual past* (§ 496). Hence it forms a new pres. indic. by suffixing the ordinary personal termin. to the pres. part. in अत् (Man. 69. 72), in the same way as in the E. H. pret. conj. (§ 506). Thus M. कर्त्तौ m., कर्त्तु f., कर्त्ते n. *I do*; कर्त्तुम् m., कर्त्तुम् f., कर्त्तुम् n. *thou doest*, etc. — 4) In B., O. and optionally in G., the old pres. indic. having retained its original indic. sense (§ 496), is still used as such (S. Ch. 142. Sn. 27. Ed. 54). Thus B. कर्त्ति, O. कर्त्तु, G. कर्त्तु *I do*; B. कर्त्तिस्, O. कर्त्तु, G. कर्त्तु *thou doest*, etc. — 5) I add a comparative table of the terminations:

Singular.							
	B.	O.	E. H.	Mth.	Br.	Mw.	G.
1.	इ	अइ	एँ लो	ऐं हो	औं हो	ऊँ हूँ, ऊँ हूँ	ऊँ, उँ हूँ
2.	उस्	उ	एँ लेस्	ऐं हे	ऐं हे	ऐं है, ऐं है	ए, ए है
3.	ए	अइ	एँ ला	ऐं अहि	ऐं है	ऐं है, ऐं है	ए, ए है
	N.	S.	M.	Bs.	Br.	H. H.	P.
1.	अहुँ, अहुँ	अँ थो	अतो	अत् अहेउ	अत् हँ <sup>1)</sup>	अता हूँ	अदा हँ
2.	अ इस्	एँ थो	अतोस्	अत् अहेस्	अत् है	अता है	अदा है
3.	अ इ	एँ थो	अतो	अत् अहै	अत् है	अता है	अदा है
Plural.							
	B.	O.	E. H.	Mth.	Br.	Mw.	G.
1.	इ	उं	ईं ला	ऐं हो	ऐं है	अँ हँ, अँ हँ	ये, ये हैये
2.	अ	अ	एँ लह	ऐं हो	औं हो	ओ हो, ओ हो	ओ, ओ हो
3.	एन्	अति	एँ लेन्	ऐं अहि	ऐं है	ऐं है, ऐं है	ए, ए है
	N.	S.	M.	Bs.	Br.	H. H.	P.
1.	अहुँ <sup>2)</sup>	अँ था	अतो	अत् अही	अत् है	अते है	अदे हँ
2.	अ हौ	ओ था	अताँ	अत् अहह <sup>3)</sup>	अत् हौ	अते हो	अदे हो
3.	अ हन्	अनि था	अतात्	अत् अहेन् <sup>3)</sup>	अत् है	अते हैं	अदे हन्

In the fem., S. changes थो and था to थी and थिऊँ, Br. अत् to अति, H. H. अता and अते to अती, P. अदा and अदे to अदी and अदीअँ; M. sg. 1. अत्ये or अते, 2. अत्येस् or अतेस् or अतीस्, 3. अती

1) Or, masc. अतौ हौ, fem. अती हौ, etc.

2) Or, अहुँ.

3) Or, 2. अत् अहौ. 3. अत् अहे.

or अये or अते; pl. fem. like masc. — In the *rent.*, M. has sg. 1. अते, 2. अतेस, 3. अते; pl. neut. like masc.

## 2. PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

502. *First preterite indicative.* A past tense indic., which I shall call the *first preterite* to distinguish it from the other form of the past indic. (§ 504), is made by modifying the termination of the past part. in इअ or इ (see § 302) in the following manner according to the number and person (but not the gender) of the subj.

Sing. 1. यो, 2. इस्, 3. इस्. Plur. 1. आ, 2. यो, 3. इन्.

There is no difference in meaning between the first and second preterites; they only differ in usage; the first pret. is said to be confined to the language of towns (*udgari bhāshā*).

*Exception.* As to some verbs which use an irregular past part. — see § 304. E. g., कर्त्तु to do uses the forms किय (for किइअ) in the 1. sg. and 1. 2. pl., and किहि in the 2. 3. sg. and 3. pl.; thus sing. 1. कियौ, 2. किहिस्, 3. किहिस्; plur. 1. किय, 2. कियौ, 3. किहिन्. Like कर्त्तु are conjugated धर्त्तु to place, देव् to give, लेव् to take.

503. *Affinities and Derivation.* This tense exists in all Gds., exc. M.; but it is formed in a variety of ways. — 1) In O. H., E. H. and N. it is made by adding the suff. of the pres. conj. to the weak past participial form in इअ or इ (§ 302). These suff. (after subtracting the initial अ of the terminations, see § 497) are: 1. sg. उँ or ईँ (as in O. H. कर्त्तुँ, O. कर्त्तुँ I do); 2. sg. सि or हि or उ (as in O. H. कर्त्तुसि or कर्त्तुहि or E. H. कर्त्तु thou doest); 3. sg. इ or (with anomalous इ) हि (as in O. H. कर्त्तुइ or कर्त्तुहि he does); 1. pl. उँ (as in N. कर्त्तुँ we do for \*कर्त्तुँ or N. कर्त्तुँ we go); 2. pl. हु (as in O. H. कर्त्तुहु you do); 3. pl. न्हि or नि (as in S. कर्त्तुनि or कर्त्तुनि they do, Tr. 287). The part. termin. इअ is generally contracted to ऐ and, sometimes, to अ in O. H. — a) The 1. sg. suff. उँ occurs in O. H. and E. H.; thus पठ्तिअ + उँ = O. H. and Bs. पठ्तेउँ or पठ्तेउँ, Bh. पठ्ठ्योँ I read; the 1. sg. ईँ in N.; e. g., पठ्तिअ + ईँ = N. पठ्तेँ I read or पठ्तिअ + ईँ = N. पठ्तेँ or पठ्तियेँ I was. —

Again b) the 2. sg. हि or उ occur in O. H.; thus पठिष्य + हि = O. H. पठेहि or पठिष्य + उ = O. H. पठेउ or पठउ *thou readst*; the 2. sg. सि in O. H. and Bs., thus पठिष्य + सि = O. H. पठेसि, Bs. पठिसि; in E. H., N. and. optionally, in Bs. it is shortened to स्, Bs. पठेस्, Bh. and N. पठिस्, or यिष्य + सि = N. ध्येस् or धियेस् *thou wast*. — Again c) the 3. sg. suff. हि occurs in O. H.; thus पठिष्य + हि = O. H. पठेहि *he read*. The 3. sg. इ does not exist in this tense. The E. H. adds the aff. स्, which in the longer form सि, occurs also in O. H. and Bs.; thus पठिष्य + aff. सि = O. H. पठेसि, Bs. पठिसि or पठेस्, Bh. पठिस् *he read*. Though these 3. sg. forms outwardly resemble those of the 2. pers., they can scarcely have the same origin<sup>1)</sup>. The same 3. sg. aff. न् exists also in P.; e. g., पठिष्योस् *he read*, कीतोस् *he did* (Ld. 69); and also in N., though not in the pret. but the imper. (see § 497, 3. i, p. 338); e. g., पठेस् *let him read*. It is possibly a shortened form of the 3. pers. pfon. से, enclitically attached in a manner similar to the more general S. practice of affixing curtailed pron. forms to the verb (see Tr. 345 ff.); thus S. पठिउ-सि *he read*, फिरिउ-सि *he turned round* (Tr. 368). The N. adds in the 3. sg. no suff. at all, but uses the strong instead of the weak part. form; thus N. masc. पठ्यो or पठ्यो *he read*, fem. पठो *she read*, or masc. ध्यो or ध्यो *he was*, fem. धिर् *she was*. — Again d) the 1. pl. उँ occurs in N.; thus पठिष्य + उँ = N. पठ्युँ or पठ्युँ *we read*, or यिष्य + उँ = N. धिउँ or ध्युँ or ध्युँ *we were*. The O. H. and Bs. use (just as in the pres. conj.) the suff. of the 3. pl. न्हि or नि, thus पठिष्य + न्हि (for न्ति) = O. H. पठेन्हि, Bs. पठिनि or पठेन्. The E. H. (Bh.) 1. pl. termin. ष्य is, perhaps, a modification for \*य्यँ, containing the same 1. pl. termin. ष्यँ as the 1. pl. of the Mw. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2. d, p. 336); thus E. H. पठा *we read* for \*पठ्य्यँ = पठिष्य + ष्यँ. — Again e) the 2. pl. हु occurs in O. H., E. H. and N.; thus पठिष्य + हु =

1) O. H. has, in the 3. sg., forms in ष्यउ or ष्येउ resembling those of the 2. pers., e. g., पठेउ or पठउ *he read*, but here उ is, probably, not a conjugational, but a pleon. suff. = Ap. Pr. पठिष्यउ, Pr. पठिष्यो, Skr. पठितकः, corresponding to the S. 3. sg. पठिष्यो, N. पठ्यो.

O. H. पढेहु, N. पढिउ or पढ्यो, Bh. पढ्यो, Bs. पढिउ *you read*, or N. यिन्न + हु = यियउ or य्यो *you were*. — Again f) the 3. pl. न्हि occurs in O. H., as पढेन्हि *they read*, and नि in Bs. पढिनि and न् in E. H. and N. पढेन्, Bh. पढिन्. The N., however, has more usually a suff. ए, which is perhaps a modification of \*ये or \*येँ, containing the same 3. pl. suff. ए or ऐँ as the 3. pl. of the G. and H. H. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2. f, p. 337); e. g., N. पढे *they read* for \*पढ्ये or \*पढ्येँ = पढिन्न + ऐँ, or N. येँ or ये *they were*. Sometimes N. omits the suff. altogether, and uses only the strong form of the past part.; thus N. पढ्या *they read*, यिया or य्या *they were*. — It will be observed, that this mode of forming the pret. indic. practically amounts to treating the past part. as a denominative verbal root. The treatment, generally, of past part. as denominative roots is not uncommon in E. H. (see § 352), and existed even in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 429). In this particular case, no doubt, the practice originated from the similarity, in Pr., of participles, used denominatively, to participles accompanied by the auxil. verb अस् to be. Thus compare the denom. form, 1. sg. Pr. पढिन्नमि, Ap. Pr. पढिन्नउं (= Skr. \*पठितामि) *I read* with the common compound form, Pr. पढिन्नमिह (H. C. 3, 147) = Skr. पठितोऽस्मि. — 2) In B. and O. this tense is made by adding the pres. tense of the auxil. verb आहि or अहि *I am* to the past part. in इन्न or इ resp.; thus 1. sg. B. पढियाहि *I read* for पढिन्न or पढि + आहि, O. पढिअहि = पढि + अहि; 2. sg. B. पढियाहे, O. पढिअहु *thou readst*, etc. — 3) S. combines these two methods in the formation of this tense; viz., in the 1. sg. and pl. it adds (like the B. and O.) the auxil. verb सि *I am* and सी *we are* (for हि and हो, § 11); e. g., 1. sg. S. हलिउ-सि masc., हलिअ-सि fem., or (in poetry) हलिओ-सि m., हलिआ-सि f. *I went* (= O. चलिअहि), pl. masc. हलिआ-सी, fem. हलिउ-सी *we went* (हलिउ being the masc. and हलिअ the fem. nom. sing. of the weak and हलिओ, हलिआ of the strong form of the past part.). In the 2. sg. and pl. it adds (like the E. H.) the person. term. of the pres. conj., sg. ऐँ and pl. उ; thus 2. sg. हलिऐँ masc. (i. e., base हलिअ + suff. हि), हलिऐँ or हलिअँ

fem. *thou wentest*; pl. masc. हल्यउ (= E. H. चलयो), fem. हलिउं *you went*. In the 3. sg. and pl. it adds (like the N.) no suff. at all, but uses the strong instead of the weak participial form; thus 3. sg. हलिओ masc., हली fem. *he* or *she went* (= N. चलियो, चली); pl. masc. हलिआ, fem. हलिउं *they went* (= N. चल्या, चली). These remarks, however, apply only to intrans. verbs. In the case of trans. verbs, S. never adds any suff. or auxil. verbs, but uses only the strong past part. form; that is, in effect, trans. verbs have in S. only a 3. pers. sg. and pl. (but no 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons)<sup>1</sup>). It is a circumstance in which all W. Gds. agree with S., and which explains the peculiarity, that for the 1. and 2. pers. they can only employ the *Bhāvi prayoga* or impers. pass. construction (see § 487); e. g., *the disciple left me* is in Br. चेला ने मो कौं छोड्यो, S. चेले नूँ खे इडिओ lit. *by the disciple in regard to me it was left*, „me“ being either masc. or fem.; but not the *Kārmāni prayoga* or personal pass. contr. चेला ने हौं छोड्यो masc. or हौं छोडी fem., S. चेले अउं इडिओ masc. or अउं इडी fem., lit. *by the disciple I was left*. On the other hand, for the 3. pers., both the *Bhāvi* and *Kārmāni prayoga* may be used; thus *the disciple left that book* may be in Br. चेला ने ओह पोयो कौं छोड्यो, S. चेले हुन पोयो खे इडिओ lit. *by the disciple, in regard to the book, it was left (Bhāvi)* or Br. चेला ने उ पोयो छोडी, S. चेले हू पोयो इडी lit. *by the disciple that book was left (Kārmāni)*. — 4) With regard to intrans. verbs, the W. H., P. and G. use (like S.) the past part. in the *Kartari prayoga*, but (unlike S.) they do not add any suff. or auxil. verb; thus *I walked* is in W. H. हौ चलयो m, हौ चली f., G. हुँ चलयो m. or चली f., but S. अउं हलिउति m. or हलिउति f. — 5) I add a comparative table of the terminations:

1) It should be recollected that, in W. Gd., trans. verbs admit only of the pass. constr., which converts what, with us, is subj. into the obj. Thus our 1. pers. sing. „I left him“ becomes, in W. Gd., 3. pers. sg. „by me he was left“. Accordingly, in W. Gd., there could be a first person only we should have the accus. of the 1. pers. pron. as obj.; e. g., our 3. pers. „he left me“ ought to become, in W. Gd., 1. pers. „by him I was left“. But even here W. Gd. has no first pers., but employs the impersonal constr. „by him in regard to me it was left“.



Singular.								
	B.	O.	O. H.	E. H.	N.	S.		
	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr.	tr.	
1.	इयाछि <sup>1)</sup>	इअछि	ऐउँ	योँ	एँ	इउसि <sup>2)</sup>		
2.	इयाछे	इअकु	ऐसि	इस्	इस्	इएँ		
3.	इयाछे	इअइइ	ऐ-सि	इ-स्	यो	इओ	इओ	
	P.		G.		W. H.		H. H.	
	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	इआ		यो		यो		आ	
2.	इआ		यो		यो		आ	
3.	इआ	इआ	यो	यो	यो	यो	आ	आ
Plural.								
	B.	O.	O. H.	E. H.	N.	S.		
	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr.	tr.	
1.	इबाछि	इअहुँ	ऐन्हि	आ	वूँ	इआसीँ		
2.	इयाछ	इअइ	ऐहु	यो	यो	यउ		
3.	इयाछेन्	इअइति	ऐन्हि	इन्	या <sup>3)</sup>	इआ	इआ	
	P.		G.		W. H.		H. H.	
	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	ए		या		ए		ए	
2.	ए		या		ए		ए	
3.	ए	ए	या	या	ए	ए	ए	ए

1) These B. term. are, ordinarily, pronounced एछि, एछे, etc.; thus करियाछि is pronounced करेछि *karechhi*, not *kariyāchhi*. In fact, the old way of spelling has been retained, though the pronunciation has changed; just-as in English we still write „night“, but pronounce „nite“. The old past part. करिअ is contracted to करे (just as in E. H. the conj. past करिअ becomes करे, see § 491); and अछि curtailed into छि. The older forms इयाछि, etc may occasionally be heard in solemn addresses (sermons, etc.). The cons. इ *chh* is always pronounced *ts*, or even *s* (as in M. and Mw., see § 11); e. g., करियाछि (or rather करेछि) is pronounced *karetsi* or even *karets*. — Similarly the B. term. of the conj. part. इया is ordinarily contracted into ए; e. g., करिया *having done* is pronounced करे.

2) Or इओसि m., इआसि f.

3) Or ऐन् or ए com. gen.

In the *fem. sg.*, N. यो, S. इयो, P. इया, G. यो, W. H. यौ and H. H. या are changed to ई; and S. has 1. इयसि, 2. इयँ or इयाँ; *fem. pl.*, N. या, P. ए, G. या, W. H. and H. H. ए are changed to ई, and S. has 1. इयसी, 2. and 3. इयँ.

*Note:* The plusperf. is a periphrastic tense in E. H. (see § 510, 7). exc. in Mth. which, like the B. and O., forms it by adding the past tense of the auxil. verb, Mth. इद्लो, B. आदिलाम्, O. धेलि *I was*. etc. (see § 514, 6) to the past part. in इय or इ. The part. termin. इय is contracted in Mth. to ऐ. Thus 1. sg. Mth. पढेद्लो, B. पढियादिलाम्, O. पढियेलि *I had read*, etc. The resp. termin. are: 2. sg. Mth. ऐद्ले, B. आदिलि, O. इधेलु; 3. sg. Mth. ऐद्लु, B. आदिलि, O. इधेल; 1. pl. Mth. ऐद्लो, B. आदिलाम्, O. इधेलु; 2. pl. Mth. ऐद्लो, B. आदिले, O. इधेल; 3. pl. Mth. ऐद्लोह, B. आदिलेन्, O. इधेले.

504. *Second preterite indicative.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the past part. in अल् or इल् (§ 302) in the following manner according to the gender, number and person of the subj.

	Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1.	अलो (or अल्यो)	अल्यौ
2.	अलेम् (intr.) or अले	अलिस् or अली
3.	अल् (intr.) or अलेस् (tr.)	अल् (intr.) or अलेस् (tr.)
	Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1.	अली	अली
2.	अलह् or अल (or अल्यह्)	अल्यौ
3.	अलेन् or अलै	अलिन् or अली

In the 3. sg., trans. verbs take the suff. अलेम्, while the intrans. take अल्. Again in the 2. sg. masc. the suff. अलेम् is confined to intrans. verbs. The other suff. are common to both.

*Note.* In the eastern parts of the E. H. area the termin. are pronounced with इ, as इलो, इल्यौ, etc. — The forms enclosed in brackets are less usual.

505. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) This tense exists only in E. and S. Gd. It is made, like the first pret. indic., by

adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic.<sup>1</sup> (see § 503) to the weak form of the past part. in अल् or इल्, except in M., which adds them to the strong form in अत्ता. It should be remarked, however, that B. and O. omit the suff. in the 3. sg. of all verbs, and E. H. in the 3. sg. of intrans. verbs. Again M. omits the suff. in the 3. sg. and pl. of intrans. verbs and in all persons, sg. and pl., of trans. verbs<sup>1</sup>). E. g., *he read the book* is in E. H. उ पायी पढलेस्, B. ओ पोयी पढिल्, O. से पोयी पढिला, M. त्या ने पोयी वाचिलो (Man. 65, 2, or exceptionally तो पोयी पढला Man. 81, 133). On the whole the pers. suff. are added quite regularly. Thus a) 1. sg. उँ in E. H. and M.; e. g., wk. form, masc. पढल + उँ = E. H. पढलोँ *I read*, fem. पढलि + उँ = E. H. पढल्यँ; here the final उँ is anomalous; it is possibly founded on the strong form पढलो = पढलिञ्च + उँ. Again strong form, masc. पढला + उँ = M. पढलोँ; but in the fem. M. adds the 1. sg. suff. ई; this may be clearly seen in the pres. indic.; e. g., पढलो = पढलिञ्च (Skr. पठन्तिका) + ई = M. पढल्ये or पढलेँ *I read*; similarly पढलो = पढलिञ्च + ई = पढलेँ *I read*. In the neut., M. uses either उँ or ई; thus पढलोँ or पढलेँ. O. shows the same 1. sg. termin. इ (a shortened form of अइ), as in its pres. indic.; thus पढलि *I read*, just as अइँ or अइ *I am*. The B. has the 1. sg. termin. अम्, which appears to have preserved the original pres. indic. termin. अमि (see § 497, 2); thus पढिलाम् (= Mg. \*पढिदामि denom.). — Again b) the 2. sg. suff. सि or, shortened, स् occurs in E. H. and M.; thus wk. f. masc. रहल + सि = E. H. रहलेस् with transfer of इ into the preceding syllable; fem. रहलि + स् = E. H. रहलिस् *thou remainedst*; or st. f. masc. पढला + स् = M. पढलास्, fem. पढलो + स् = M. पढलोस्, neut. पढले + स् = M. पढलेस् with an anomalous anunasika; for the suff. स् is anomalously added to the nom. sg. neut. पढले instead of to the neut. base पढले

1) M. which constructs transitive verbs passively, like the W. Gds. (see § 487), not actively, like the E. Gds., follows the usage of the former languages (see § 503, 3, p. 348) in adding no suff. to the past part. of such verbs.

(= \*पठत्य = Mg. पठिद्य = Skr. पठितक). The 2. sg. हि is found in E. H. and B.; thus wk. f. masc. पठल + हि = E. H. पठले or (shortened) B. पठलि; fem. पठलि + हि = E. H. पठली *thou readst*. The 2. sg. उ is peculiar to O.; thus पठिलु, just as in the O. pres. indic पठु (see § 497, pp. 335. 336). — Again c) the 3. sg. सि occurs in the E. H. पठलेस्. But there is no suff. in M., B., O. or in intrans. verbs of E. H.; thus M. पठलाम्, पठली f., पठले<sup>n</sup> n. *he read*, गेला m., गेली f., गेले<sup>n</sup> n. *he went*, O. पठिला, गला c. g., B. पठिल्, गेल् c. g., E. H. गयल् c. g., but पठलेस्. — Again d) the 1. pl. उं is found in M. and O.; thus M. पठलो<sup>c</sup> c. g. or (shortened) O. पठलु<sup>c</sup> c. g. *we read*. The E. H. shows the same 1. pl. termin. ई (but without anunāsika) as in its pres. conj. (§ 497, 2, d. p. 336); thus E. H. पठली c. g. *we read* just as पठौ<sup>c</sup> *we read*. And the B. has preserved the original pres. indic. termin. आम्; thus पठिलाम् (= Mg. \*पठिदाम denom., or \*पठिदाम्ह). — Again e) the 2. pl. हु is preserved in the E. H. fem., thus पठलि + हु or, perhaps. st. f. पठलिञ्च + हु = E. H. पठल्यू *you read*. Otherwise the 2. pl. ह or ह is used; thus wk. f. masc. पठल + ह = E. H. पठलह् or (dropping ह्, § 32) पठल *parhala*, O. पठलि c. g.; the B. पठिले c. g. apparently contracts final अह *aha* to ए or stands for पठले<sup>c</sup>, properly a 3. pl. form (see § 497, footnote and O. 3. pl. पठिले). Or st. f. पठला + हं = M. पठला<sup>c</sup> c. g. — Again f) the 3. pl. नि or, shortened, न् is preserved in E. H. and B.; thus wk. f. masc. पठल + नि = E. H. पठलेन्, B. पठिलेन् with transfer of final इ into the preceding syllable; fem. पठलि + न् = E. H. पठलिन्. The E. H. also shows the other 3. pl. termin. ऐ<sup>c</sup> in the masc. पठलै<sup>c</sup> *they read* and, slightly modified, in the fem. पठली<sup>c</sup>, just as in the E. H. pres. conj. पठै<sup>c</sup> *they read*. O. omits the anunāsika, पठिले for \*पठिले<sup>c</sup>. M. uses the strong form, but without any suff., पठले. — 2) As regards the E. H. optional forms, 1. sg. अल्यो<sup>c</sup> and 2. pl. अल्यह्, they contain probably the strong part. termin अल्य, with euph. य् for अल्यञ्च; thus Skr. denom. \*पठितकामि (= पठितकोऽस्मि), Mg. \*पठिद्दमि or \*पठिद्यमि, Ap. \*पठिद्यउं, E. H. पठिल्यो<sup>c</sup> or पठल्यो<sup>c</sup>. — 3) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

## Singular.

	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इलाम्	इलि.	अलो <sup>०</sup> m., अल्यु <sup>०</sup> f.	अलो <sup>०</sup> m., अले <sup>०</sup> f., अलो <sup>०</sup> or अले <sup>०</sup> n.
2.	इलि	इलु	अलेस् m., अलिस् f.	अलास् m., अलीन् f., अले <sup>०</sup> स् n.
3.	इल्	इला	अलेस् c. g., अल् c. g.	अला m., अली f., अले <sup>०</sup> n.

## Plural.

1.	इलाम्	इलु	अली c. g.	अलो <sup>०</sup> c. g.
2.	इले	इल	अलह् m., अल्यु <sup>०</sup> f.	अला <sup>०</sup> c. g.
3.	इलेन्	इले	अलेन् m., अलिन् f.	अले m., अल्या f., अली <sup>०</sup> n.

*Note:* The B. and O. forms are of common gender.

506. *Preterite conjunctive.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the pres. part. in अत् (§§ 298. 486) in the following manner, according to the gender, number and person of the subject.

## Singular.

## Plural.

	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	अतो <sup>०</sup> (or अत्यो <sup>०</sup> )	अयू	अती or इत्	अती or इत्
2.	अतेस् or अते	अतिस् or अती	अतह् or अत (or अत्यह्)	अत्यु
3.	अत् or अतै	अत् or अतै	अतेन् or अतै <sup>०</sup>	अतिन् or अतै <sup>०</sup>

*Note:* The forms enclosed in brackets are more usual in Bs., than in Bh. — Occasionally this tense is used as a pres. indic.

507. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) This tense exists in all Gds., with the exception, apparently, of S. But while W. Gd. uses the strong form of the pres. part. without addition, to express the pret. conj., the E. and S. Gds. make it by joining to the same part. the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. These composite forms are made exactly on the same model as those of the second pret. indic., see § 505, where the matter has been fully explained. The E. Gds. use the weak, but M. the strong form of the part. Thus 1. sg. masc. O. H. पठतेडं or पठतडं, E. H. पठ्यो<sup>०</sup> or पठतो<sup>०</sup> (if) *I read*, B. पठिताम् (S. Ch. 147), O. पठन्ति (Sn. 32), M. पठतो<sup>०</sup> (Man. 60, 4. 73); but W. H. पठतो or पठनो, H. H. पठता (Kl. 167, a), P. पठ्ठा (Ld. 37. 46, etc.), G. पठतो (Ed. 54); fem. O. H. पठतिडं or पठतेडं, E. H. पठ्यु<sup>०</sup>, B. and O. like masc.,

M. पठते, but \*W. H., H. H., G. पठन्ती, P. पठन्तौ; neut. M. पठन्तो, but G. पठन्तु, etc.; see the table of termin. below. The optional E. H. termin. इत् of the 1. pl. is, evidently, an intrusion from the B., where the pres. part. ends in इत्, instead of in अत् (see § 300). — It will be observed, that the M. termin. of the pret. conj. are nearly identical with those of its pres. indic.; the only difference being in the 3. sg. and plur. (e. g., 3. sg. masc. conj. अता, but indic. अतो; 3. pl. masc. conj. अते, but indic. अतात्) and in the 2. sg. masc. (viz. conj. अतास्, but indic. अतोस्). The indic. has more nearly preserved the old Pr. forms; and moreover, probably, uses the weak form of the part. Thus the M. 2. sg. indic. पठतोस् *thou readest* is the same as the Pr. पठतो सि; while the M. 2. sg. conj. पठतास् (*if thou readst*) is rather a denom. formation पठता + सि = Pr. \*पठतस्-सि; see the remarks in § 503, 1, p. 347. — In the other Gds. the pret. conj. itself may be occasionally used as a sort of indefinite pres. indic.<sup>1)</sup> Examples of this usage, of expressing the pret. conj. by means of the part. pres. with or without the auxil. verb अस् *to be*, are already found in Pr. (see Wb. Spt. 62. 63). Thus Spt. 26 ज्ञातांतेऽसि वा कुपांते *if thou knewest, thou wouldst not do*. This would be in M. ज्ञातान्तास् न कर्तास्, E. H. ज्ञो ज्ञानतेस् न कर्तेस्. Of the two Pr. methods, that which dispenses with the auxil. verb appears to have given rise to the W. Gd. form of the pret. conj., while the other which uses that verb apparently led to the S. and E. Gd. denom. forms of the same tense. The fact that the Gd. pret. conj., and the analogously-formed tenses of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. and fut. indic., have different forms for the several genders, is thus explained by the Pr. For the part. with or without the auxil. verb, must, of course, agree with the subj. in regard to gender. — 2) S., apparently possesses no special pret. conj., but uses instead of it the ordinary pres. indic. (see Tr. 501). — 3) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

1) Edited in *Pr. Imperfect*, by: KB 167, 323, *frequentative* by S. Ch. 147, *first pres. subjunctive* by Ed. 54.

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Singular.					
	B.	O.	E. H.	M.	
1.	इताम्	अंति	अतो <sup>m</sup> m., अत्यू <sup>f</sup> f.	अतो <sup>m</sup> m., अते <sup>f</sup> f., अतो <sup>n</sup> n.	
2.	इतिन्	अंतु	अतेस् <sup>m</sup> m., अतिस् <sup>f</sup> f.	अतास् <sup>m</sup> m., अतीस् <sup>f</sup> f., अते <sup>n</sup> n.	
3.	इत्	अंता	अत् c. g.	अती m., अती f., अते <sup>n</sup> n.	
	G.		W. H.	H. H.	P.
1.	अतो m., अती f., अतू <sup>n</sup> n.		अती m., अती f.	अता m., अती f.	अंदा m., अदी f.
2.	dto		dto	dto	dto
3.	dto		dto	dto	dto
Plural.					
	B.	O.	E. H.	M.	
1.	इताम्	अंतु	अती or इत् c. g.	अतो <sup>m</sup> c. g.	
2.	इत	अंत	अतह् <sup>m</sup> m., अत्यू <sup>f</sup> f.	अता <sup>m</sup> c. g.	
3.	इतेन्	अंते	अतेन् <sup>m</sup> m., अतिन् <sup>f</sup> f.	अते m., अत्या f., अती <sup>n</sup> n.	
	G.		W. H.	H. H.	P.
1.	अता m., अती f., अता <sup>n</sup> n.		अते m., अती <sup>f</sup> f.	अते m., अती f.	अदे m., अदीअ <sup>f</sup> f.
2.	dto		dto	dto	dto
3.	dto		dto	dto	dto

508. *Future indicative.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the fut. part. in अद् or इद् (§§ 308. 486) in the following manner, according to the gender, number and person of the subject.

Singular.		Plural.	
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1. अदो <sup>m</sup>	अद्यू <sup>f</sup>	अद्वै or अद्	अद्वै or अद्
2. अद्वेस् or अद्वे	अद्विस् or अद्वी	अद्वह् or अद्व	अद्व्यू or अद्वू
3. ई	ई	ईह्वै	ईह्वै

With the part. termin. इद् precisely similar suff. are formed; thus इदो<sup>m</sup> m., इद्यू<sup>f</sup> f., etc. As to the manner of adding them to the root, see § 308.

*Note:* Optionally the masc. termin. may be used with a fem. subj. — Occasionally this tense is used in the sense of the imperative.

509. *Affinities and Derivation.* The fut. is formed in six different ways in Gd., the distinguishing marks of which are the following consonants: 1) ह्, 2) च् or ण्, 3) च् or च् or म्, 4) ल् or न्, 5) ग्, 6) द्. — 1) The first two types are derived from the old Skr. and Pr. fut. In Skr. the fut. is formed by the suff. इष्य (i. e., स्य with the connecting vowel इ), which changes in Pr. either to इस्स (Mg. इष्य) or to इहि or इह (Vr. 7, 12—15. H. C. 3, 166—169, see also Wb. Bh. 431. Ls. 349—353). The Pr. इहि or इह becomes in Gd. इहि or इह or अह, and the fut. of this ह-type is preserved in O. H., W. H., and the 3. sg. and pl. of the E. H. Thus 3. sg. Skr. पठिष्यति *he will read*, Pr. (a) पठिहिस् or (b) \*पठिहस्, whence O. H. (b) पठिहस् or पठिहहि (with euph. ह् §§ 69. 503. 1, p. 345), Br. पठिहै, Mw. पठिहो, E. H. पठो (contracted for \*पठिह् for \*पठिहो); 3. pl. Skr. पठिष्यन्ति *they will read*, Pr. (a) पठिहिन्ति or (b) \*पठिहन्ति, whence O. H. (b) पठिहहिन्, Br. and E. H. पठिहै, Mw. (a) पठिहो (for \*पठिहो). The forms of the 2. sg. and pl. of this type also occur in E. H., but only in the sense of the precative (§ 498). — 2) The Pr. इस्स becomes in Gd. इस् or अस् (or इण् or अण्), and the fut. of this स-type is preserved in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gth. CXXVI), Mw. and G. Thus 1. sg. Skr. पठिष्यामि, Pr. (a) पठिस्सामि (H. C. 3, 167) or (b) पठिस्सं (H. C. 3, 169) *I shall read*, O. P. (a) पठ्सा, Mw. पठिस्सं (= Ap. Pr. \*पठिस्सं), G. (b) पठ्सेण्; again 3. sg. Skr. पठिष्यति *he will read*, Pr. पठिस्सि, O. P. पठ्सी, Mw. पठ्सी, G. पठ्से. — The remaining four types of the fut. are purely Gd. formations; thus 3) the fut. of the च-type is confined to the E. Gds. and is made by adding to the fut. part. the personal suff. of the old pres. ind. (§ 503), exactly on the same model as in the case of the second preterite (see § 505). In O. the च् or च् may be changed to न् (see § 134, note). Thus 1. sg. masc. E. H. पठ्चो *I shall read*, B. पठिच (S. Ch. 146), O. पठिचि or पठिमि (Sn. 28); fem. E. H. पठ्च्यो, B. and O. like masc. In B. and O. the 3. sg. and pl. also are of the च-type, while in E. H. they are of the ह-type (see Nro. 1); thus 3. pl. B. पठिचन्, O. पठिचे or पठिमे, but E. H.



पढिहै. A tense of the *ब्र*-type also exists in M.<sup>1</sup> and G.; but it is used as a pres. conj., not as a fut. indic. Moreover it is constructed passively (see § 496, p. 333). Thus M. मयि सोडावा (Man. 73), G. मारे झोडवो (Ed. 54) *I may loose* (lit. *by me he may be loosed*) = E. H. मै झोडवो *I shall loose*. There is apparently in Pr. an instance of a fut. (or imper.) of this type, mentioned by Ls. 422, देख you will give or give ye; the same in E. H. would be देब देबा. — 4) The fut. of the *ल*-type exists only in M., Mw. and N. (incl. Gw. and Km.) and 5) that of the *ग*-type only in Br. (incl. Kn.), H. H. and P. Both types are formed on the same principle, viz. by respectively adding the past part. ऐल (wk. f.) or ऐलो (st. f.) come and गयो (or गया) gone to the old pres. indic. (= habit. past in M., and pres. conj. in the others, see § 496) and, for this purpose, curtailing ऐल् and ऐलो to इल् or ल् and लो respectively and contracting गयो to गौ (or गया to गा). M. uses the weak form इल् or ल्, Mw. the strong form लो, and N. either of the two. Moreover, N. sometimes adds the personal suff. of the old pres. (§ 503) or the auxil. verb हूँ *I am* (e. g., पढ़नेहूँ *we shall read*); on the other hand M. omits the part. ल in the 1. pl. (e. g., पढ़ूँ *we shall read*). Lastly in both M. and N. the characteristic ल् is sometimes changed to ग्. A tense of the *ल*-type exists also in E. H., but it expresses the pres. indic. (see § 500). Similarly the auxil. verb हूँ *I am* forms in Br., Kn. and P. a tense of the *ग*-type with the sense of the pres. indic. (Kl. 200. 197, 367). Thus 3. sg. masc. पढे-ल् or -लो = M. पढेल्, Mw. पढैलो, N. पढला (with पढ for पढे, cf. § 501, 1; footnote, p. 342) *he will read*, but E. H. पढैला *he reads*; fem. M. पढेल्, Mw. पढैली, N. पढली *she will read*, but E. H. पढैले *she reads*; or 3. pl. masc. M. पढति + इल् = पढतील्, Mw. पढैला, N. पढलान् (st. f.) or पढलन् (wk. f.) or पढनन् (= पढ + ल or ला + न्) *they will read*; fem. M. पढतील्, Mw. पढैली, N. पढलीन् (st. f.) or पढलन् or पढनन् (wk. f.). Again 3. sg. masc. पढे + गौ = Br. पढैगौ, H. H. and P. पढेगा *he will read*; fem. Br. पढैगी, H. H. and P. पढेगी; or 3. pl. masc. Br. पढैगे, H. H. पढैगे, P. पढपागे *they will read*; fem. Br. पढैगी, H. H. पढैगी, P. पढपागी, etc. But 3. sg. Kn. हैगे, P.

हैगा *he is*, 3. p<sup>2</sup>. Kn. हैगी, P. हनगे *they are*; fem. sg. Kn. and P. हैगी, pl. Kn. हैगी, P. हनगी; P. has optionally है *he is*, हन् *they are*; H. H. has है, है, etc.; but fut. H. H. होगा m., होगी f. *he (she) will be*. pl. होंगे m., होंगी f. *they will be*, Kn. होगो, होगी m., ोगी f.; P. होवेगा. होपागे m., ोगी, ोगी f., etc. Literally, these futures mean: पढ़ेगी *he is gone (that) he may read*, पढ़ेल् or पढ़ेलो *he is come (that) he may read*, etc., compare the English: *he is going (or coming) to read*. — 6) The fut. of the द-type is confined to S., and is formed by adding to the pres. part. in अंद् or इंद् the same termin., as are used for the first pret. indic. (see § 503, 3. 5). Thus 1. sg. masc. हलंद् + सि = S. हलंदुसि, fem. हलंदिसि *I shall go*; 2. sg. masc. हलंदे, fem. हलदिर् or हलदिर्; 3. sg. masc. हलंदो, fem. हलंदी. This fut. lit. means: *I may be reading*, etc. — 7) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

## Singular.

	G.	Mw.	Br.	E. H.	B.	O.
1.	ईप्	अप् or अहू	इहौ	अबो or इबो	इब	इवि
2.	अप्	असी or अही	इहै	अबेस् or इबेस्	इबि	इवु
3.	अप्	असी or अही	इहै	इ	इवे	इव्
	Br.	H. H.	P.	M.	N.	S.
1.	औगी	ऊंगा	आंगा	एन्	ऊला or अनेकुं	अंदुसि
2.	ऐगी	एगा	ऐगा	असील्	अलास् or अनस्	अंदे
3.	ऐगी	एगा	एगा	एल्	अला or अनेक्	अंदो

## Plural.

	G.	Mw.	Br.	E. H.	B.	O.
1.	ईप्	असौ or अहौ	इहै	अबै or इबै	इब	इवा
2.	अप्	असो or अहो	इहो	अबह् or इबह्	इबा	इव
3.	अप्	असी or अही	इहै	इहै	इबेन्	इवे
	Br.	H. H.	P.	M.	N.	S.
1.	ऐंगे	ऐंगे	आंगे	ऊ	ऊला or अनेकुं	अंदासी
2.	ओंगे	ओंगे	ओंगे	आल्	अंलउ or अनेकुं	अंदउ
3.	ऐंगे	ऐंगे	आपागे	अलील्	अलान or अनन्	अंदा

In the fem. sing., Br., H. H., P., N. final औ or आ changes to ई, as Br. औगी, P. आंगी, etc.; plur. Br., H. H., N. ए or आ

changes to ई, and P. ए to ईअ, as Br. ऐंगी, N. उल्ली, P. अंगिअ, etc. For the E. H. fem. form see § 508. S. has fem. sg. 1. अदिअसि, 2. अदिऐ or अदिअ, 3. अदी; pl. 1. अदिउसी, 2. and 3. अदिऊ. In the rest, the forms are com. gen.

### 3. PERIPHRASTIC TENSES.

510. Ten additional tenses are made in E. H., by adding the pres. indic. or conj., or the pret. indic. or conj., or the fut. indic. of an auxil. verb to the pres. part. in अत् (§ 298) or to the past part. in अल् (§ 302). These tenses are the following:

1) The *definite* or *durative present indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pres. indic. to the pres. part.; as पठ्त् खाटै or पठ्त् होवै *he is reading*.

2) The *future conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pres. conj. to the pres. part.; as पठ्त् होय् (*if*) *he be reading*.

3) The *definite preterite* or the *perfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pres. indic. to the past part.; as पठ्ले खाटै or पठ्ले होवै *he has read*.

4) The *future exact conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pres. conj. to the past part.; as पठ्ले होय् (*if*) *he have read*.

5) The *durative* or *habitual preterite* or the *imperfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pret. indic. to the pres. part.; as पठ्त् रहल् *he was reading*.

6) The *durative present conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pret. conj. to the pres. part.; as पठ्त् होतै (*if*) *he were reading*.

7) The *pluperfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pret. indic. to the past part.; as पठ्ले रहल् *he had read*.

8) The *preterite conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pret. conj. to the past part.; as पठ्ले होतै (*if*) *he had read*.

9) The *durative future indicative* or *present dubitative*, made by adding the auxil. fut. indic. to the pres. part.; as पठ्त् होई *he will be reading*.

10) The *future exact indicative* or *preterite dubitative*, made by adding the auxil. fut. indic. to the past part.; as पढले होई *he will have read*.

*Note:* For the purpose of expressing the *present conditional* the pret. conj. (§ 506) is used. Thus पढ्ने (if) *he read*. This completes the series of tenses of the condit. mood, which is merely a special application of the conj.

511. If the verb is a trans. one, the termin. of the past part. assumes the form अले, instead of अल्, in the formation of the additional tenses; but if the verb is intrans. the termin. is अल्, as usual; e. g., trans. पढले बाटो *I have read*, but intr. रहल् बाटो *I have remained*. The termin. of the part. never suffers any change; but that of the auxil. verb changes in agreement with the number, person and (where possible) gender of the subj.; thus 1. sg. masc. पढ्न् बाटो, fem. पढ्न् बाय् *I am reading*; 3. pl. masc. पढले होवै, fem. पढले हई *they have read*.

*Note:* The form in अले is really the adv. part. (see § 488), i. e., the loc. or obl. form of the past part. Thus पढले बाटो means lit., *on having read I am*. Similarly B. uses the adv. pres. part.; e. g., B. पढ्ने छि lit. *on reading I am*, i. e., *I am reading*; B. पढ्ने छिलाम् lit. *on reading I was*, i. e., *I was reading*.

512. *Affinities.* Periphrastic tenses exist in all Gds. and are made in the same way as in E. H. But while B., O. and, in the case of the past part. of trans. verbs, E. H. add the auxil. verb to the adv. part. (S. Ch. 135. 194. Sn. 30. 31, see § 511, note), N. and, generally, E. H. add it to the weak, H. H., P., G., S. to the strong, and W. H. to either form of the adj. part. (see Ld. 37 etc. Ed. 54 etc. Tr. 316 etc. Kl. 167 etc.). Again M. adds it to the weak or strong form of the adj. part. or to one of the ordinary tenses (Man. 92—96), somewhat analogous to the formation of the pres. indic. in E. H. and the W. Gds. (see § 501, 1). They also vary as to the particular auxil. verb which they employ (see §§ 513. 514). Thus 3. sg. masc. pres. definite. O. पढ् अइ *he is reading*, B. पढ्ने छे or प<sup>०</sup> अइ; but E. H.

पठत् बाटै or होवै, N. पठ्ठू इ, Gw. पठ्ठू or पठ्ठो इ, Br. पठ्ठु or पठ्ठौ है, Mw. पठ्ठौ है, H. H. पठ्ठा है, P. पठ्ठा है, S. पठ्ठो आहे, G. पठ्ठो होयइ; again M. पठ्ठू आहे or पठ्ठो आहे or पठ्ठू असतो (Man. 93, 1. 2. 3); fem. O., B., E. H., N. like masc.; Gw. पठ्ठू or पठ्ठो इ, Br. पठ्ठि or पठ्ठी है, H. H. पठ्ठी है, P. पठ्ठी है, S. पठ्ठी आहे, G. पठ्ठी होयइ, M. पठ्ठू आहे or पठ्ठी आहे or पठ्ठू असती.

513. The auxil. verbs which are employed to form the periphrastic tenses are the following: 1) बाटै or बाटै *he is*, 2) रहल् *he was* and 3) होवै *he is*. The verb बाटै is defective; there exists only the pres. indic. The verb रहल् is the ordinary second pret. indic. of the regular verb रहब् to remain; but it is used as the past tense of the defective बाटै. The verb होवै is a regular verb with a complete conjugation, from which the remainder of the defective tenses of the verb बाटै are supplied. Examples see in § 510.

Note 1: When the past tense रहल् is used as an auxil. verb, it expresses past action generally, „he was“, precisely like था in H. H. But according to circumstances, it may retain its ordinary meaning „he remained“, as the past tense of रहब् to remain, and express past action as enduring, precisely like रहा in H. H. Thus E. H. कहल् रहल् *he had said* = H. H. कहा था, or *he remained saying, he kept saying* = H. H. कहा रहा.

Note 2: The past tense भइल् or भयल् of the verb होब् to be is never used as a mere auxil. verb, but always has its full meaning „he became“, and expresses the commencement and continuation of an action (§ 538, g). Thus E. H. कहल् भयल् *he began saying*, but कहल् रहल् *he was saying*. The corresponding Gd. forms are: W. H. भयो (auxil. यो), M. काला (aux. होता or असे), G. हवो (aux. हतो).

514. *Affinities and Derivation.* The various verbs which are used as auxiliaries in Gd. are the following: 1) The verb बाटै. It occurs as a defective auxil. in E. H. and B.; in both only in the pres. indic.; but in M. and S. it is a *principal* verb with a complete conjugation, and is used to form compound verbs; viz.,

M. वाटणे *to appear* (Man. 92; in W. H. in the denom. form बतानौ), S. वतणु *to continue* (Tr. 344). It is derived from the Skr. R. वृत्, Pr. वत् or वट्. The B. pres. indic. (sg. 1. वटि, 2. वटिच्, 3. वटे; pl. 1. वटि, 2. वट, 3. वटेन्) is, as usual, identical with the old Pr. pres. indic. (see § 501, 4). Thus 3. sg. Skr. वर्तते, Pr. वट्ते, B. वटे. From the other Pr. form वत्तच् comes the E. H. बाय् (for वाय्) or बा by the elision of त् (§ 153). As regards the other E. H. forms बाटे, बाटा, etc. which are different for the two genders, it is more probable that they are denominatives, made by adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (§ 503, 1, p. 345) to the part. Skr. वृत्, P. वट् (H. C. 2, 29) *existing* (of R. वृत्). Thus 1. sg. masc. Skr. वृत्तोऽस्मि, Pr. वट् मिह्, Ap. Pr. \*वट्ते, E. H. बाटो *I am*; fem. Skr. (st. f.) वृत्तिकास्मि, Pr. वट्मिह्, Ap. Pr. \*वट्मिह् or \*वट्मिह्, E. H. बाय्, etc. — 2) The verb रह् is used only in E. H. as an auxil., and only in the 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. indic. Otherwise it is in E. H. as well as in all other Gds. a regular principal verb, „to remain“. It is commonly (in E. H., W. H., P., S.) used to make a kind of (continuative) compound verb (see § 538, b). — 3) The verb होइ *to be* occurs in E. H. as well as in all other Gds., both as an auxiliary and as a principal, with a complete conjugation. It is derived from the Skr. R. भू; thus 3. sg. pres. conj. E. H. होय्, Pr. होइ or हवइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति. As an auxil., however, it has in E. H. a special pres. indic., which is made by adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (§ 503, 1) to the part. Skr. भूत्, Pr. ह्विम् (§ 307, 7) *being* or *been*. Thus 1. sg. masc. Skr. भूतोऽस्मि, Pr. ह्विमिह्, Ap. Pr. \*ह्विमिह्, E. H. हउओ or हौओ or हौओ ( §§ 122. 69. 28); fem. Skr. भूतास्मि, Pr. ह्विमिह्, Ap. Pr. \*ह्विमिह्, E. H. हउउ or हवू (§ 123) *I am*, etc. On the other hand, as a principal verb, it has a regular pres. indic. होलो *I am*, etc. (see § 500). There is in E. H. a peculiar pleonastic form of this verb, which may be used optionally for its simple form, both when it is an auxil. and when it is a principal. It is made by adding the increment ख to the root हो; and the pleon. R. होख, thus made, is conjugated regularly.

Thus infin. होखच् to be; pres. indic. 2. sg. masc. होखैलेस् or ०ले, fem. होखैलिस् or ०ली; 2. pl. masc. होखैलह् or ०ल, fem. ०ल्यू, etc. (see § 517). There is also a peculiar negative form of this verb, which exists, however, only in the pres. tense and is the same for all three moods. It also shows the peculiar increment ख; thus 3. sg. masc. नैखै he is not, fem. नैखै or नैखो she is not, etc. (see § 518)<sup>1</sup>. The origin of these forms is obscure. Perhaps they are derived from the Skr. R. भू by means of the inchoative suff. त्त or स्क. Just as the R. अस् to be forms in Pr. an inchoative अच्क् (= अत्त = अस्क), so the R. भू or Pr. हुव् or हव् or हो (cf. H. C. 4, 60) might form in Pr. an inchoative \*हुवक्ख or \*हवक्ख or \*होक्ख (= भुत्त or भुस्क), in E. H. होख. The negative form नैख appears to have arisen by incorporating the negative particle न not. There are similar negative verbal forms in M., see Nro. 4. — 4) The verb अहै or आहै or है he is. It occurs in the S. Gd., N. Gd. and W. Gd. (exc. G.), but not in the E. Gd. (exc. Bs.); and it exists only in the pres. indic. (see Man. 88. Tr. 300. Kl. 201. Ld. 25), as shown in the following table:

## Singular.

	O. H.	Bs.	M.	S.	Br.	Mw.	P.	N.	H. H.
1.	अहउं or हो	अहेउं or हो	अहे	आहिया	हौ	हू	हॉ	हूँ	हूँ
2.	अहसि or अहहि or है	अहेस् or अहे	आहेस्	आहे or आही	है	है	है	हस्?	है
3.	अहद् or अहै or आहि	अहै	आहे	आहे	है	है	है	ह?	है

## Plural.

	O. H.	Bs.	M.	S.	Br.	Mw.	P.	N.	H. H.
1.	अहहिं or हहिं	अही	आही	आहियू	है	हॉ	हॉ	हूँ?	है
2.	अहहु or हहु or अहे	अहह् or अहो or अहे	आहॉ	आहियो	हौ	हो	हो	हौ	हो
3.	अहहिं or हहिं or आहै	अहेन् or अहै	आहेत्	आहिनि or आहीनि	है	है	हन् or हैन्	हुन्	है

1) Beames in J. R. A. S. III, 495 mentions a negative form नाखै he is not and an affirmative खै he is, and Kl. 199, 373 follows him. But my authorities deny the existence of either form.

The origin of this auxil. verb is uncertain. It is commonly identified with the Skr. R. *अस्* to *be* (e. g., Tr. 300. 304). This view must assume a change of *स्* to *ह्*, and also a change of class; for the Skr. R. *अस्* is of the II. cl., while the Gd. verb is of the VI. cl.; e. g., 1. sg. O. H. *अहं* represents a Skr. form \**असामि*, Pr. \**अहमि*, Ap. \**अहं* (see H. C. 4, 385); or Gd. *अहै* = Skr. \**असति*, Pr. \**अहह्*. None of the Pr. gramm., however, as far as I am aware, notice any such change in the R. *अस्*. There would be also a difficulty in accounting for the initial *अ* in M. and S. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to identify this Gd. auxil. verb with the pres. indic. of the R. *भू* to *be*. This root may become in Pr. *हव* (H. C. 4, 60) and in Gd. *ह्व*; thus 3. sg. Skr. *भवति*, Pr. *हवद्*, Mw. *ह्वै* (Kl. 232). The form *ह्वै* would easily become *है*. On the other hand, instead of suppressing *अ*, it (or rather *ह्*, see § 132) may be transposed; thus the Pr. R. *हव* might become in Gd. *अह्व* and thence *आह्व*, with *आ* as compensation for the elided *व्*; e. g., 3. sg. Pr. *हवद्* = \**अह्वद्* = Bs. *अहै* or M. *आहै*, etc. It may be observed, that the Skr. 3. pl. *भवन्ति* is even in Ap. Pr. contracted to *भन्ति* or *हन्ति* (H. C. 4, 406. 416), which would regularly become *है* in W. H. (see § 497, 2. f, p. 337). The M. possesses a negative form of this verb. It is defective, occurring only in the pres. ind.; viz., sing. 1. *नाही*, 2. *नाहीस्*, 3. *नाही*; plur. 1. *नाही*, 2. *नाही*, 3. *नाहीत्*. There is an other defective negative verb in M., which occurs only in the pres. and pret. indic.; viz., *pres.* sing. 1. *नव्हे*, 2. *नव्हेस्* or *नव्हस्*, 3. *नव्हे*; plur. 1. *नव्हो* or *नव्हे*, 2. *नव्हो* or *नव्हेत्*, 3. *नव्हेत्* or *नव्हत्*; *pret.* sing. masc. 1. *नव्हतो*, 2. *नव्हतास्*, 3. *नव्हता*; plur. 1. *नव्हतो*, 2. *नव्हता*, 3. *नव्हते*. See Man. 88. 89. This negative form, however, really belongs to the verb *होइव्* (M. *होपो*), see Nro. 3. Besides M. has a complete negative form of the verb *असपो* (see Nro. 5), which is made by changing the initial *अ* to *न*; e. g., inf. *नसपो*; 1. sg. pres. ind. *नसतो* *I am not*, from *असतो* *I am*, etc. See Man. 89. — 5) The verb *अइ* or *अइ* or *इ* *he is*. It occurs in the S. Gd. and N. Gd., in all W. Gds. (exc. Br.), and in all E. Gds. (exc. Bh.





The forms of the pres. have assumed in M. and P. the sense of the (habit.) past (see § 496); thus M. असे, P. सौ I *was* (Man. 84. Ld. 25). The forms of the pret. sg. Km. हिया, Mw. हो, P. सा are masc. and change in the fem. to हो and सौ; they are really past part.; those of B. and Mth. are of com. gen. and made according to the 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. ind. (see § 505). In M. the pres. ind. (also used as pres. conj.) is असतो, etc. (conjug. regularly, see § 501, 3. 5); the pres. conj. असावा, etc. (see § 496); the imper. असू, etc. (see § 496); the fut. असेन्, etc. (see § 509, 4. 7). I have observed in N. the 2. sg. fut. हेनस् = M. असतील् (see § 509, 4. 7). The infin. is in M. असू or असणो (see § 313. 314); the pres. part. असत् (see § 486); the adv. part. असतो, which I have also found in N. as हंदा *on being*. (see § 489). — This verb also exists in Pr. (H. C. 4, 215. Ls. 346); e. g., 3. sg. अह् *he is*, etc. The R. अह् (= अत्त or अत्क) is probably an inchoative form of the R. अस् *to be* or (according to some MSS. of H. C.) आस् *to dwell, exist*. — The only remnant of the original R. अस् which has survived in Gd. is the S. 3. sg. and pl. अय = Pr. अत्ति, Skr. अस्ति. It is, however, used only in conjunction with pronom. suff. (Tr. 349), as अयसि *it is* or *they are to me*. Even in Pr., अत्ति is used for both numbers and all three persons (H. C. 3, 148); e. g., अत्ति अहं *I am*, अत्ति अम्हे *we are*, etc. — 6) The verb वाय् or विट् *he is*. It occurs only in the W. Gd. and O. In G. and S. it has a complete conj. (see Ed. 72—81. Tr. 305—312). In the others it exists only in the pret. indic. tense (or past part., see Sn. 26. Ld. 25. Kl. 200), as shown in the following comparative table:

*Preterite. Singular.*

	O.	Naip.	S.	Kn.
1.	बेलि c. g.	यिये or ये c. g.	यिउसे m., यिमसे f.	यो m., यो f.
2.	बेलु c. g.	यियेस् or यिस् c. g.	यिट् m., यिम् f.	यो m., यो f.
3.	बेल्ला c. g.	यियो or य्यो m., यिई f.	यिमो m., यो f.	यो m., यो f.
	H. H.	P.	G.	
1.	या m., यो f.	या m., यो f.	ययो m., ययो f., ययु n.	
2.	या m., यो f.	या m., यो f.	ययो m., ययो f., ययु n.	
3.	या m., यो f.	या m., यो f.	ययो m., ययो f., ययु n.	

*Preterite. Plural.*

	D.	Naip.	S.	Kn.
1.	थेलूँ c. g.	थिऊँ or थ्यूँ c. g.	थिन्नासी m., थिऊँसी f.	थे m., थो f.
2.	थेल c. g.	थियौ or थ्यौ c. g.	थिन्नाउ m., थिऊँ f.	थे m., थो f.
3.	थेले c. g.	थिये or थे c. g.	थिन्ना m., थिऊँ f.	थे m., थो f.

	H. H.	P.	G.
1.	थे m., थो f.	थे m., थोन्नौ f.	थया m., थयो f., थयौँ n.
2.	थे m., थो f.	थे m., थोन्नौ f.	थया m., थयो f., थयौँ n.
3.	थे m., थो f.	थे m., थोन्नौ f.	थया m., थयो f., थयौँ n.

The pres. conj. is: \*1. sg. G. थाउँ, S. थिन्नौ; 2. sg. G. थाय्, S. थिर or थौ; 3. sg. G. थाय्, S. थिर; 1. pl. G. थये or थैये, S. थिऊँ; 2. pl. G. थाओ, S. थिओ; 3. pl. G. थाय, S. थिन्न or थोन्. The pres. indic. is in G. थाउँ हूँ, etc., S. थिन्नौ थो, etc. (see § 501, 1. 5); the fut. indic. in G. थैय्, etc., S. थौंदुसे, etc. (see § 509, 2. 6. 7); the imper. G. था or थाने; etc., S. थौऊ or थौते, etc. (see §§ 497. 499); the infin. in G. थलूँ, S. थिन्नणु; the part. pres. in G. थतो, S. थौदो; the adv. part. in G. थते or थतौ, S. थौदे. — The original of this verb appears to be the Skr. R. स्था *stand, exist*, which in Pr. becomes ठा or था (H. C. 4, 16); e. g., 3. sg. Pr. ठाई (H. C. 4, 436) or थाई, G. थाय्; 3. pl. Pr. थन्ति (H. C. 4, 395) or \*थाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), G. थाय्. The S. थिन्नणु *to be* is derived from the R. स्था, just as S. पिन्नणु *to drink*, from R. पा, S. उन्नणु *to give*, from R. दा; i. e., it is founded on a reduplicated radical form \*स्थित (for the ordinary Skr. तिष्ठ), analogous to पिव, दद्.

## THIRD CHAPTER. CONJUGATION.

## 1. THE DEFECTIVE AUXILIARY VERB.

515. There is only a pres. tense; the pret. is supplied from the verb रह् *to remain* and the rest from the complete auxil. \*verb होव् *to be* (see §§ 513. 516).

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. बाटो <sup>1)</sup>	बायूँ	बाटी	बाटी
2. बाटेस् or बाटे	बाटिस् or बाटी	बाटह् or बाट	बायू
3. बाटै or बाय् or बा	बाटै or बाय् or बा	बाटै	बाटी

b) Preterite tense: *I was*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. रहलो	रहलूँ	रहलो	रहली
2. रहलेस् or रहले	रहलिस् or रहली	रहलह् or रहल	रहलू
3. रहल्	रहल्	रहलेन् or रहलै	रहलिन् or रहली

## 2. THE WEAK COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

516. This verb is complete with the exception of the pret., which is supplied from the verb रह् to remain, to dwell; see § 513, note 2.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होवो <sup>2)</sup>	हयूँ	हई	हई
2. होवे	होवी	होवह् or होव	हयूँ
3. होवै or हो	होवै or हो	होवै	हई

b) Preterite tense: *I was*, etc.

This is the same as the pret. of the def. auxil. verb; see § 515, b.

c) Future tense: *I shall be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. होवो <sup>3)</sup> or होइवो	होवै or होइवै or होव or होइव
2. होवेस् or होइवेस् or होवे or होइवे <sup>4)</sup>	होवह् or होइवह् or होव or होइव
3. होई	होइहै

1) Throughout, the initial consonant may optionally be व् v or ब् b, and in the low forms of E. H. the medial cons. may be ह् h or र् r (§ 145)

2) The masc. form may throughout be used also as fem.

3) Fem. also: होबिस् or होबो or होइबिस् or होइबो.

## Conjunctive mood.

d) Present tense: *I be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. हो <sup>हुँ</sup>	हो <sup>ई</sup>
2. हो	हो <sup>इ</sup> or हो
3. होय	हो <sup>य</sup>

e) Preterite tense: *I were*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होतो <sup>ँ</sup> or होत्यो <sup>ँ</sup>	होत्यूँ	होइत्	होइत्
2. होतेस् or होते	होतिस् or होती	होतह् or होत	होत्यू
3. होत् or होतै	होत् or होतै	होतेन् or हेतै <sup>ँ</sup>	होतिन् or होती <sup>ँ</sup>

## Imperative mood.

f) Present tense: *let me be*, etc.; the same as pres. conj.

## 3. THE STRONG COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

517. This verb is conjugated regularly throughout; see § 514, 3.

## Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखलो <sup>ँ</sup>	होखल्यूँ	होखोला	होखोला
2. होखलेस् or ले	होखल्लिस् or ली	होखलह् or ल	होखल्ल्यू
3. होखला	होखले	होखलै <sup>ँ</sup>	होखलौ <sup>ँ</sup>

b) First preterite: *I was*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. होख्यो <sup>ँ</sup>	होखा
2. होखिस्	होख्यू
3. होखिस्	होखिन्

Or: Second preterite.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखलो <sup>ँ</sup>	होखल्यूँ	होखलो	होखली
2. होखलेस् or ले	होखलिस् or ली	होखलह् or ल	होखल्यू
3. होखल्	होखल्	होखलै <sup>ँ</sup>	होखली <sup>ँ</sup>

c) Future tense: *I shall be*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखबो <sup>1)</sup>	होखबूँ	होखबू or ओँबै	होखबू or ओँबै
2. होखबेस् or ओँबे	होखबिस् or बी	होखबहू or ओँब	होखब्यू
3. होखी	होखी	होखिहै	होखिहै

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present tense: *I be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. होखो <sup>॥</sup>	होखी <sup>॥</sup>
2. होखु	होखहू or होख
3. होखे	होखै <sup>॥</sup>

e) Preterite tense: *I were*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखतो <sup>॥</sup> or ओँयो <sup>॥</sup>	होखत्यूँ	होखती or ओँखित्	होखती or ओँखित्
2. होखतेस् or ओँते	होखतिस् or ओँती	होखतहू or ओँत	होखत्यू
3. होखतै or ओँत्	होखतै or ओँत्	होखतै <sup>॥</sup>	होखती <sup>॥</sup>

Imperative mood.

f) Present: *let me be*, etc. Like the pres. conj.

Precative forms: 2. sg. होखिहे, 2. pl. होखिह or होखी.

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are formed like those of the regular active verb पढ़ब *to read*, see § 521; e. g., मै<sup>॥</sup> होखत् बाटौ<sup>॥</sup> *I am being*, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival: pres. होखत् *being*, past होखल् *been*.

Conjunctive: होखे के *having been*.

Adverbial: pres. होखते or होखतै *on being*, past होखले *on having been*.

Infinitives.

Nem. होखबू *to be*, acc. होखे के or होखे के, etc.

#### 4. THE DEFECTIVE NEGATIVE AUXILIARY VERB.

518. This verb exists only in the present tense of the three moods; see § 514, 3.

1) Or: होखिबो<sup>॥</sup>, होखिबेस्, etc.

a) Present indicative: *I am not*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. नैखो <sup>०</sup> or नैखू <sup>०</sup>	नैख्यु <sup>१</sup> )	नैखी	नैखी
2. नैखेस् or नैखे	नैखिस् or नैखी	नैखह् or नैख	नैख्यु <sup>१</sup> )
3. नैखे	नैखी <sup>१</sup> )	नैखै <sup>०</sup>	नैखी <sup>०</sup> १)

b) Pres. conj. and imp. like the pres. indic.

### 5. THE REGULAR ACTIVE VERB:

519. There is only one conjugation. With the exception of a very few irregular verbs<sup>१</sup> (see §§ 525—527), all verbs, whether ending in a consonant or a vowel, are conjugated precisely alike. One example, therefore, of an active verb, fully conjugated, is sufficient. For the sake of convenience, however, a list of the first persons sing. and plur. of a few typical verbs will be added; the remainder to be supplied by the student. It may be noted, as a practical rule, that an euphonic semicons. may be added to any verb which ends with a vowel; viz. *य्* to verbs in ई, and *व्* to verbs in ऊ or ओ. Thus every verb may be made to have a consonantal termination; and after the required verbal form has been made, the euph. cons. may be again omitted; and the resultant form will be that of the verb as ending in a vowel.

520.

The elements.

पठ्ठ् to read; root पठ्; bases पठ्त्, पठल्.

The radical and participial tenses.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पठ्ठो <sup>०</sup> or ल्यो <sup>०</sup>	पठ्ठ्यु <sup>०</sup>	पठ्ठोला	पठ्ठोलौ
2. पठ्ठेस् or ले	पठ्ठेस् or ली	पठ्ठेस् or ल or ल्यह्	पठ्ठेस्
3. पठ्ठे <sup>२</sup> )	पठ्ठे	पठ्ठेन् or पठ्ठै <sup>०</sup>	पठ्ठेन् or ली <sup>०</sup>

1) Or like masc.

2) Or पठ्ठो, पठ्ठेस्, पठ्ठे, and so on throughout.

b) First preterite: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. पठ्यो <sup>ॐ</sup>	पठा
2. पठिस्	पठ्यौ
3. पठिस्	पठिन्

Or second preterite: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पठलो <sup>ॐ</sup> or ०ल्यो <sup>ॐ</sup>	पठल्यू <sup>ॐ</sup>	पठली	पठली
2. पठले	पठलिस् or ०ली	पठलह् or ०ल or ०ल्यह्	पठल्यू
3. पठलेस्	पठलेस्	पठलेन् or ०लै <sup>ॐ</sup>	पठलिन् or ०ली <sup>ॐ</sup>

c) Future: *I shall read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem. <sup>1)</sup>	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पठ्यो <sup>ॐ</sup> 2)	पठ्यू <sup>ॐ</sup>	पठ्य् or ०बै	पठ्य् or ०बै
2. पठ्येस् or ०बे	पठ्यिस् or ०बी	पठ्यह् or ०ब	पठ्यू or ०बू
3. पठे	पठे	पठिह्यै <sup>ॐ</sup>	पठिह्यै <sup>ॐ</sup>

## Conjunctive mood.

d) Present: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. पठो <sup>ॐ</sup>	पठे <sup>ॐ</sup>
2. पठु or पठ्	पठह् or पठ
3. पठे	पठे <sup>ॐ</sup>

e) Preterite: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पठतो <sup>ॐ</sup> or ०त्यो <sup>ॐ</sup>	पठयू <sup>ॐ</sup>	पठती or पठित्	पठती or पठित्
2. पठतेस् or ०ते	पठतिस् or ०ती	पठतह् or ०त or ०त्यह्	पठयू
3. पठत् or ०तै	पठत् or ०तै	पठतेन् or ०तै <sup>ॐ</sup>	पठतिन् or ०ती <sup>ॐ</sup>

## Imperative mood.

f) Present: *let me read*, etc. Like pres. conj.

Precative forms: 2. sing. पठिहे, 2. plur. पठिह्ये.

1) Throughout the masc. forms may be used for the fem.

2) Or पठिबो<sup>ॐ</sup>, पठिबेस्, and so on throughout.



521.

The periphrastic tenses.

Indicative mood.

g) Durative or definitive present: *I am reading*, etc.

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.<sup>1)</sup>

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. पठत् बाटो <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होवो <sup>०</sup> | पठत् बायू <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> हयू <sup>०</sup> |
| 2. पठत् बाटेस् or बाटे or होवै                                | पठत् बाटिस् or बाटी or होवी                               |
| 3. पठत् बाटै or बाय् or बा or होवै or हो                      | पठत् बाटै or होवै etc.                                    |

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. पठत् बाटी or प <sup>०</sup> हई              | पठत् बाटी or प <sup>०</sup> हई            |
| 2. पठत् बाटह् or बाट or होवह् or होव           | पठत् बायू or हयू                          |
| 3. पठत् बाटै <sup>०</sup> or होवै <sup>०</sup> | पठत् बाटी <sup>०</sup> or हई <sup>०</sup> |

h) Durative pret. or imperfect. *I was reading*, etc.

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. पठत् रहलो <sup>०</sup> | पठत् रहल्यू <sup>०</sup> |
| 2. पठत् रहलेस् or ले      | पठत् रहलिस् or ले        |
| 3. पठत् रहल               | पठत् रहल्                |

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

- |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. पठत् रहलो <sup>०</sup>     | पठत् रहल्यू                                |
| 2. पठत् रहलह् ले <sup>०</sup> | पठत् रहलिन <sup>०</sup> or ले <sup>०</sup> |
| 3. पठत् रहलेन्                |  |

3. पठत् रहलेन्, optative future: *I shall be reading*, etc.

i) Dud Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

Sing. Masc. <sup>2)</sup>

- |  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. पठत् होबो <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होख- | पठत् होबै or प <sup>०</sup> होखबै   |
| 2. पठत् होबेस् or प <sup>०</sup> होखबेस्         | पठत् होबह् or प <sup>०</sup> होखबह् |
| 3. पठत् होई or प <sup>०</sup> होखी .             | पठत् होइहै or प <sup>०</sup> होखिहै |

fact: *I have read*, etc.

k) Definite pret. or p.c.

Sing. Fem.<sup>1)</sup>

Sing. Masc.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. पठले बाटो <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होवो <sup>०</sup> | पठले बायू <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होवी <sup>०</sup> |
| 2. पठले बाटेस् or बाटे or होवै                                | पठले बाटिस् or होवी  |
| 3. पठले बाटै or बाय् or बा or होवै or हो                      | पठले बाटै or हो  |

1) Optionally the masc. forms may be used for the f. given

2) Or प<sup>०</sup> होइबो<sup>०</sup> or प<sup>०</sup> होखिबो<sup>०</sup>, etc.; in fact any of the

- Plur. Masc.                      Plur. Fem.  
 1. पढले बाटी or पं ईई              पढले बाटी or पं ईई  
 2. पढले बाटह or बाट or होवह or होव      पढले बायू or हयू  
 3. पढले बाटै or होवै              पढले बाटी or ईई

1) Pluperfect: *I had read, etc.*

- Sing. Masc.                      Sing. Fem.  
 1. पढले रहलो                      पढले रहल्यू  
 2. पढले रहलेस् or ०ले              पढले रहलिस् or ०ली  
 3. पढले रहल्                      पढले रहल्

- Plur. Masc.                      Plur. Fem.  
 1. पढले रहली                      पढले रहली  
 2. पढले रहलह or ०ल              पढले रहल्यू  
 3. पढले रहलेन् or ०लै              पढले रहलिन् or ०ली

m) Future exact: *I shall have read, etc.*

- Sing. Masc. and Fem.                      Plur. Masc. and Fem.  
 1. पढले होबो or पं होखबो              पढले होबै or पं होखबै  
 2. पढले होबेस् or पं होखबेस्              पढले होबह or पं होखह  
 3. पढले होई or पं होखी              पढले होईह or पं होखीह

Conjunctive mood.

n) Future conditional: (*if*) *I be reading*

- Sing. Masc. and Fem.                      Plur. Masc. and Fem.  
 1. पढ्त् होहु or पं होखु                      पढ्त् होई or पं होखी  
 2. पढ्त् हो or पं होखे                      पढ्त् होह or पं होखे  
 3. पढ्त् होय् or पं होखै                      पढ्त् होय or पं होखै

o) Durative pres. condit.: (*if*) *I were reading, etc.*

- Sing. Masc.                      Sing. Fem.  
 1. पढ्त् होतो                      पढ्त् होत्यू  
 2. पढ्त् होतेस् or पं होखेस्                      पढ्त् होतिस् or पं होखी  
 3. पढ्त् होत् or पं होखे                      पढ्त् होत् or पं होखे

- Plur. Masc.                      Plur. Fem.  
 1. पढ्त् होइत्                      पढ्त् होइत्  
 2. पढ्त् होतह                      पढ्त् होय्  
 3. पढ्त् हो or पं होत                      पढ्त् होतिन् or पं होखी  
           तैन् or पं होतै

p) Fut. exact condit.: (if) *I have read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. पढ़ले हो <sup>हुँ</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होखो <sup>ँ</sup> | पढ़ले होई <sup>ँ</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होखी <sup>ँ</sup> |
| 2. पढ़ले हो or प <sup>०</sup> होखु                             | पढ़ले होइ or प <sup>०</sup> होखइ etc.                      |
| 3. पढ़ले होय् or प <sup>०</sup> होखै                           | पढ़ले होय् or प <sup>०</sup> होखै <sup>ँ</sup>             |

q) Preterite condit.: (if) *I had read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.

- |  |                      |
|--|----------------------|
| 1. पढ़ले होतो <sup>ँ</sup>             | पढ़ले होत्यूँ        |
| 2. पढ़ले होतेस् or प <sup>०</sup> होते | पढ़ले होतिस् or होती |
| 3. पढ़ले होत् or प <sup>०</sup> होतै   | पढ़ले होत् or होतै   |

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. पढ़ले होइत्                                      | पढ़ले होइत्                                      |
| 2. पढ़ले होतइ or प <sup>०</sup> होत                 | पढ़ले होत्यू                                     |
| 3. पढ़ले होतेन् or प <sup>०</sup> होतै <sup>ँ</sup> | पढ़ले होतिन् or प <sup>०</sup> होतै <sup>ँ</sup> |

522.

Participles.

- a) Adjectival: pres. पढ़त् *reading*, past पढ़ल् *having read* or *read*.  
 b) Conjunctive: पढ़ के or पढ़े के *having read*.  
 c) Adverbial: pres. पढ़ते or पढ़तै *on reading*, past पढ़ले *on having read*.

Infinitives.

Nom. पढ़न् *to read*, acc. पढ़वे के or पढ़ै के *for to read* or *for reading*, instr. पढ़वे से or पढ़ै से, etc.

Noun of agency.

Masc. or fem. पढ़निहार *reader*, or fem. पढ़निहारी.

## 6. LIST OF TYPICAL REGULAR ACTIVE VERBS.

523.

Elements.

- |                                       |                   |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a) रहब् <i>dwel</i> , root रह्,       | bases रहत् , रहल् |
| b) पीयब् <i>drink</i> , " पी or पीय्, | " पीयत् , पीयल्   |
| c) चूषब् <i>drip</i> , " चू,          | " चूषत् , चूषल्   |
| or चूवब्, " (चूव्),                   | " चूवत् , चूवल्ल  |
| d) रोषब् <i>weep</i> , " रो,          | " रोषत् , रोषल्   |
| or रोवब्, " (रोव्)                    | " रोवत् , रोवल्ल  |

## a) Present indicative.

	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.				
a)	रहैला	रहैले	रहैलेन्	रहैलिन्
b)	पीधैला	पीधैले	पीधैलेन्	पीधैलिन्
c)	चूरेला	चूरेले	चूरेलेन्	चूरेलिन्
d)	रोरेला	रोरेले	रोरेलेन्	रोरेलिन्

## b) First preterite.

	Masc. and Fem.	Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.		
a)	रहिस्	रहिन्
b)	पीयिस्	पीयिन्
c)	चूइस्	चूइन्
d)	रोइस्	रोइन्

## Second preterite.

	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.				
a)	रहल्	रहल्	रहलेन्	रहलिन्
b)	पियलेस्	पियलेस्	पियलेन्	पियलिन्
c)	चूअल्	चूअल्	चूअलेन्	चूअलिन्
d)	रोअल्	रोअल्	रोअलेन्	रोअलिन्

c) Future indicative<sup>1)</sup>.

	Masc. and Fem.	Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.		
a)	रही	रहिहै
b)	पी or पीई	पीहै
c)	चूई	चूइहै
d)	रोई	रोइहै

## d) Pres. conj. or f) Pres. imper.

	Masc. and Fem.	Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.		
a)	रहै	रहै
b)	पीयै	पीयै
c)	चूरै	चूरै
d)	रोरै	रोरै

1) 1. pers. sing. masc. रहबो<sup>०</sup> or रहिबो<sup>०</sup>; पियबो<sup>०</sup> or पीबो<sup>०</sup>; चुअबो<sup>०</sup> or चुइबो<sup>०</sup>; रोअबो<sup>०</sup> or रोइबो<sup>०</sup>.

## e) Preterite conjunctive.

	Masc. and Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a) रहत् or रहतै	रहतेन्	रहतिन्
	b) पीयत् or पीयतै	पीयतेन्	पीयतिन्
	c) चूषत् or चूषतै	चूषतेन्	चूषतिन्
	d) रोषत् or रोषतै	रोषतेन्	रोषतिन्

## f) Precative forms.

	Masc. and Fem.	Masc. and Fem.
2. pers. sing.	a) रहिहे	रहिह
	b) पीहे	पीह
	c) चूइहे	चूइह
	d) रोइहे	रोइह

## g) Durative or definite present.

	Masc. and Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a) रहत् बाटे or रं होवै	रहत् बाटे or होवै	रं बाटी or हई
	b) पीयत् बाटे or पं होवै	पीयत् बाटे or होवै	पो बाटी or हई
	c) चूषत् बाटे or चूं होवै	चूषत् बाटे or होवै	चूं बाटी or हई
	d) रोषत् बाटे or रों होवै	रोषत् बाटे or होवै	रों बाटी or हई

## 1) Pluperfect indicative.

	Masc. and Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a) रहल् रहल्	रहल् रहलेन्	रहल् रहलिन्
	b) पीयल् रहल्	पीयले रहलेन्	पीयले रहलिन्
	c) चूषल् रहल्	चूषल् रहलेन्	चूषल् रहलिन्
	d) रोषल् रहल्	रोषल् रहलेन्	रोषल् रहलिन्

The remaining periphrastic tenses are made after the analogy of Nro. g and 1.

524.

## Participles.

	Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
a)	रहत् रहल्	रह के <sup>1)</sup>	रहते रहले
b)	पीयत् पीयल्	पी के	पीयते पीयले
c)	चूषत् चूषल्	चू के	चूषते चूषले
d)	रोषत् रोषल्	रो के	रोषते रोषले

<sup>1)</sup> Or: रहे के, पीए के, etc.

## Infinitives.

a) रहब्	Acc. रहै के or रहबे के
b) पीयब्	” पीयै के or पीये के
c) चूम्बब्	” चूरे के or चूम्बे के
d) रोम्बब्	” रोरे के or रोम्बे के

## Noun of agency.

a) रहनिहार, b) पीयनिहार, c) चूम्बनिहार, d) रोम्बनिहार; fem. °री.

## 7. IRREGULAR ACTIVE VERBS.

525. There are three kinds of irregularities. *Firstly*; some verbs add the suffixes ल्, त् and ब् instead of ऐल् or अल् (of the pres. indic.), अत् (of the pres. part.) and अब् or इब् (of the future). This is done by all verbal roots in आ and ए and by the root हो be. But the roots in आ and the R. हो may optionally take इब्.

*Secondly*; some verbs have a special form of the past participle (and of all tenses derived from it), of the conjunctive part., and of the first preterite tense. These are the verbal roots: कर do, धर put, आव come, पाव find, जा go, दे give, ले take, हो be.

*Thirdly*; the two verbal roots दे give and ले take add no suffix in the 2. and 3. pers. sing. pres. conj. and imper.

Note also, that आव or अव, आय or अय, आइ or अइ are often contracted into औ or ऐ respectively (see § 34).

The following verbs will serve as types: खाब् to eat, जाब् to go, देब् to give, होब् to be, करब् to do, आवब् to come. All other verbs in आ are conjugated like खाब्; लेव् to take is conjugated like देब्, धरव् to put like करब्, पावब् to find like आवब्.

526.

a) Present indicative.

1. sing.	3. sing.	1. plur.	3. plur.
a) जालो	जाला	जाईला	जालेन्
b) देलो	देला	देईला	देलेन्
c) होलो	होला	होईला	होलेन्

## b) First preterite.

1. sing.	3. sing.	1. plur.	3. plur.
a) गयो <sup>०</sup>	गयिस्	गया	गयिन्
b) दियो <sup>०</sup>	दिहिस्	दिया	दिहिन्
c) भयो <sup>०</sup>	भयिस्	भया	भयिन्
d) कियो <sup>०</sup>	किहिस्	किया	किहिन्
e) आयो <sup>०</sup>	आइस्	आया	आइन्
f) खायो <sup>०</sup>	खाइस्	खाया	खाइन्

## Second preterite.

a) गइलो <sup>० 1)</sup>	गयल् <sup>१)</sup>	गइली <sup>१)</sup>	गइलेन् <sup>१)</sup>
b) दिहलो <sup>०</sup>	दिहलेस्	दिहली	दिहलेन् <sup>१)</sup>
c) भइलो <sup>० १)</sup>	भयल् <sup>१)</sup>	भइली <sup>१)</sup>	भइलेन् <sup>१)</sup>
d) कइलो <sup>० १)</sup>	कइलेस् <sup>१)</sup>	कइली <sup>१)</sup>	कइलेन् <sup>१)</sup>
e) अइलो <sup>० १)</sup>	आयल् <sup>१)</sup>	अइली <sup>१)</sup>	अइलेन् <sup>१)</sup>
f) खइलो <sup>० १)</sup>	खइलेस् <sup>१)</sup>	खइली <sup>१)</sup>	खइलेन् <sup>१)</sup>

## c) Future.

a) जाबो <sup>० २)</sup>	जाई	जाब् or जाबै <sup>२)</sup>	जइहै <sup>२)</sup>
b) देबो <sup>०</sup>	देई	देब् or देबै	देइहै <sup>०</sup>
c) होबो <sup>० ३)</sup>	होई	होब् or होबै	होइहै <sup>०</sup>

## d) Pres. conj. and f) Pres. imper.

	1. sg. • 2. sg. <sup>4)</sup>	3. sg.	1. pl.	2. pl. <sup>5)</sup>	3. pl.	
a)	जाँव्	जा	जाय	जाँइ <sup>०</sup>	जाह्	जाँव्
b)	द्यो <sup>०</sup>	दे	दे	देई <sup>०</sup>	देह्	दे <sup>०</sup>
c)	हो <sup>० 6)</sup>	हो	होय्	होई <sup>०</sup>	होह्	हो <sup>०</sup> व्

1) Or: गैलो<sup>०</sup>, गइल्, गैली, गैलेन्, ऐलो<sup>०</sup>, आइल्, etc.

2) Or: जइबो<sup>०</sup> or जैबो<sup>०</sup>, जाइब् or जइबै or जैबै, जैहै<sup>०</sup>.

3) Or: होइबो<sup>०</sup> or होखबो<sup>०</sup> or होखिबो<sup>०</sup>, etc. The verb आच् came formes regularly अइबो<sup>०</sup> or ऐबो<sup>०</sup> or अउबो<sup>०</sup> or औबो<sup>०</sup>, आई, आइब् or आत्रब् or आउब्, अइहै<sup>०</sup> or ऐहै<sup>०</sup>, etc.

4) Or: जो; but not देउ.

5) Or: जा; यह् or य; हो.

6) Or: होइ<sup>०</sup> or होखो<sup>०</sup>, as in §§ 516, d. 517, d.

## e) Preterite conjunctive.

	1. sg.	3. sg. masc.	1. pl.	3. pl. masc.
a)	ज्ञातो <sup>१</sup>	ज्ञात् <sup>१)</sup>	ज्ञाइत् <sup>२)</sup>	ज्ञातेन् <sup>३)</sup>
b)	देतो <sup>१</sup>	देत्	देइत्	देतेन्
c)	होतो <sup>१</sup>	होत्	होइत्	होतेन्

## f) Precative forms.

	2. sing.	2. plur.
a)	ज्ञइहे or ज्ञैहे	ज्ञइह or ज्ञैह
b)	देइहे	देइह
c)	होइहे	होइह

## g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are made regularly by means of the pres. and past part. and the auxiliary verb; provided only, that trans. verbs use the past part. in *ले*, and intrans. verbs that in *ल्*. Thus, 3. sg. pluperf. गयल् रहल् *he had gone*, but दिहले रहल् *he had given*.

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## Participles.

	Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
a)	ज्ञात्, गयल् <sup>४)</sup>	ज्ञाय् के <sup>५)</sup>	ज्ञातै, गैले <sup>४)</sup>
b)	देत्, दिहल्	दे के	देतै, दिहले
c)	होत्, भयल् <sup>४)</sup>	होतै के	होतै, भैले <sup>४)</sup>
d)	कर्त्, कयल् <sup>४)</sup>	कय् के	कर्तै, कैले <sup>४)</sup>
e)	आवत्, आयल् <sup>४)</sup>	आय् के	आतै, ऐले <sup>४)</sup>
f)	खात्, खायल् <sup>४)</sup>	खाय् के	खतै, खैले <sup>४)</sup>

## Infinitives.

a)	ज्ञाब् <sup>६)</sup> , ज्ञाये के or ज्ञाबे के
b)	देब्, देऐ के or देबे के
c)	होब्, होऐ के or होबे के

## Nouns of agency.

ज्ञानिहार, fem. <sup>०</sup> री
देनिहार, " <sup>०</sup> री
होनिहार, " <sup>०</sup> री

1) Or: ज्ञातै, देतै, होतै.

2) Or: ज्ञाती, देती, होती.

3) Or: ज्ञातै<sup>१</sup>, देतै<sup>१</sup>, होतै<sup>१</sup>.

4) Or: गइल्, गइले; भइल्, भइले, etc.

5) Or contr. ज्ञै के, दै के, कै के, etc.

6) Or: ज्ञाइब्, ज्ञाइबे or ज्ञाबे के; होइब्, होइबे के; आव्, अइबे or ऐबे के, etc.



### 8. THE REGULAR COMPOUND PASSIVE VERB.

528. The forms of the pass. verb are composed of the past part. in ऋल् of the principal (i. e. active) verb and the tenses of the verb गच्छ् to go (§ 479). The formation of the past part. is explained in §§ 302—307; and the conjugation of the verb गच्छ् is given in §§ 525—527. The form of the past part. never changes, but the forms of the verb गच्छ् vary, as usual, according to the person, number and gender of the subject.

#### Present indicative.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1. पठल् जालो	पठल् जाल्यै
2. पठल् जालेस् or प <sup>०</sup> जाले	पठल् जालिस् or प <sup>०</sup> जाली
3. पठल् जाला	पठल् जालै
Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. पठल् जाईला	पठल् जाईला
2. पठल् जालह् or प <sup>०</sup> जाल	पठल् जाल्य
3. पठल् जालेन् or प <sup>०</sup> जालै	पठल् जालिन् or प <sup>०</sup> जाली

The rest of the tenses may be formed after the above manner.

#### Participles.

Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
पठल् जात्, प <sup>०</sup> गयल्	पठल् जाय् के	पठल् जातै प <sup>०</sup> गैले
Infinitives.	Nouns of agency.	
पठल् जाब्, प <sup>०</sup> जाये के or प <sup>०</sup> जाबे के	पठल् जानिहार; fem. ० री	

### 9. IRREGULAR COMPOUND PASSIVE VERBS.

529. There are only two irregular verbs; viz. गच्छ् to go and होब् to be (§ 479, exc.). The former uses the participial form जायल्, instead of गयल् in the formation of the compound pass., the latter the part. form होयल् or, optionally, भयल्. All other active verbs, which form an irregular past part. (see §§ 527. 304), use the same also in the compound pass. Thus, कयल् जाला it is done; दिहल् जाला it is given; but जायल् जाला it can go (lit. it is gone); होयल् जाला it can be, see § 530.

530. The pass. voice of intrans. verbs is only used in an impersonal and potential sense. Thus, मो से बइठल् नाहीं जाला lit. *by me it cannot be sat, i. e., I cannot sit*; or मो से खरा नाहीं होयल् (or भयल्) जाला बाटै *I cannot stand up*.

*Note:* The compound pass. verbs should be carefully distinguished from the compound intensive verbs; see § 538, a.

### 10. THE POTENTIAL PASSIVE VERB.

531. The potent. pass. verb, as to the formation of which see § 482, is conjugated precisely like any other (active) verb in आ, e. g., like खाब् *to eat*, the conjugation of which is given in §§ 525—527.

a) Present: *I can be read, etc.*

	Sg. Masc.	Fem.	Pl. Masc.	Fem.
1.	पढालो	पढाल्यु	पढाईला	पढाईली
2.	पढालेस् <sup>1)</sup>	पढालिस् <sup>1)</sup>	पढालह् <sup>1)</sup>	पढाल्यु
3.	पढाला	पढाले	पढालेन् <sup>1)</sup>	पढालिन् <sup>1)</sup>

b) Præterite: *I could be read, etc.*

1. sg. masc. पढइलो or पढैलो; 3. sg. पढायल् or पढाइल्, etc.  
There is no first preterite form of the potent. pass.

c) Future: *I shall be able to be read, etc.*

1. sg. masc. पढइवो or पढैवो or पढावो, 3. sg. पढाइ; pl. पढइहै or पढैहै, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may be able to be read, etc.*

Sing. 1.	पढाँवू	2. पढा or पढो	3. पढाय्
Plur. 1.	पढाँई	2. पढाह् or पढा	3. पढाँवू

e) Pret. conj.: *I would be able to be read, etc.*

1. sing. masc. पढातो; plur. पढाती or पढाइत्, etc.

Periphrastic tenses.

g) Dur. pres. 1. sg. masc. पढात् बारो or प<sup>०</sup> होवो, etc.

h) Dur. pret. " " पढात् रहलो, etc.

i) Dur. fut. " " पढात् होवो or प<sup>०</sup> होखो, etc.

1) Or: 2. sg. m. पढाले, f. पढाली; pl. m. पढाल; 3. pl. m. पढाले, f. पढाली.

k) Perfect 1. sg. masc. पढायल् खाटो<sup>०</sup> or प<sup>०</sup> होवो<sup>०</sup> or पढाइल् ब<sup>०</sup> or प<sup>०</sup> ह<sup>०</sup>, etc.

l) Pluperfect " " पढायल् रह्लो<sup>०</sup> or पढाइल् र<sup>०</sup>, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
पढात्, पढायल् or पढाइल्	पढाय् के	पढातै, पढाइले or पढैले
Infinitives.		Nouns of agency.
पढाब् or पढाइब्, पढाये के or पढैबे के		पढानिहार, fem. ० री

### 11. IRREGULAR POTENTIAL PASSIVE VERBS.

532. There is only one anomalous case; viz. the verb खाब् *to eat*. It forms its potent. pass. root irregularly, viz. लिया; but the root, thus formed, is conjugated quite regularly. Observe also, that the verbs देब् *to give* and लेब् *to take* make their potent. pass. roots दिया and लिया (§ 482). The verbs आवब् *to come*, जाब् *to go* and होब् *to be* possess no potent. passive.

### 12. THE SIMPLE CAUSAL VERB.

533. The simple causal verb, as to the formation of which see § 474, is conjugated regularly like any other (active) verb in व्; provided that ०आवो<sup>०</sup> becomes आई (§ 33) and antepenultimate ०आव<sup>०</sup>, ०आय<sup>०</sup> become अउ or औ, अइ or ऐ (§ 34).

a) Present: *I cause to read* or *I teach*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढावैलो<sup>०</sup> or पढावलो<sup>०</sup>; pl. पढाइला, etc.

b) First pret.: *I caused to read* or *I taught*, etc.

Sg. 1. पढायो<sup>०</sup>, 2. and 3. पढाइस्; pl. 1. पढाया, 2. पढायौ, 3. पढाइन्.

Second preterite.

1. sg. पढउलो<sup>०</sup> or पढौलो<sup>०</sup>; pl. पढउली or पढौली, etc.

c) Future: *I shall cause to read* or *I shall teach*, etc.

Sg. 1. पढइबो<sup>०</sup> or पढैबो<sup>०</sup> or पढउबो<sup>०</sup> or पढौबो<sup>०</sup>, 3. पढाई, etc.

Pl. 1. पढाइब् or पढाउब्, 3. पढइहै<sup>०</sup> or पढहै<sup>०</sup>, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may cause to read*, etc.

Sg. 1. पढावो<sup>०</sup>, 2. पढाव् or पढावु or पढाउ, 3. पढावै.

Pl. 1. पढाई<sup>०</sup>, 2. पढावह् or पढाव, 3. पढावै.

e) Fret. conj.: *I would cause to read*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पठउतो or पठौतो, 3. पठावत् or पठौतै; pl. 1. पठाइत्, etc.

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are made regularly by means of the pres. and past part.; provided only, that causal verbs, being trans., use the past part. in ले. Thus 3. sg. masc. imperf. पठावत् रहल् *he was causing to read* or *he was teaching*; again 3. sg. masc. perf. पठौले बाटै *he has caused to read* or *he has taught*, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival.

Conjunctive.

Adverbial.

पठावत् पठावल्

पठाय् के

पठौतै पठौले

Infinitives.

Nouns of agency.

पठाइच् or पठावच्, पठावै के or पठैके के

पठौनिहार; fem. ०री

### 13. THE DOUBLE CAUSAL VERB.

534. The double caus. verb, as to the formation of which see § 477, is conjugated precisely like the simple causal verb (§ 533).

a) Present: *I cause to teach*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढावैलो or पढावलो; pl. पढाईला, etc.

b) First. pret.: *I caused to teach*, etc.

1. sg. पढायो, 2. and 3. पढाइस्; pl. 1. पढाया, 3. पढाइन्, etc.

Second preterite.

1. sg. masc. पढवउतो or पढवौतो, 3. पढवउलेस् or पढवौलेस्, etc.

c) Future: *I shall cause to teach*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढवइबो or पढवैबो or पढवउबो or पढवौबो, 3. पढवाई, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may cause to teach*, etc.

1. sg. पढावो, 2. पढाव् or पढावु or पढावउ; 1. pl. पढाई, etc.

e) Pret. conj.: *I would cause to teach*, etc.

1. sg. m. पढवउतो or पढवौतो, 3. पढावत् or पढवौतै; 1. pl. पढाइत्, etc.

Participles.

Infinitive.

पढावत् पढावल्

पढाइच् or पढावच्

#### 14. THE PASSIVE OF THE SIMPLE AND DOUBLE CAUSAL VERBS.

535. Causal verbs cannot form the potent., but only the compound passive. The latter is formed and conjugated precisely like that of any other (active) verb. Thus, simple caus. pass. infinit. पढावल् त्ताब् *to be caused to read* or *to be taught*; and double caus. pass. inf. पढवावल् त्ताब् *to be caused to teach*, and so forth.

#### 15. IRREGULAR CAUSAL VERBS.

536. 1) The verb खाब् *to eat* forms its simple causal लियावब् *to cause to eat* or *to feed*, and its double causal लियवावब् *to cause to feed*. Similarly the verbs लेब् *to take* and देब् *to give* form लियावब्, लियवावब् and दियावब्, दियवावब् respectively (§ 474, exc.).

2) The verbs आवब् *to come* and जाब् *to go* possess no causals. Instead of them, the intensitive compound verbs लेआवब् *to bring* (= *to cause to come*) and लेजावब् *to remove* (= *to cause to go*) are used (see § 538, a). These two compound verbs are conjugated precisely like the two simple verbs आवब् and जाब्. Thus their infin. pass. are लेआयल् त्ताब् *to be brought* and लेजायल् त्ताब् *to be removed*.

3) Of the verb होब् *to be* there is no causal in use, whether simple or double, active or passive.

#### FOURTH CHAPTER. COMPOUND VERBS.

537. Compound verbs are made by adding to the principal verb, which takes the form of the conj. part. (§ 490) or the oblique infin. (§ 485) or the adj. part. (§ 486), certain auxiliary verbs. In conjugating, the latter only are inflected, while the former remains unchanged.

538. The verbs most commonly used as auxiliaries to form such comp. verbs are :

a) For making *intensives*; देब् to give (implying intensity), डालब् to throw (violence); आइब् to come and जाइब् to go (completion); पर्ब् (or W. H. पड्) to fall (chance); उठब् to rise (suddenness); लेब् to take (reflexiveness). In such intensive comp. verbs the auxil. verb has no significance of its own, but merely serves to modify the meaning of the principal verb. The latter takes the form of the conj. part. Thus, फेक्कब् to throw, but फेक्क देब् to throw away; तोड़ डालब् to break into pieces, from तोरब् to break; बन आइब् or बन जाइब् to be made up, completed, from बनब् to be made; खाय् जाइब् to eat up, from खाइब् to eat; आय् पर्ब् to come accidentally, to turn up, from आइब् to come; बोल् उठब् to speak suddenly, from बोल्ब् to speak; काट् लेब् to cut for oneself, from काटब् to cut; रक् लेब् to place for oneself, to lay by, from रखब् to place.

b) For making *continuatives*; रहब् to remain and जाइब् to go. In composition with रहब्, the principal verb may take the form either of the conj. or the adj. pres. part.; in conjunction with जाइब्, it may have only the form of the latter participle. Thus, बइ रहब् or बइठत् रहब् to continue sitting; again पठत् जाइब् to continue reading.

c) For making *frequentatives*; कर्ब् to do. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. infin. Thus, पढै कर्ब् or पढबे क° to read often; आवै कर्ब् or अइबे क° or ऐबे क° to be in the habit of coming.

d) For making *potentials*; सकब् to be able, जानब् to know. The principal verb takes the form of the conj. part. or, less usually, of the obl. infin. Thus, पढ़ सकब् or पढै स° or पढबे स° to be able to read; खइबे जानब् or खैबे ज° to be able to eat.

e) For making *completives*; चुकब् to finish. The principal verb takes the form of the conj. part. Thus पढ़ चुकब् to finish reading, खाय् चुकब् to finish eating.

f) For making *desideratives*; चाहब् (or चाहब्) to wish. The principal verb takes the form of the adj. past part. or the obl. infin. Thus, पढल् चाहब् or पढै इ° or पढबे इ° to wish to read.

Very often these derivatives are idiomatically used to express merely *immediate futurity*, as घड़ी बजल् द्वाद् बार्टे *the clock is about to strike*; बेरू बिसबे द्वाहैला *the time is about to pass*.

g) For making *inchoatives*; लगब् *to be applied* and होइब् *to become*. The latter occurs only in the past tense भयल् *he became*, and, in composition with it, the principal verb takes the form of the adj. pres. part., as पढ्त् भयल् *he began to read*. With लगब् it takes the form of the obl. inf., as पढै लगब् or पढबे ल° *to begin to read*.

h) For making *permissives*; देब् *to give*. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. inf. Thus, पढै देब् or पढबे देब् *to allow to read*; आवै देब् or अइबे द° or ऐबे द° *to allow to come*.

i) For making *acquisitives*; पाइब् *to obtain*. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. inf. Thus, पढै पाइब् or पढबे प° *to be allowed to read*.

539. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) The form of the principal verb in intens., contin., potent. and complet. compound verbs is not, as sometimes said (see Kl. 188—191. Eth. 102. 103. Ld. 70), the root of the verb, but the conj. part. This can be clearly seen in E. H., especially in the case of verbs with vocal roots, where the root and the conj. part. have different forms; e. g., *to eat up* is खाय् (conj. part.) खाइब्, not खा (root) खाइब्; but also in others; e. g., फेक्के देब् or फेक् द° *to throw away*. In fact, these compounds literally mean *to come after having eaten*; *to give after having thrown*. Thus, लेआवै lit. means *to come after having taken*, i. e., *to bring*; पढे चुकब् or पढ् च° *to give up after having read*, i. e., *to have done with reading*. The H. H., too, has preserved the full conj. part. form in its causals, where it optionally adds य् to roots in आ (see Kl. 188. 192); e. g., \*बताय् देना or बता द° *to show*. Again O. H. always uses the conj. part. in its original form in इ; as पढि चुकन् *to have done reading*. Finally M. uses in these compounds the conj. part. in उन्; e. g., टाकून् देपो° *to cast away*, घेऊन् येपो° *to bring*, lit. *having taken* (from घेपो° *to take*) *to come* (see Man. 92); and likewise B. uses the conj.

part. in *इया*, G. in *ई*, S. in *ई* or *ए*, O. in *इ*; e. g., B. *खाइया चुकन्* *to have done eating* (S. C. 193); G. *नाली देवुं* *to throw away* (Ed. 113); S. *वठी वजणु* *to take off*, *करे चुकणु* *to have done doing* (Tr. 339. 342), O. *करि थाड* *I am in the habit of doing* (Sn. 42). In the ordinary P., as in H. H., the form of the conj. part. does not differ from that of the root; e. g., *बाच् सकणा* *to be able to read*, *खा हटपा* *to finish eating* (Ld. 70, d). — 2) As regards those compounds in which the principal verb takes the form of the obl. infin., the latter is the acc. case of the infin. governed by the auxil. verb. Thus *पढै कर्ख* *to read often* is lit. *to do reading*, *मर्खै* *इहख* *to be about to die* is lit. *to desire dying*. This is clearly seen from the O., which actually adds the acc. affix *कु* to the obl. inf. *मरिखा कु चाहि* *I desire to die*, *करिखा कु लगि* *I begin to do* (Sn. 41. 12). The termination of the obl. inf. is *वा* in G., *इया* in P., *ण* in S.; e. g., G. *जोवा लग्यो* *he began to see* (Ed. 51), P. *पढिआ कर्दा* *he is in the habit of reading* (Ld. 70, e), S. *हृषण लगणु* *to begin to cry* (Tr. 344, 4). The B. alone forms an exception, in using the obl. form of the pres. part. in *इते* (or the adverbial part.) in the place of the obl. inf.; e. g., B. *मरिते चाहि* *I desire to die*, *करिते पारि* *I am able to do* (S. Ch. 192, 4. 5). Kellogg's conjecture (p. 192), that the H. H. form in *आ* (as *पढा करना* *to be in the habit of reading*) is not the masc. sing. of the past part. but a „gerund“ (i. e., obl. infin.) and identical with the B. obl. inf. in *आ* (S. C. 149), is quite true. — 3) In those compounds, where the principal verb is in the form of an adj. part., the latter really stands in the position of a *predicate* to the subject or object of the (auxil.) verb. Thus *उ पढत् ज्ञात् बाटै* *he continues reading* is lit. *he is going as a reader*, or *उ मर्ख् चाहत् बाटै* *he wishes to die* is lit. *he wishes (himself) as dead*. It appears, therefore, that, strictly speaking, none of these so-called compound verbs are really compounds, but in every case the part. or infin. of the principal verb is in ordinary grammatical construction of some sort with the (so-called) auxil. verb. — 4) These various comp. verbs occur in all Gd. languages, and are generally



formed in the same way, though sometimes a different auxil. verb is used. Thus B. and O. use *पार्* *cross* for *सक्* in potent. (S. Ch. 192, 4. Sn. 41, 2), B. *याक्*, O. *या* *stand* for *रह्* in contin. and for *कर्* in frequent. (S. Ch. 191, 1. 192, 3. Sn. 42); P. has *हर* *with* *draw*, S. *वह्* *take*, beside *चुक्*, in complet. (Tr. 342, c. Ld. 70, d); S. *वज्* *go* for *ज्ञा* in intens. (Tr. 339, a). One exception has been already mentioned in Nro. 2. — 5) Traces of these comp. verbs already occur in *Prākṛit*. Thus there are desideratives in the *Bhagavati*, made by constructing the R. *इच्छ* *wish* with the past part. *pas*. in *इय*; e. g., *इच्छामि सयम् एव मुंडावियं सयम् एव सिखावियं सयम् एव धम्मम् आइक्खियं*, i. e., *I wish myself to shave, myself to instruct, myself to teach the law*, E. H. *इहो आपही मूडल् आपही सिखावल् आपही धाम् कै आयसु दिहल्*. See Wb. Bl. 275. 433<sup>1</sup>).

## FIFTH SECTION. INDECLINABLES.

540. There are four kinds of indeclinables or words incapable of inflexion: 1) adverbs, 2) postpositions, 3) conjunctions, 4) interjections.

### 1. ADVERBS.

541. Adverbs may be either nominal, pronominal, numeral, verbal or original, according as they are derived from nouns, pronouns, numbers, verbs or from none of these. Again each of these classes may be divided into adv. of time, place and manner. Most adv. are native *Hindī*, but there are a very few of foreign

1) *आइक्खियं* may be derived from R. *आ-दीन्* (or *आ-दिन्*, for Skr. *आ-दिष्*, cf. Pr. *देव* = *दृन्*, for Skr. *दृष्*) „to instruct, to initiate“. — The E. H. root *इह* or *चाह* may be better derived from the noun *इच्छा*, by the loss of initial *इ* and the transfer of the aspiration of *ह्* (§ 132). Thus, Skr. *\*इच्छायति*, Pr. *इच्छाअह*, Gd. *इहारे* or *चाहै* or *इहै*. Accordingly § 173 should be corrected.

origin, whose native equivalents are obsolete. Again most adv. consist of only *one* word; but there are some that consist of a phrase or of a repetition of the original word. The following list of adv. lays no claim to completeness. The Sanskrit or foreign source of each is added in brackets.

542. *Nominal adverbs of time.* 1) नर्सौ<sup>०</sup> *four days ago* or *four days hence* (for चर्सौ<sup>०</sup>? Skr. चतुर-घ्नुस्); तर्सौ<sup>०</sup> *three days ago* or *three days hence* (Skr. त्रि-घ्नुस्); परसौ<sup>०</sup> *the day before yesterday* or *the day after to-morrow* (Skr. पर-घ्नुस्); काल् or काल्ह or काल्हि *yesterday* or *to-morrow* (Skr. कल्ह); विहान् *to-morrow, at daybreak* (Skr. विभात); आजू or अजवा *to-day* (Skr. अद्य); अजौ<sup>०</sup> *hitherto* (Skr. अद्यापि); परवार the *past year* (Skr. पर-काल or पर-वार, cf. §§ 69. 30); तर्के or भिनुसार *at daybreak, at down* (W. H. तड्के, Skr. तटक, भिन्नु-वासर्); निज् *always* (Skr. नित्य); अगू or अगे *before* (§§ 77, exc. 78, exc.); पाङ् or पाङ्गे or पाङ्गे<sup>०</sup> *afterwards* (§§ 77, exc. 78, exc.); पुन् or फुन् or फिन् (§§ 61. 131) or बहुर् *again* (Skr. पुनर्, बहु); निदान् *lastly* (Skr. दतो). — 2) Adverbial phrases; ओ दिन् or पर् के दिन् *yesterday* (lit. *that day* or *day of before*); लोहिया लागत् (lit. *becoming red*) or अँधसुधारे (lit. *on clearing off of darkness*) *at down, early*; दिन् चहू के (lit. *the day having risen*) *late in the morning*; सब् दिन् *always* (lit. *every day*); बहुत् बेर् *frequently*; एक् बेर् *once* (etc., see § 409); आज् काल् or एन्हन् दिन् *now-a-days*. — 3) Repetitions; दिन् दिन् *every day*; कबहौ<sup>०</sup> कबहौ<sup>०</sup> or कब्बो<sup>०</sup> कब्बो<sup>०</sup> *sometimes*; बार बार *frequently*. — 4) Foreign; आखिर् *lastly* (arabic آخر).

543. *Nominal adverbs of place.* 1) अगारी or अगार्- *before* (§§ 210. 77, exc. 78, exc.); पद्गारी or पद्गार्- or पद्गारे or पिद्<sup>०</sup> *behind* (§§ 210. 77, exc. 78, exc.); उपरिया *above* (Skr. उपरि); नीच् or निचइया<sup>०</sup> *below* (Skr. नीच, of नि-अंच्); समुद् or सामुद् *in front* (Skr. सम्मुख); बहिरि or बहिर- *without* (see § 217, p. 110); बीचो or बीचू *amidst* (Skr. वृत्, of वृ surround, cf. § 374, p. 223, or from वि-अंच् surround); नगीच् or नगीचै (see § 545) or नियरे or नेरे or नियर् *near* (Skr. निकट, cf. § 104); कँट् or लामे *far* (see §§ 172. 144); सबत्रर् *every where* (Ap. Pr. सबत्र, Skr. सर्वत्र). — 2) Phrases; काले कोस् *far* (lit. *some*

*miles* = W. H. कित्ते कोस्, Skr. कियत्-क्रोश, Pr. कल्ला, H. C. 3, 65, cf. §§ 458, 4. 464).

544. *Nominal adverbs of manner.* 1) अचानक् (Skr. अचेतनक?) or संज्ञोग (Skr. संयोग) *accidentally, suddenly*; अलग् *separately* (Skr. अलग्न); बहुत् *much* (Skr. बहुत्र); हाली or हलदे or तुरन्त् *quickly* (see § 545); तावर्तोरू *very quickly*; साँचे *truly* (Skr. सत्य); अकार्य् (§ 545) or ब्रियी (Skr. वृथा) *in vain*; नीमन् (Skr. नियमन?) or नीके (persian نیک) *well*; निर्फुल् or केवल् *merely* (Skr. दतो); बड़ *very* (§ 145, exc. 2); सभिहै or सम्मै *altogether* (Skr. सर्व). — 2) Phrases; कर्म से *accidentally* (lit. *by fate*); आपुस् से *mutually*; similarly, by adding रीति से or भाँति से or तरह (arab. طرَح) *in... manner*, adverbs may be formed from any adj., as भली रीति से *in a good manner, well*. — 3) Repetitions; अलग् अलग् *severally*; रसे रसे or गवै गवै or धीरे धीरे or कले कले *slowly, by and by*; साची साचा *truly*; लग् भग् *almost*; कूढ़ मूढ़ *falsely*; सचे मुच् *surely*. — 4) Foreign; जरूर *necessarily* (arab. ضرور); जलदी *quickly* (pers. خلدی); कम *a little* (pers. کم); बाली *only* (pers. خالی); बद्बदै के *especially* (lit. *giving respect*; arab. ادب); आस्ते आस्ते or अस्ते अस्ते *slowly* (pers. آهسته).

545. *Derivation.* Adverbs in ए or ऐ or ई are modifications of the Ap. Pr. loc. sing. in अहिं, as explained in §§ 77, exc. 378. — Adverbs in उ are modifications of the Ap. Pr. abl. or loc. sing. in अहुं, see §§ 78, exc. 376. 378. — Adv. in इ are modifications of the Ap. Pr. loc. sing. in ए or इ, see §§ 45. 378; e. g., Skr. कल्ये, Pr. कल्ले, Ap. कल्ले or कल्लि, E. H. कालि or कालिह. — Adv. in a quiescent are modif. of the Ap. Pr. acc. sg. or loc. sg.; see §§ 41. 45; e. g., Skr. कल्यं, Pr. कल्लं, E. H. काल्; the latter, however, might have arisen by the quiescence of the final इ in the Ap. Pr. कल्लि or E. H. कालि. — The element ०सौ (in परसौ, etc.) appears to be the contraction of an Ap. Pr. abl. or loc. सहुं (see § 376), of सो (Skr. श्रुः), formed irregularly after the analogy of nouns (e. g., abl. दिवसहुं, of दिवसो *day*). — E. H. अतवा' is derived with the pleon. suff. अवा from आन्, and अतवा is contr. to आन्, see § 199. — E. H. भिनुसार contains an anomalous meta-

thesis of आ, if it is correctly derived from Skr. भिन्नासार, „broken day“, „day-break“; whence Pr. \*भिन्नसार or \*भिन्नोसार, E. H. भिन्सार. — In फिन् and फुन् the फ् and इ are, perhaps, assimilations to फिर् (§ 547); S. has regularly पिस्सि or पुस्सि or पुप्पु (Tr. 410). — E. H. बहुर् is formed by the addition of the pleon. suff. र् to Skr. बहु, just as in E. H. बाहिरि, see §§ 543. 217. — E. H. अगार, पदार्, etc. contain the pleon. suff. अन्नउन्न (i. e., क + उ + क), as explained in §§ 210. 217. — E. H. उपरिया and निचिया contain the pleon. suff. इया, see § 199. — E. H. नगीच् is, probably, a corruption of the persian نرگيک, which may be heard in Hindi as नगीक् (see § 21, 2), and whence by transposition (see § 133) would arise नगीन्; the क् being now medial, is regularly softened to ग्, see § 102. — E. H. हाली and हलदे are really W. Gd. adverbs; the former is the conj. part., the latter the obl. form of the pres. part. of the verbal root हल् (M.), हल् (P.), हल् (S.), हिल् or हल् (H.) *move, go*. Thus conj. part. S. हली (Tr. 313), pres. part. हलन्दे (Tr. 313), P. हलदे. — E. H. तुरन् is the pres. part. of the verbal root त्वर् or तूर् *be quick*. — E. H. अकार्थ is regularly derived from the Skr. अकृतार्थ *having one's object not done unsuccessful*, Pr. अकृत्य or Ap. Pr. अकृत्य, whence contr. E. H. अकार्थ or अकार्थ (see §§ 137. 138).

546. The *pronominal and numeral adverbs* have been already enumerated in §§ 467—469 and in §§ 402. 417. 419 respectively.

547. *Verbal adverbs*. Many conjunctive participles may be used as adverbs; e. g., फिर् or फिर् के *again* (Skr. परि-इ *go round*), मिलि or मिल् के *together*, ज्ञान् के *knowingly*, हाली *quickly* (§ 545), etc. By the addition of the conj. part. क्य् के or कै के *having done* to nouns, adjectives and numerals adverbial phrases may be formed; e. g., खुसी क्य् के *gladly* (lit. *having made joy*); एक एक कै के *singly* (lit. *having made one by one*), etc.

548. *Particles of affirmation and negation*. The former are तौ or तौ तौ or जौ or हौ or हौ *yes*, काह् or काह् *lit. why not*. The latter are न or नाह् or नाहि or नाही or नाहिन् *no, not*.

The prohibitive particle is जिन् *do not*, used with the imper. only. Thus ऐसन् जिन् करह् *do not act thus*, but ऐ० न or नाही० क० *you do not act thus*.

549. *Affinities and Derivation.* तौ is a contr. of the Pr. तौव (Vr. 4, 6), Skr. तावत्. — E. H. तौ, S. तौड (Tr. 419) is the Skr. तौव, used (like Skr. आत्मा, E. H. आप्) as a term. of respect and, hence, of assent; cf. the English „sir“. — The other affirm. and negat. particles were originally various forms of the auxiliary verb „to be“. Thus E. H. हौ and हौ, S. हउ or हौ (Tr. 418), B. हौ or हूँ (S. Ch. 218) are the 1. sing. pres.; see § 514, 4. The 3. sing. pres. occurs in S. अहै (Tr. 418) and M. होय् (Man. 101). B. also uses the 3. sing. pres. बटे of the other auxil. verb, see § 514, 1. The particles नाह or नाहि are compounds of the negative particle न and the 3. sing. pres. आहि *he is* (§ 514, 4); similarly नाही० and नाहिन् are compounds of न and the 3. plur. pres. आहो० and अहिन्; नाहि० occurs in Pr. (H. C. 4, 419). As to the anunásika preceding ह्, see § 67. All these particles, however, are now used without respect to the person and number originally expressed by their form. — Instead of the E. H. जिन्, W. H. uses मत् or मति, S. म (Tr. 415), G. मा (Ed. 115); in Pr. मा or मं or म (H. C. 4, 418), Skr. मा.

550. *Particles of emphasis.* These are ई or हो *only*, *very* and उ or हूँ *also*. They are always used enclitically and often coalesce with the final अ of the principal word to ऐ or ओ. E. g., क बाबू एह पारी खाली राबै बनवैब की गूरौ। i. e., *what, father! shall you, this time, make only syrup or also molasses*; here राबै = राब ई, and गूरौ (or गूओ) = गूर उ.

551. *Affinities and Derivation.* ई is, perhaps, connected with the Skr. एव, Pr. वेअ or विअ (Vr. 9, 3); but as the true Pr. form is वेअ, विअ (H. C. 2, 184), the derivation is doubtful. O. has इ or हिँ or हेँ (Sn. 48), M. हो (Man. 101), H. H. हो. — E. H. उ, B. ओ (S. Ch. 237) are modifications of the Pr. वि, Skr. अपि (or सपि); Pr. has also पि (H. C. 2, 218); S. preserves both बि and पि (Tr. 410), and even aspirates भि or भो (Tr. 410); so also H. H. भो.

552. *Particles of interrogation.* क *what*; e. g., क ब्राह्म! का करैल। i. e., *what, father! what are you doing?*

553. *Affinities and Derivation.* S. uses कि or की (Tr. 418), B. कि (S. Ch. 218), W. H. कि, क्यों. They are all connected with the interrogative pronom. base, see §§ 437, 5. 467, d.<sup>o</sup>

## 2. POSTPOSITIONS AND AFFIXES.

554. Postpositions supply in E. H. (and Gd. generally) the place of what, in other languages, are prepositions. They are placed after the noun or pronoun which they govern; and the noun or pronoun takes the oblique form with or without the genitive affix कै or के. Postpositions constructed without a gen. aff. are *affixes* (§ 374, p. 222).

555. The following postpositions are commonly constructed without a gen. aff.; तरे *beneath* (Skr. तल *bottom*); पाही<sup>o</sup> (§§ 77, exc. 116. 375) or कने (§ 375) *at, near*; माँ or माँही<sup>o</sup> or माँक् *in, within* (§ 378); ले (conj. part. of R. लम् *take*) or तक् (dto of R. तक् *see*) *till*; संगे or संग् *with* (Skr. सङ्ग); काही<sup>o</sup> *towards* (§§ 375. 116).

556. The following postpositions are commonly constructed with a gen. aff.; लगि *near, at* (§ 374); साथे *with* (Skr. संख्य); सनती (often spelled सन्ती, cf. § 6, note) or पलटे *instead of* (§ 557); बाटे or बारे or बरे or बदे *for, by reason of* (§ 374); ओर (Skr. ओर) or मुहे<sup>o</sup> (Skr. मुख) *towards*; नाई<sup>o</sup> *like* (§ 557); besides many of the adverbs, enumerated in §§ 541—544. Also जानि<sup>o</sup> *for, by reason of* (arab. خاطر).

557. *Affinities and Derivation.* Most of these have mentioned in §§ 374 ff. — The origin of बाटे is obscure; it is probably derived from the Skr. वर्त्त *being*; cf. the Pashtu *vatah*; or perhaps it may be a corruption of the Urdu वास्ते (arab. واسطی), see § 143; it is peculiar to E. H.; the W. H. has लिये. — E. H. बदे is sometimes used like the arabic بدل in *exchange for*. — E. H. सनती lit. *sacrifice, substitute*. see § 18, p. 23. — E. H. पलटे is Skr. पर्यस्ते *in return for*, see § 143. — नाई<sup>o</sup> is probably connected with the root ज्ञ *know*; the Pr. has नाइ or नावइ (H. C. 4, 444<sup>f</sup>).

## 3. CONJUNCTIONS.

558. *Copulative conjunctions*; चउरू or चौरू or चरू (§§ 5, b. 26) or औ and; पुन् or पुनि or कुनि or किन् moreover; का — का as well — as.

559. *Affinities and Derivation*. E. H. चौरू, चरू, Bs. चौरू or चोरू is the Pr. चवरं or Ap. चवरु, Skr. चपरं; B. has चार (S. Ch. 237), Br. चर, H. H. चौरू, P. चरू (Ld. 71), N. रू. The latter rejects the initial च (of चरू) and is used enclitically; e. g., उन् ले ज्ञाने — रू भन्या *he knew and said* or उठ — रू माँक मा उम्नि *get up and stand in the middle!* — E. H. चउ or चौ, B. चो, also compounded चारुओ or चारो (S. Ch. 237), O. चाउ or चो (Sn. 46), M. व (Man. 103), Br. चो, S. चउ (Tr. 410), are, probably, the Pr. चवि (H. C. 1, 41), Skr. अपि or अपिच. — S. has also चड् or चू (Tr. 410), P. चति or ति, O. H. (Chand) ति = Pr. चड् or ति, Skr. चति. — M. has also चापि or चापली (Man. 103), G. चने or ने (Ed. 117); they are probably the Pr. चष° or चन°, Skr. चत्यत् or अन्यच्च lit. *another*. — E. H. पुनि, etc. (§§ 61. 131), O. पुणि (Sn. 46), S. पुणि or पिणि or पुणु (Tr. 410), are the Pr. पुणो or पुणु (Spt. 276. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. पुनरू. — W. H. has क्या — क्या as well — as, S. तिच्च — तिच्च (Tr. 410).

560. *Adversative conjunctions*; बरूकि or बाकि or बरूक् (§ 561), लेकिन (arab. لیکن), परू पै, बरन् but.

561. *Affinities and Derivation*. बरूकि etc. are corruptions of the Persian بلكي, see § 143; W. H. बलकि, बाकि, बलुक् (Kl. 276), P. बळक् (Ld. 71). — E. H. परू is the Skr. परम्, Pr. परं; also W. H., P., S. परू; on E. H., W. H. पै see § 124; P. has also चपर or ऐपर (Ld. 71) = Skr. चपरम्. — E. H. बरन्, W. H. बरण, P. बरं is Skr. वरम् or वरणम्. — W. H. has also मगरू, P. मगराँ or मगो (Ld. 71), S. मगरि (Tr. 412) = Pers. مگر. — O. has पुणि (Sn. 46), M. पण (Man. 103), G. पण (Ed. 117), S. पण (Tr. 412) = Pr. पुणु, Skr. पुनरू. — N. has तर, also M. तर (Man. II, 26), probably a corruption of Skr. तर्हि (or of तरम् *beyond, across*). — S. has also बिगिरि (Tr. 412), a corruption of the arab. بغير; also हयाँ or हयो (Tr. 413), apparently connected with Skr. हस्त. — H. H., H. B., etc. use the Skr. परन्तु, किन्तु, etc.

562. *Disjunctive conjunctions*; *ओ* or *की* or, *either-or*; e. g., *क! ई लेबह् की उ will you take this or that*; *बहेरो ओ.बहेरो a colt or a filly*; *न — न* or *न तो — न neither-nor*; e. g., *न तो ई लेबो न उ I shall take neither this nor that*; *चाहै — चाहै* or *की — की whether-or*; e. g., *चाहै ई ले चाहै उ take either this or that* (2. sg. imp.) or *whether he take this or that* (3. sg. pres. conj.).

563. *Affinities and Derivation*. E. H. *ओ* is the Pr. *व* or *वा* (H. C. 1, 67), Skr. *वा*; H. H., H. B., H. O., etc. have *वा*, also *अयवा*; the latter is preserved in O. *अवा*, contr. form Pr. *अहवा* (H. C. 1, 67), Skr. *अयवा*. — E. H. *की*, B. *कि* (S. Ch. 240), O. *कि* or *कि अवा* (Sn. 46), M. *की* (Man. 103), W. H. *कि*, P. *के* or *अके* (Ld. 71), S. *कि* or *की* (Tr. 412), N. *कि* are probably the Pr. *कि*, Skr. *किम्* *what*. — E. H. *चाहै* is the 3. sg. pres. conj. of the verb *चाह्* *to desire*. — B. also uses *हय-नय either-or* (S. Ch. 240), S. *तोडे-न त* or *तोपो-न त* or *ताँ-ताँ* (Tr. 412); B. *ना-ना* or *नय-नय neither-nor* (S. Ch. 240), P. *ना-ना* (Ld. 81). — S. has *ताँ* or (Tr. 412). — W. H. and P. also use *या*, arabic *يا* (Kl. 275. Ld. 71).

564. *Conditional and concessive conjunctions*; *जौ* or *जै if*, *तौ then*; *जौ* *although*, *तब्बो yet*, *nevertheless*.

565. *Affinities*. 1) *Condit.*, B. *जदि* — *तबे* or *तो* (S. Ch. 238), O. *जेबे* — *तेबे* (Sn. 46), M. *जरू* — *तरू* (Man. II, 17), W. H. *जौ* or *जो* — *तौ* or *तो*, P. *जे* or *जे करू* — *ताँ* (Ld. 71), G. *जे* or *जो* — *तो* (Ed. 117), S. *जे* or *जे करू* — *त* or *ताँ* (Tr. 417), N. *भन्या* — *ता*. — 2) *Concess.*; B. *जदिओ* — *तबेओ* or *तबुओ* or *तरू* (S. Ch. 240), O. *जेबे* — *तेबे* or *तेबेहे* (Sn. 46), M. *जरूँ* or *जरी* — *तरूँ* or *तरी* (Man. II, 17), W. H. (Br.) *जौ हूँ* — *तौ हूँ* (Kl. 275), P. *भावे* — *ताँ भी* (Ld. 71), S. *तोड* or *तोपो* or *जे* or *जे तोड* or *जे तोपो* — *त* or *ताँ* or *त बि* or *तडेही बि* (Tr. 411), N. *ता* — *तरू*.

566. *Derivation*. 1) *Condit.*; a) Skr. *यदि* (or *यदा*), Pr. *जद्* (Vr. 1, 11), E. H. *जै*, P., S. *जे*. — b) Skr. *यर्हि* (Pr. *जरि?*), M. *जरू*; similarly Skr. *तर्हि* (Pr. *तरि?*), M. and N. *तरू*. — c) Skr. *यावत्*, Pr. *जाव* (H. C. 1, 11) or *जाम्व* (H. C. 4, 395) or *जेम्ब* (H. C. 4, 401), E. H. and W. H. *जौ*, G. *जो* or S. *जाँ* (see § 563) or O. *जेबे* (§ 468, c); similarly Skr. *तावत्*, Pr. *ताव* or *ताम्ब* or *तेम्ब*, E. H., W. H. *तौ*, B., W. H., G. *तो* or P. *ताँ*, S. *ताँ* or (shortened) *त*,



N. ता or O. तेबे, B. (shortening ए) तबे. — d) The N. भन्या is the conj. part. of the verb भननु to say (Skr. भणित्वा), and is always placed at the end of the conditional sentence; thus, वहाँ कल्याण को पुत्र इ भन्या, ता तिमिहेह को कल्याण उस् नायि रहला है; न भन्या, ता कर कि आउता; i. e., if (lit. having said that) a son of peace be there, then your peace will remain upon him: if not, then it will again come. — 2) The concessive conj. are made by adding to the condit. conj. some emphatic particle (see § 550); thus a) ओ or उ in B. तदिओ, Ap. Pr. तदिहि, Skr. यद्यपि; B. तबेओ = Pr. तेम्बइ वि, Skr. तावत्यपि (loc. sg.); B. तबु, E. H. तबो for तब + उ. — b) हूँ in W. H. तौ हूँ, तौ हूँ. — c) ई or हो in M. तरी or तरी for तरे-ई, तरी or तरी for तरे-ई. — d) बि or भी in S. त बि, P. तौ भी, H. H. तौ भी. — e) The emph. particle is reduplicated in O. तेबेहे for ते-बे-हे, S. तडेही बि for तडे-ही-बि. — f) The B. भावे is the Skr. भावेन indeed, truly; similarly N. uses ता, E. H., W. H. etc. तौ or तो; e. g., N. म ता परमेस्वर देखि डराइदि न, तऱ म दिउला, i. e., I indeed am not afraid of god, yet I shall give.

567. Causal and final conjunctions; a) तौ or तेह से since, तौ therefore. — b) तेह से or तेह से therefore. — c) काहे की because, for. — d) तेह से in order that, so that. — e) का जाने lest. — f) नाही तो else, otherwise (lit., if not, then).

568. Affinities and Derivation. a) B. जाइ — ताइ or ताइ ते (S. Ch. 239), O. जेणु — तेणु (Sn. 46), W. H. तिस ते — तो, P. तौ — तौ, S. तो — सो or तेलाँ — तेलाँ, etc. (see Tr. 414. 415); not uncommonly paraphrased, e. g., B. and O. जे हेतु — ते हेतु, M. ज्यपत्तो — त्यापत्तो, N. जस् कारण — तस् कारण, etc. — b) B. एमत् से or एमन् से, O. एणु, एनिमत्ते, M. त्यास् or ह्यणुन्, W. H. तिस ते or तिस ते, P. तौ, S. सो (Tr. 415); or paraphrased, e. g., B. ए जने, ए निमित्ते (S. Ch. 239), O. जे हेतु (Sn. 46), N. यस् कारण, etc. — c) B. केनना, M. काँकी, W. H. क्यौ कि or क्यौ कि, H. H. क्यू कि, N. क्यान्; or paraphrased, e. g., B. कारण कि, M. कारण की, etc. — d) B. एमत् से, एमन् से (S. Ch. 238), W. H. तिस ते, P. तौ. — e) B. कि जानि, O. कि जाणि, H. H. क्या जाने, lit. what do I or does he know; or B. पाइ, lit. afterwards (S. Ch. 240); H. H. न हो कि, S. म इपो or म इणु, lit. may

*it not be that* (Tr. 415). — f) B. न तू तो or न तू वा or नहि ले or ने ले (S. Ch. 240), O. न तू, न तू वा, नोहि ला (Sn. 46. 125), M. नाहो<sup>१</sup>तू (Man. 103), W. H. नाही<sup>१</sup>तौ, S. मतौ (Tr. 415). — Most of these conj. have a pronom. origin which has been explained in §§ 437. 469.

#### 4. INTERJECTIONS.

569. The following are some of the most usual interjections; हे or हो or ओ or अरे or रे in addressing; राम् राम् in greeting; झी झी *hie!* for *shame*, in remonstrance; घुरी घुरी (or घुंजी घं) or घू घू *fit to be spitted on*, धिक्कार *fit to be cursed or abused*, in disgust or abhorrence; हा हा or अह ह or बापरे *ah! alas!*, in surprise or grief; वाह् वाह् in admiration; हाँय् हाँय् in sorrow; भला or अद्वा *well!* in consent; दुत् or दुर् हो *be off!*; ले *lo!*

570. *Affinities and Derivation.* These interj. are common to all Gds. — Some occur in Pr.; e. g., हि हि and धिग् धिक् (H. C. 2, 174); घू घू (H. C. 2, 200), which, by adding the pleon. suff. री or जी, becomes घुरी घुरी; हा हा, अहह (H. C. 2, 217); अरे, रे (H. C. 2, 201); हे, हो (H. C. 2, 217?); हाँय् हाँय् is probably the Pr. and Skr. हा (H. C. 2, 192). — बापरे is probably बाप् रे *oh father!*

### SIXTH SECTION. SPECIMENS OF EAST HINDÍ.

#### 1. VOCABLES AND PHRASES.

571. The following nouns, current in E. H., are, I believe, not mentioned in any Hindí dictionary.

अददहा <i>weak</i>	इन्हन् <sup>1</sup> <i>fuel (of grass,</i>	उत्तर <sup>1</sup> <i>white</i>
अहिवाती <i>wife</i>	etc.)	ओअद् <i>wet</i>
इनार <i>a well</i>	उत्तइ <sup>1</sup> or उत्तबक् <i>rude</i>	ओट् <i>soft</i>

1) Bate in his Hindí dictionary gives: इन्हन्, उत्तल, उकड.

कचलोह् <i>unripe</i>	जेवाय् <i>husband</i>	बीय् <i>wolf (tiger?)</i>
कैवात् <i>sweeping</i>	कूय् <i>dry</i>	भइन् <i>sister</i>
कैरिया <i>black</i>	ठउरू <sup>1)</sup> <i>place</i>	भकुम्मा <i>simpleton</i>
कुनह् <sup>1)</sup> <i>enemy</i>	ठंई <i>coldness</i>	भयो <i>younger brother's</i>
कोहडंजी <i>sweet pumpkin</i>	उरपोक <sup>3)</sup> <i>cowardly</i>	<i>wife</i>
खनहन् <i>good</i>	उहरू or उाँडी <i>footpath</i>	भयने <i>sister's son or hus-</i>
खबोरू or खब्बू <i>glutton</i>	धूमोस् <i>dirty</i>	<i>band's sister's son.</i>
खरखुद् <i>sweepings</i>	निउरा or नेमोरा <i>finished</i>	भिहा <i>alms</i>
खरपात् <i>dried leaves</i>	निचाट् <i>solitary</i>	भीखारू <i>beggar</i>
गउदा or गबदा <i>fool</i>	नेबरू <i>bad</i>	भुखइ <i>hungry</i>
गड्डी <i>cavity</i>	पगडंडी <sup>1)</sup> <i>footpath</i>	भुलकइ <i>negligent</i>
गदहाबसंत <sup>2)</sup> <i>fool</i>	पताई <i>dried leaves</i>	मंडवी <i>company</i>
गरू <i>heavy</i>	परसिया <i>neighbouring</i>	मटमइल् <i>dirty</i>
गँवई <i>village</i>	पाकट् <i>clever</i>	मनइ <i>man</i>
गोईंठा <i>fuel of cowdung</i>	पराय् की बात <sup>4)</sup> <i>nonsense</i>	मनसेट् <i>man</i>
गोहारू <i>calling</i>	पालो <i>tree (branch?)</i>	मिरकुटहा <i>weak</i>
घटिहा <i>worthless</i>	पीयल् <i>yellow</i>	रचिक् <i>little</i>
घमोच् <i>fool</i>	पूरा <i>village</i>	लउरू <i>long, heavy stick</i>
चउम्मा <sup>1)</sup> <i>quadruped</i>	पेटास् <i>glutton</i>	ललतहा <i>weak</i>
चिपरा or ०री <i>fuel of</i>	पोका <i>wet</i>	लेनुरू or ०री <i>cord, string</i>
<i>cowdung</i>	पोच् <i>bad</i>	संवत् <i>friendship</i>
चिर्ई <i>bird</i>	फोट् <i>hard</i>	संवती <i>friend</i>
चीमरू <i>hard</i>	बतोलिया <i>buffoon</i>	सधुअई <i>honesty</i>
चोक् <i>excellent</i>	बरधा <i>ox, bullock</i>	सुकाव् <i>sight</i>
झाईपोई <i>family, race</i>	बाबू or बापू <i>father</i>	सुखोता or ०भीता <i>convenient</i>
जावत् <i>all</i>	बिगत् <i>individual</i>	सूखल् <i>dry</i>
जावत् जगत् <i>every body</i>	बिपत् मरुम्मा <sup>5)</sup> <i>miserable</i>	सेवरू <i>unripe</i>
जूडास् or जूडी <i>coldness</i>	बिर्ई or बीरी <i>small plant</i>	हरियरू <sup>1)</sup> <i>green</i>

1) Bate in his H. dict.: कुन्ह, चौवा, ठौर, पगडंडी, हरियरू.

2) Lit., sitting on an ass.

3) Lit., wet with fear.

4) Lit., word of irrelevancy.

5) Lit., stricken with misfortune.

2. DIALOGUES<sup>1)</sup>.

a) Between two friends.

1. Q. कह भाई! कहाँ से आवत् बाट? A. परसिया गाँव से आईला. —  
 2. Q. उहाँ से कब चलल? A. भिनसारे कै चलल हई. — 3. Q. काह बदे उहाँ गयल रहल? A. उहाँ एक हमार खेत बाय, ओके देखे के. —  
 4. Q. ओमे का बोवले बाट? A. बाली<sup>1</sup> रहर बोवल बाय. — 5. Q. कह, भैया, येह पारी के खेती कै रहल! A. येह पारी के खेती कै रहल का पूहत् बाट? दैव के बरसले<sup>2</sup> बिना बग हार<sup>3</sup> भयल. — 6. Q. आज काल तोहरे भाई नाही देखैलै<sup>4</sup> है? A. हमरे भाई आज काल किला<sup>5</sup> मे नोकर<sup>6</sup> बाटे; एहर बहुत कम<sup>7</sup> आवैलै. — 7. Q. तोहरे बगकी गैया कै का खबर<sup>8</sup> बाय? A. बगकी गैया आज काल गाभिन् बाय; कोयर न मिलले<sup>9</sup> से दूह गइल बाय. — 8. Q. गाभिन् मैले<sup>2</sup> कै महीना<sup>9</sup> भयल? A. भयल तो आठ महीना, बाकि पेह कुछ उभरल नाही देख परत. — 9. Q. कोरवत् बाय की नाही? A. हाँ कुछ कुछ जान परैला. — 10. Q. ई कौया बियान हो औ केतना दूध देले? A. ई अठवाँ बियान होई; दूध एकबेर दुई अठाई सेर देले. — 11. Q. हम के एक बकरी खरीदै<sup>11</sup> के बाय, से तोहरे गाँव पर मिल सकी? A. हमरे गाँव पर तो बकरी बाटी, लेकिन<sup>10</sup> दाम बड़ तेज<sup>12</sup> बाय. — 12. Q. तोहार बकरिया काँ भइल? A. हम चर के बदे ओके गाँव पर छोले रहीला. — 13. Q. कुछ दूध देले? A. लडिकन् के पीये भर के मिल जाला. — 14. Q. अबकी उख बोवले बाट की नाही? A. उख तो बोवले बाटी, बरकि ओ मे कुछ फाड़<sup>13</sup> नैलै. — 15. Q. तोहरे इहाँ से नार मोट मँगनी मिल सकी? A. काहे? भराई होय जाय, तब ले ल<sup>14</sup>. — 16. Q. तोहरे इहाँ कै पुरवट चलैला? A. तीन पुरवट नथले बाटी. — 17. Q. तोहरे आम के बरिया मे कुछ फर होला को नाही? A. अबकी तो बदरी से पेजन् मे लाही लग गइल; नाही तो बहुत होत रहल. — 18. Q. थोड़ आम हमहूँ के अँचार नावै के देत? A. जब तोहार मन् होय, तब आय के तोड़वाय<sup>15</sup> लय. — 19. Q. तोहार लडिका कुछ पढ़ैला की नाही? A. हाँ, गुरु किहाँ<sup>16</sup> जाला; अच्छार<sup>17</sup> तो चीन्ह गयल बाय; आज काल पहाड पढत बाय. — 20. Q. पाठसाले मे नाही बैठाय देत? A. कुछ पढ़

1) The following specimens of village-conversations were given to me by Pandit Gopāl Bhaṭṭa of Benares. The spelling is his, excepting the *virāmas* and interpunctuations which I have added.

ले, तब बैठाय देई<sup>18</sup>. — 21. Q. हमहूँ अपने बेटौवाँ<sup>19</sup> के पाठसाले मे बैठावल चाहिला. A. अच्छा! हमरे लड़िका के संगे ओहू के बैठाव दीहा.

Notes: 1) pers. خالی. 2) adverb. past part. 3) arab. هرج. 4) 3. pl. pres. ind. of the potent. pass. 5) arab. قلعه. 6) pers. لیکن. 7) pers. کم. 8) arab. خبر. 9) pers. صہینا. 10) arab. لیکن. 11) pers. خرید, treated as a denom. root. 12) pers. تیز. 13) arab. فایده. 14) 2. pl. imperative: or ले लह् or ले ल्यह्. 15) conj. part. of the double caus. 16) contr. for के इहाँ. 17) anomalous plur. of अच्छर, apparently made after Urdu (arabic) analogy, as हुकाम orders, pl. of हुकम्. 18) 2. pl. pres. conj., used as future. 19) redundant form of बेटा.

b) Between master and servant.

1. Q. काल् लोहिया लागत् खेत् पर जाये के होई. A. काहे के बदे? का, खेत् निरावै के? — 2. Q. हाँ, खेतो निरावै के अउर बडके खेतवा मे हरी चलावै के. A. कै मजूर<sup>1</sup> कै काम् बाय्? — 3. Q. जैठे से सपरै, तैठे लगाय दीहे. A. धान् कै खेतवा भरहू के न होई. — 4. Q. कै दिन् मे भरल जाई? A. दुइ दिन् कै काम् बाय्. — 5. Q. लवहू कै दिन् तो आय् गयल्. A. अच्छा, तब ले चारू पाँच मेहरान् के ठहराय रक्खोला. — 6. Q. गैयन् के कोयर् दिहले, की नाही? A. घास् तो नाय् दिहले रहली. — 7. Q. भूसौ लेआय् के सानी चलाय दे; साँक् भइल्. A. बेर बिस्वले, हम् घरे<sup>2</sup> रोटी खाये जाब. — 8. Q. अच्छा, जव खाय के ऐहे, तब मोहन के अम्तारी मे बाँध दीहे. A. तोहरे बदे ई बेरा का खाये के होई? — 9. Q. माई से कहे<sup>3</sup> दीहे की रोटी पोय रखिहै. A. खाली<sup>4</sup> रोटीयै खैब? — 10. Q. अउर का? दूध के संगे खाय लेब. A. दाल् न होखी? — 11. Q. राँति के हम् के दाल् नाही पचत्. A. जलदी खाये जैह! नाही तो रोटी गुगाय<sup>4</sup> जाई. — 12. Q. जा लेजा, तै तो जलदी<sup>5</sup> खाय आव; बिना तोरे ऐले हम् न जाबै. A. हम् तो जातै आटी; खाय के हालियै आइब. — 13. Q. भला, बीया के बदे कोठिला मे कुइ जव बाय की नाही? A. न होई, तो बोरे भर के मोल् आय जाई. — 14. Q. केतना चाही बोवै के? A. एक इ पसरी मे होय जाई. — 15. Q. काँकौ न चाही द्योवै के? A. काँक् तो चाहै तोहरे बखार मे होय. — 16. Q. ई घरी दैव जो चारू बुन्दी कर दैत, तो बइ अच्छा होत्. A. देख! गोसैयाँ कै मज्जी<sup>6</sup> होई, तो बरस् जैहै. — 17. Q. अरे! हाँ, काल् फार के बदे थोरा लोहा खरीदै के बाय. A. केतना लोहा चाही?

तोहरे घर मे नैखे? — 18. Q. मतारी से पुझिहे तो. A. घाम् तो पियरावल  
बातै ने; साक् भइल् चाहैले. — 19. Q. हो! देख! माई आवत् बाय्. A.  
एह बेरा आवै कै कौन् काम रहल्? — 20. Q. ले! बेरु बिसवै चाहैला;  
तै जलदी<sup>5</sup> जो! A. अच्छा, ले! तुहउं जा! दिसा जंगल् से निपट आव.

Notes: 1) pers. مزدور. 2) old loc. 3) conj. part. 4) conj.  
part. of potent. pass. 5) pers. جلدی. 6) arab. مرضی.

c) Between two sisters.

1. Q. कह, बहिनी! एहवर कहाँ गइल् रहल्यू? A. रहिला कै साग  
खोटे. — 2. Q. एह पारी तोहरे खेतवा धे खाली रहिलै बोवल बाय्?  
A. नाही, मटर रहिला अउर बारै, तीन् चीन्<sup>1</sup>, बोवल बाय्. — 3. Q.  
तोहार दुलहा आज् काल् कही<sup>2</sup> बाहर गयल् बाटै? A. नाही, बरही तो  
बाटै, लेकिन खेत पूर बहुत् रहैले. — 4. Q. तू रसोइयाँ कब् करैल्यू?  
A. दुपहर के करीला; अब जाय के, तब् करब्. — 5. Q. तोहार बियवा  
तो नीके बाय्? A. हँ, बाय् अच्छीतरह<sup>3</sup>. — 6. Q. तोहार गैयवा<sup>4</sup> कुछ दूध  
देले की नाही? A. का कही<sup>5</sup> बहिनी? पहिले बियान् मे तो कुछ नाही दिहलेस्;  
अबकी बियान् मे देखो कुछ देले की नाही. — 7. Q. केतना दिन् बियैले<sup>6</sup>  
भयल्? A. अबही<sup>7</sup> तो आज् पँचवाँ दिन् हो; अबही ओकर बहूआ अच्छी  
तरह<sup>8</sup> चल नाही सकत्. — 8. Q. खरी कराई पखेव अच्छी तरह<sup>9</sup> पाई, तो  
दूध देई. A. देखै कै तो बिचार बाय्. — 9. Q. ओहे घरवा मे तुहई<sup>10</sup> अकेल्  
रहल्यू<sup>11</sup> की ओरो केहू रहैला? A. नाही, हमही<sup>12</sup> अकेल् रहैला, लेकिन चाहैला  
की ओरु केहू रहे जात्, तो मनसायन् होत्. — 10. Q. एको कोठरी हमरे  
रहे लाइक्<sup>13</sup> होय, तो हम के य. A. बाय्, लेकिन छोट बाय्, तोहार निबह  
ओ मे न होई. — 11. Q. भला! कब्बहू तोहरे परोस् मे होई, तो हम के  
बतैह. A. काहे? जोने घरवा मे तू रहैल्यू, तीने मे कौनो दिकदारी<sup>14</sup> बाय्? —  
12. Q. दिकदारी कबन् बाय? भारा बहुत् लगैला. A. अच्छा! तो आव, हमरे  
ही घर मे रह; कौनो तरह<sup>15</sup> से निबह होय जाई. — 13. Q. भला बहिन्!  
अब किरपा कैल्यू; हम बहुत् दिकदारी<sup>16</sup> रहली ओहे घर से. A. अच्छा! तो  
कब् से रहे के अइय? — 14. Q. अब तो खर्वाँस् बितले बाद<sup>17</sup> अच्छी साइत्  
देखवाय् के आइब्. A. तर्स्<sup>18</sup> आवै कै बिचार रखिह; हम अपने मनसेधू से  
कहे के घर सफा<sup>19</sup> कावाय् रखलब्. — 15. Q. न जानी, खर्वाँस् केतने दिन्  
रही! A. रह! हमरे परोस् मे एक पंडित रहैले<sup>20</sup>; ओन् से पूछ के, तब् तोह  
से कहव.

Notes: 1) pers. چيز. 2) arab. ط. 3) redundant form of

माई. 4) adverb. past part. of potent. pass. 5) shorter form of 2. pl. pres. ind. fem., for रहैल्यु. 6) arab. لايف. 7) arab. دى دارى. 8) arab. بعد. 9) arab. ضرور. 10) arab. صفا.

d) Between parents and son.

1. Q. (Father speaks): बेटा! सबेर ही उठ के ऊख के खेत देखे के जैह! A. अब तो तोरहू के दिन् आयल्. — 2. Q. हाँ, लेकिन कोल्हू के जाट दूट गइल् बाय; से खरीदे के होई. A. केतने दाम पर मिली? — 3. Q. ओ करू जैसन् काट होय, तैसन् दाम लगै. A. कतरि बाय, की उही खरीदल् जाई? — 4. Q. कतरियो तो नाही बाय, लेकिन ओ करे भर के काट घर मे होई; बढई बलवाय के बनवाय लिहल् जाई. A. क बाबू? येह पारी खाली राबै बनवैब की गुरी? — 5. Q. नाही, दूनौ बनवाइब. A. अब हम लाये जात बाटी. — 6. Q. (Mother speaks): आव, बेटा, जलदी बाये के! A. आज का रसोई कैले बाटिस्? — 7. Q. आज रसोई मे दाल रोटी अउर कोहउरी भइल् बाय. A. दूध बाय की नाही? — 8. Q. थोर एक होई बाय; पूत बाट के लाय लीक! A. अच्छा! गोठ धोवै के पानी भेजवाय दे! — 9. Q. हे! इहाँ लोटा मे पानी रकखल् बाय; गोठ धोव! A. बढकी थरिया मे हम के परोसिहे! — 10. Q. अपने बापों के बलाय ल्य! A. अच्छा! बलाय लेआईला; आव बाबू लाये! — 11. Q. (Father speaks): बेटा! तू लाय ल्य, तब हम पीछे से लाब. A. काँहे? — 12. Q. अबही अच्छी तरह से हम के भूल् नैलै. A. नाही! माई बलावत बाय. — 13. Q. अच्छा ले! आवत बाटी. A. हे! गोठ धोवै के पानी धयल् बाय. — 14. Q. अच्छा! परोसवाव! A. माई! रसोइयाँ आज कौन करत हौ? — 15. Q. (Mother speaks): तोहार मेहर. A. ओ के रोटी फुलावै नाही आवत. — 16. Q. नाही आवत; तबओ कबो नाही रहत. A. पीछा धे दे! — 17. Q. तू आव, तो सहो! पीछा तो इहई रकखल् बाय. A. ले! बाबुओ ऐलै, हमहूँ ऐली; जलदी परोसै के कह. — 18. Q. परोस् दे रे! A. दुइ थरिया, छोटी बजी परोस्!

e) Between mother and boy.

1. Q. माई! लाये के दे! A. का कइबे? — 2. Q. का बाय लाये के? A. रोटी बाय; काहे से खइबे? — 3. Q. दूध बाय की नाही? A. दूध तो कच्चा बाय, लेकिन नैन् बाय; कह, तो देई; ओही से लाय ले! — 4. Q. नैन् दूध के हौ की दही के? A. नाही! आज सबेरे दही महे के निकलले

रहली. — 5. Q. लेआव्. A. खाली नैनुवै, की ओ मे कौनो मीठा मिर्बि? — 6. Q. कौन् मीठा बाटै? A. राबू लेआई की गुरू? — 7. Q. नाही! राबै लेआव्! गुरू हम् के नाही भावत्. A. अच्छा! ले! तै बैठु! हम् लेआईला. — 8. Q. जलदी लेआव्; नाही तो ऊ लरिकवा आय् जाई. A. तै गोडू तो थोड! हम् लेआईला. — 9. Q. दुइवै रोटी ले ऐहे! A. ई काहे? पेट भर लाय् ले! रसोइया के अबही अबेर होई. — 10. Q. अच्छा! तीन दे! A. ले! जे!

f) Between two boys.

1. Q. का भाई! चलब खेलै के? A. अबही हम् खेली नाही; लाय् लेई, तब चली. — 2. Q. कब खेल? A. माई आवैले, तब जाईला<sup>1</sup>. — 3. Q. तोहार माई कहाँ गइल् बाय्? A. गोरुन् के कोयर देवै के. — 4. Q. तब ले चल; खेल आई. A. कौन् खेल खेलब? — 5. Q. लटू तोहरे पास बाय् की नाही? A. लटू तो बाय्; लत्ती नेलै. — 6. Q. आव! लत्ती बनाई. A. कपडा कहाँ बाय्? — 7. Q. कपडा बहुत मिली. A. लय! माइयो आइल्; अब लाय् लेई; तब सुचिन् से खेली. — 8. Q. तब से हमहूँ घर से होय आईला<sup>1</sup>. A. तू काहे बदे धरू जात् बाट? — 9. Q. योर एक दूध धयल् बाय् से हमहूँ पो आई. A. तोहरे<sup>2</sup> दूध होला? — 10. Q. हाँ, बाकेन्<sup>3</sup> गया कै दूध हो. A. अच्छा! जा! जलदी ऐह! — 11. Q. हम् तो गैली की ऐलो. A. जा जलदी!

Notes: 1) 1. pl. pres. ind., for fut. ind. 2) old loc.; elliptic, for तोहरे पास. 3) pers. آکے.

### 3. FOLKLORE.

a) The treasure in the field.

एक बडा आदिमी<sup>1</sup> अंगूर<sup>2</sup> कै बारी ओ खेत ओवलैस्; ओके चारू बेटवा रहलै; जब ऊ मरै लगल्, तब बेटवन् से कहलैस्; ए बेटा मोरें पास जवन् धन् रहल्, तौने के मै अंगूर के खेतवा मे गाड़ दिहले बाटो<sup>3</sup>; से तूलोग खनब, तो पड़बह; जब ऊ आदिमी मरि गयल्, तब ओकर सब बेटावा मिल के खेत के चारो ओर से खनै लगलै<sup>3</sup>; लेकिन धन् कै खोज न मिलल्; बाकी<sup>4</sup> खेत अच्छी तरह से खोदल् गयल्; ओ से अंगूर कै पेड़ खूब<sup>5</sup> पनफलै; और खूब अंगूर कै फल उपजलै; तब तो सब बेटा मिल के ओके बेचलै, और बहुत एक धन् पौलै; बडा खुस्<sup>6</sup> भइलै; एसे हमलोगन् के ई बात सीखै के चाही, की बडा लोग जौन् बात कहै तौने के जरूर मानै के चाही, टारै के न चूही; एही मे हमरे लोगन् कै कल्यान् होई; ई लजिकन् के सीखै के बदे कहनी होवै.



Notes: 1) arab. آدمی. 2) pers. انکور. 3) shorter form for गज्ज, 3. pl. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. ind.; see § 26. 4) pers. بلکه. 5) pers. خوب. 6) pers. خوش.

b) The two wise Brāhmins.

कौनो एक ब्राम्हन् रहल्; ओके दुइ बेटा रहलै; उ ब्राम्हन् कौनो जग्य करे लगल्; ओ मे एक महराी के काम परल्; तब उ दूनो बेटोवन से कहलेस्, ओ बेटा! तू दूनो जने समुद्र के तीर पर जाय के एक महराी लेआवह; तब पेता के आग्या पाय के दूनो समुद्र के तीर पर गेलेन्; ओर उहाँ के मल्लाह ले कहलेन्, की हम के एक महराी के काम बाय, से तै पकड़ दे; तब मल्लाह एक महराी बकाय के दुनहुन् के आगे लेआय के धै दिहलेस्; तब ओन्ह मे से एक दुसरे के कहलेस् की तै काहे नाँही उठाय ले चलतेस्; तब उ बोलल् की मै भोजनचतुर बाटो; मो के एक गंध आवैले; तब उ बोलल् की मैहू सयनचतुर हौओ; ऐसे न उठैवो; ऐसीही उन्ह दुनहुन् मे कगरा होवै लगल्; आखिर के दूनो लरत् लरत् राजा के पास गेलै और राजा के आपन् समाचार कहलै; तब राजा कहलेस्, की तू दूनो जने हम के परिच्छा बह; तब हम तोहर बिधा जानी; उ दूनो खग भइलै परिच्छा देवै के; तब पहिले राजा भोजनचतुर के परिच्छा लेवै बदे अच्छी रसोईय बनवौलै; ओ मे अच्छी से अच्छी तरकारी, अच्छे से अच्छे चाउर के भात, अच्छा से अच्छा पकवान रिधवौलेन्; और भोजनचतुर के बलाय के बाये के बैठौलेन्; तब उ जैसे हो भात के कवर उठौलेस्, तैसेही ओ के ओ मे मुरदा के गंध आयल्; से उ धरिया होइ के उह गयल्; तब राजा ओ के पुछलै, की तै काहे नाही खैले और उह गैले? उ कहलेस् की भात मे मुरदा के गंध आवैले; तब राजा किसान के बलाय के पुछलेस् की चाउर कैसन् रहल् और कहा से लेआय के तै मो के दिहल्? किसान बोलल् की आपन् खेत् से; तब राजा पुछलेस् की उ अत् केकर हौ? तब किसान कहलेस् की ज़मींदार से हम मोल् लिहले रहली; तब राजा ज़मींदार के बलाय के पुछलेस्, की ई भूई कैसन् रहल्? तब ज़मींदार बोलल्, की ई भूई मुरदा पहिले रहल्; तब राजा भोजनचतुर के कहलेस्, की तै ठीक भोजनचतुर हौवै; फेर सयनचतुर के बोलाय के राजा एक अच्छी बिहवनादार खटिया बिहवाय दिहलेस्, और ओ के सूत के कहलेस्; उ सूतल्; लेकिन ओ के राति भर नो नोई आइल्; एह कर बट से ओह कर बट, ओकर बट ने एह कर बट करत रहल्; सवेरे राजा ओ के बलौलेस्, और कहलेस् की तै राति भर सुख से सुतले? उ बोलल् की महाराज समस्त राति मोके नीद नाही परल्; राजा पुछलै काहे? उ बोलल् कि बिहवना के परत

मे एक बार बाटै से मोरे देह<sup>7</sup> मे गज्ज रहल्; तब् राजा अपने गिकर से बिद्यावन् उठवाय् के देखलेस तो ओ मे एक बार देखायल्<sup>8</sup>; तब् राजा खुसी<sup>9</sup> होयके ओके कहलेस कि तै<sup>4</sup> ठीक् सयनचतुर हौवे; ए करे बाद राजा उन दुनुहुन् कै बहुती तरह से खातिरदारी कै के बिदा कैलै<sup>5</sup>॥

Notes: 1) हूँ and ही<sup>6</sup> are emphatic. 2) arab. آخر. 3) lit. standing, here ready. 4) shorter form for बोलवाय्; see § 26. 5) pers. مرد. 6) pers. زميندار. 7) for देह, see § 67. 8) 3. sg. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. ind. of potent. pass. 9) pers. خوشی joy; here used adjectively, through confusion with adj., formed like सुखी; see § 253.

### c) The unfortunate Brāhman.

कौनो एक ब्राह्मन् सोमशर्मा कुसुमपुर गाँव मे रहत् रहल्; उ आपन् बियाह देवस्वामी केहू अपने परोसिया ब्राह्मन् को बिटिया से कैलेस; से एक दिन की बात हो कि दूजो पुरानी अटारी पर सूतल् रहलै<sup>1</sup>; एतने मे एक कौनो बियाधर ओही ओर से अकास मे बिमान पर चढल् चल जात् रहल्; से ओकर डीर ओहे मेहरारू पर पर गइल्; उ, ओकरे सुन्दरताई से मोहित होय, नीचे उतर, ओके उठाय लेगयल्; सवेरा भयल्, तब् सोमशर्मा अपने बिट्टीना के सून देख अपने स्त्री के चारो ओर हेरै लगलै, लेकिन पता न पोलै; तब् तो बौरहा के तरह एहर ओहर धूमै लगलै और भुलैलै<sup>2</sup>; तब् केहू गिरस्थ<sup>3</sup> के घर जाय कहलै कि हम के कुछ खाये के वदे य; उ अपने स्त्री से कहलेस कि ब्राह्मन् भुलायल् जाय, एके कुछ दे; उ रसोई<sup>4</sup> मे जाय, एक दोना भर खीर ले आय के, ब्राह्मन् के दिहलेस; ब्राह्मन् उ खीर ले के एक नदी के तीर पर जाय, कौनो पेड़ के जड़ पर खीर कै दोना धे के, हाय मुँह धोरे के वदे नदी मे गयल्; तब् ले एहर ओहे पेड़ पर से एक करइत् साँप उतर के, उ खीर थोरैक<sup>5</sup> खैलेस, ओर ओ मे अपने मुँह से जहर<sup>6</sup> उगिल् के, फर ओही पेड़ पर चढ गयल्; तब् ले उ बेचारा ब्राह्मन् भुलायल् जलदी से आये के ओहे दोना कै सब खीर खाय गयल् और थोरी बर मे जहर से बियाकुल् होय के मर<sup>7</sup> गयल्॥

अब एह कथा मे ई बिचारल् चाहि कि ओ करे मुअले के हत्या के के भइल्, ओहे गिरस्थ के, कि ओकरे मेहरारू के, कि ओहे साँप के॥

Notes: 1) 3. pl. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. ind. of potent. pass. 2) for गृहस्थ. 3) or थोरैक, see § 291. 4) pers. روض. 5) irregular conj. part. of the verb मरख to die.

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